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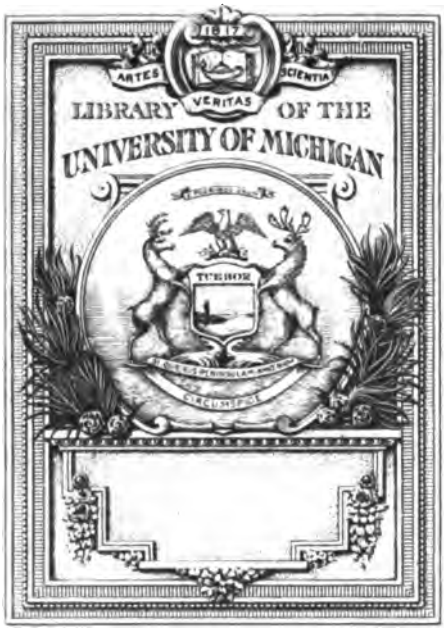
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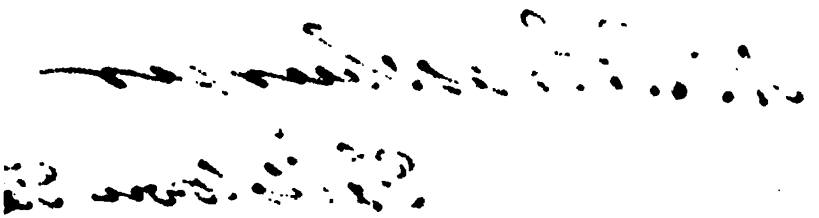

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THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1855.

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THE PARTHENON.

PARTHENON signifies the Dwelling of the Virgin, of Pallas Athene, the emanation of the divine wisdom of Jove. Every one of the many tribes, who afterwards formed the Greek nation, had one particular deity whom it worshipped as its patron; for, though the Greeks did not conceive the lumi-

nous idea of a personal unity of the Omnipotent Being ruling the world, like the Hebrews, yet so deep was the feeling of divine unity sunk into their hearts, that every tribe and every family, in their practical worship, venerated one only member of the great number of Olympian divinities, and that they ascribed to this tutelar god their own origin through the descent of the demi-gods and heroes.

Thus the Dorians of Sparta had Apollo, the Achæans Neptune, and the Athenians their beautiful Athene, the blue-eyed daughter of Jupiter, and the foster-mother of the hero Erechtheus, the fabulous founder of the Ionian Athens.

Tradition relates her birth as arising in full armor from the father of the universe, and her victorious contest with Neptune about the possession of Attica.

The sea-god struck with his trident the rock, and produced a spring of salt water. Minerva gave the olive-branch, the generous tree, which still to this day is the principal produce of Attica—and her's was the victory.

This curious contest between Neptune and Minerva is represented in splendid colossal statues from the master hand of Phidias, on the western pediment of the Parthenon, while on the eastern was seen the birth of Minerva in the presence of all the gods of Mount Olympus.

The earliest statues of Minerva were made of wood in the rigid Egyptian style, and were placed in wooden sanctuaries. But the Athenians, in their rapid progress toward civilization, soon built a larger temple of yellow lime-stone, ornamented with marble columns and painted in brilliant blue, black, and red colors, without any sculptures.

This temple was called Hekatompedon, being one hundred feet in front and it stood for many centuries on the very site of the present Parthenon, until the great Persian war, in the year 480 before Christ, when it was burnt down and destroyed by Xerxes, the Persian invader.

During our excavations around the temple, several columns from that ancient temple were discovered, deeply sunk into the ground, and at a depth of twenty-five feet, we likewise found large fragments of painted architraves and beams of

burnt wood, which can only be attributed to the old Hekatompedon.

The reader is well acquainted with those beautifully terrible scenes, so powerfully described by Herodotus, which took place here in Athens, when the approach of the hundred thousands of Barbarians was announced to the Athenians. The whole people, men and women, young and old, abandoning the city, the temples of their gods, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, hurried down to the Peiræeus to embark on their fleet, while the vain despot of Asia advanced through the solitary streets and his Persians stormed the Akropolis, and transformed the city with all its venerable monuments into a heap of ruins and ashes. Yet the avenging sword of Nemesis already hung suspended over the invaders. They were defeated in the straits of Salamis, and after their total destruction on the glorious plain of Platææ the year following, the joyful Athenians returned in triumph and began immediately to re-build their city.

Themistokles was then their great general and still greater statesman. Being anxious to fortify Athens, he employed all the ruins of the temples and other public buildings in the hurried and rude construction of the city walls, and the traveler may to his astonishment and delight, still at the present day, behold part of the northern wall of the Akropolis composed of immense blocks of marble columns, altars, and architraves, from the old temple of Minerva. These are certainly some of the most interesting relics of antiquity, because they prove so clearly the accuracy of the Historian Thukydides, when he says, that the Athenians, in the great hurry, with which they re-built their walls after the retreat of Xerxes, and while fearing the hostile interference of jealous Sparta, employed promiscuously, columns, statues of Gods and Heroes—in short, every stone from their sanctuaries, on which they could lay their hands.

Only the more solid foundations of the old Hekatompedon remained on the spot, and on them was erected fifty years later, the most magnificent temple of antiquity: the Parthenon still in ruins standing before us.

The celebtated artists, Kallikrates and Iktinos, were the architects; the greatest sculptor of that or any other age, Phidias, obtained the direction of the work.

The soul-stirring eloquence of Perikles excited the enthusiasm of the victorious Athenian republic to undertake the erection of this great national monument, with almost incredible zeal, and finish it in the short period of five years.

Every Athenian citizen, says Plutarch, pressed forward to have his share in the glorious work. The wealthy offered his treasure, the learned his experience, the artist his genius and taste, and the mechanic his strength and the labor of his hands, in order to promote an enterprise so brilliantly carrying out the political views of Pèrikles, who said that the Athenian republic, being completely armed and prepared for war, ought to spend its superfluous wealth on such works as would become eternal monuments of its glory, and during their construction would diffuse universal plenty, and thus while every hand was usefully employed, would the active republic be both embellished and supported by herself. But not only the artists and workmen, no, even the beasts of burden who dragged the immense blocks down from the distant quarries of Mount Pentelikon, received their reward from the noble-minded Athenian people, and it is a beautiful feature in their character, that they decreed: that the fattest pastures around the city should be reserved for those animals which had toiled during the construction of the Parthenon. It is a Doric Temple, with a double row of eight columns in each front and seventeen in each peristyle, in all sixty-four. The height of its fluted columns is thirty-four feet, and their diameter six feet two inches. The full length of the temple is two hundred and twenty-eight feet, its breadth one hundred and two feet, and it stands raised on an immense platform, having three flights of steps all around the building, while its elevation from the platform to the apex of the pediments is sixty-eight feet.

The cell of the temple itself was divided into two compartments; the larger on the east was the *Thalamos* or Virgin Hall, where we still distinguish on the marble pavement the impression of the base, on which stood the colossal ivory statue of the goddess; we likewise see the rills or grooves all along the marble, which were constantly filled with oil, in order to render the atmosphere more humid in that dry and hot climate, and thus hinder the ivory covering of the statue from bursting.

The small western compartment called the *Opisthodomos*, served as the treasury of the republic, and was placed under the immediate protection of the tutular deity of Attica.

A large and precious collection of inscriptions lately discovered among the rubbish, gives the most minute account of the state of this treasury at different periods of Athenian history, and contains a highly curious register of all the precious arms, statues, vases, and other votive offerings, adorning the interior of the sanctuary.

The elegant marble roof of the cell was supported by two rows of slender Doric columns, forming the nave and lateral aisles of the hall. Several of these delicately fluted columns have been found on the clearing away of a small Mosque, which the Turks had built within the temple, after its destruction by the Venetian army; nay, we could still trace on the marble floor, the fastenings of a strong bronze lattice, which closed in the principal nave, and secured the costly statue of the goddess, and the glittering trophies and offerings, adorning the walls, from thesac rilegious hands of the daring Athenian thieves and swindlers, so well known from the lively sketches of Aristophanes.

The whole interior of the Parthenon was desolated by the explosion in 1687, but we are glad to state, that we possess, at least, a highly interesting letter of a French missionary, brother Paul Babin, of an earlier date, in which the astonished Jesuit with admiration exclaims, that this *Heathen* temple in beauty and grandeur surpasses the Santa Sophia in Constantinople—and that even the Chateau of Cardinal Richelieu in France, with all its master-pieces of modern art, presented nothing that could be compared to the magnificent colossal sculptures, adorning the pediments of the temple.*

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* Great disputes have lately arisen among the learned and the architects with regard to the construction of the roof of this temple.

A difficult passage of Vitruvius, the Roman author on the architecture of the ancients, seems to mention a distinct class of temples, which he calls hypæthral, or having an opening, vœdijor, or sky-light in the roof, serving to light up the interior of the cell.

"The Hypæthral temples," says he, "have ten columns at each of their fronts and a double colonnade on each of their flanks, and in the interior a double row of columns standing free from the walls. But the centre is without any covering, and the only entrance is through the large folding doors —*valvæ*—from the Pronaos and Posticum. No temple of this structure," he adds,

These sculptures, of the era of Phidias, decorated the outside of the Parthenon, and consisted in bas-reliefs, in bold reliefs with half figures, and in full round figures of colossal dimensions, all unsurpassed master-pieces of the Athenian chisel.

The principal entrance of the temple being at the Eastern front, the ornamental groups of full, round colossal figures in the Eastern pediment represented the *birth of Minerva*, while that on the West contained the famous *contest between Minerva and Neptune* about the possession of Attica. A highly poetical and fanciful conception, characterizing the Athenian people and the age of Perikles, was embodied in each of these masterly groups, which may be considered as figurative types of the religion and traditions of Attica.

The Eastern pediment was consecrated entirely to *religion*, representing the assembly of the great Olympian Gods, receiving the Goddess of Wisdom;—the Western, on the contrary, was dedicated to the *local traditions* of Attica, with its local divinities, the river-gods of Ilisses and Kephissos, the founder Kekrops and the Attic heroes, all assisting in the decision of the great contest and the victory of Minerva.

On the East we have Jupiter, the father of gods and men in all his majesty, seated upon his throne as in the centre of the world, between day and night, the beginning and the end, as denoted by the rising and the setting sun. He was surrounded by the Genethlic divinities or those who preside over birth, assisting the father of the universe in producing the di-

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"exists in Rome; but in Athens, the temple of the Olympian Jove, and another temple with eight columns in front, are both Hypæthral."

This very indefinite description made the celebrated French author, Quatremere de Quincy, and other architects, suppose that Vitruvius hinted at the Parthenon, this being the only existing temple in Athens with eight columns in front, and they accordingly constructed it with a Hypæthron or a large opening in the middle of the roof. But Prof. Lewis Ross of Halle has lately published an interesting treatise with the somewhat presuming title "Away with all Hypæthral Temples!"—in which he attempts to prove that no such open-roofed temples ever existed, that Vitruvius only mentioned the roofless, and at that time still unfinished Olympeion and other open, roofless sanctuaries; and lastly that this temple with eight columns at Athens, was not the Parthenon on the Akropolis,—but another unfinished temple of Apollo, a ruin from the times of Persistratus. Though the assertion of the learned antiquarian is bold, yet many weighty reasons speak in favor of his hypothesis and the general opinion of the architects in Athens, at present, is, that the Parthenon was completely covered with a marble roof and that the Eastern Cell or Virgin Hall received its light only from portals of the pronaos.

vine Athene, who, rising above the god in all the splendor of her golden armor, filled with her crested helmet the apex of the pediment. Ares, (Mars) the companion of the warlike goddess, and other deities, followed next.

On the right of Jupiter the *Horæ* or Seasons, Eunomia, Dike and Eirene; on the left the *Moirœ* or Fates, Klotho Lachesis and Atropos, thus poetically denoting the rise and progress of life and its decline and consummation.

On the western pediment Athene and Poseidon, (Neptune,) are placed in the centre; the latter was represented as having struck the earth with his trident from which a stream of water is issuing, while the olive tree, the creation and gift of Athene, occupied the space between the contending deities and rose with its branches to the apex of the pediment. The chariot with four beautiful, prancing steeds followed the goddess and was guided by the wingless Victory accompanied by the youthful hero Erichthonios, the leader of the horses. The flanks of the tympanon were then fitted out with the sitting or reclining figures of Kekrops, his wife Aglauros and their daughters. Herse, Aglauros, and Pandrosos; the divinities of the sea—*Thalassa*—and the calm—*Galene*, the river gods Ilissos Kephissos and the beautiful fountain-nymph Kallirrhœ.

The BAS-RELIEFS formed the frieze running along the wall of the cell, on the outside, throughout the entire building for a length of five hundred and twenty feet. It represented the splendid procession of the Athenian citizens, called the Panathenaic Pomp, which, at the term of every fourth year, marched with extraordinary splendor and pageantry toward the temple, to offer sacrifices to the goddess, and to present her with the sacred veil, the rich purple *peplos*, which was suspended before her statue.

Nearly all the marble slabs of the frieze have either been destroyed or broken away by Lord Elgin, and carried to the British Museum in London; only the western front is still in partial preservation and can be enjoyed at its proper place in the soft and mellow light of an Attic sky.

During the excavations, twelve or fourteen other slabs of the frieze, more or less damaged, were dug out of the rubbish,

and so great was the excitement in the city, that King Otho, the court, the ambassadors, and all the foreign artists and amateurs, hurried to the Akropolis to behold and admire those precious relics. Only the Greeks themselves remained busy in their bazars, caring more for their barter and dollars, than for the glory of their forefathers.

For centuries this frieze of the Parthenon was considered as inimitable for perfection and beauty. Canova, the great Italian, gave up the contest, but Albert Thorwalsden, the Dane, afterwards proved to the world, by his magnificent frieze, representing the triumphal entry of Alexander the Great into Babylon, after the battle of Arbela, that modern artists are again fully equal to the ancients in the arrangement, taste, and execution of bas-reliefs.

Still more interesting are the half figures, in BOLD RELIEF, or *alto relievo*, adorning the metopes, on the entablature of the peristyle, all around the building. A large number still remain on the temple, but the sculptures have been corroded by the north wind. Twenty-five slabs most beautifully preserved, from the southern colonnade, are now in the British Museum. Others have been discovered since in the rubbish, and are now safe both from Turks and Scots.

The metopes represent combats of Centaurs, Amazons, or Persians, against Athenian heroes. But why these wild pictures of war and strife on the peaceful sanctuary of Pallas Athene? What signify those violent crimes of insolent Centaurs on the temple front of a pure virgin goddess?

The victorious heroes are Theseus and his Athenian companions, fighting against savage monsters; it is the struggle of civilization against barbarity and physical force, the worship of the Divine powers against violence and brutish selfishness.

It is Minerva herself, who has taught mankind moderation, and inspired them with harmony and love. She, the mighty goddess, has sent forth Theseus and his heroes to vanquish the monsters, and to lay the foundation of a higher civilization by general security on sea and land.

She has decided the victory of the spiritual being of man over the lawless force of the savage instincts of Nature, here

on the temple represented by the wanton Centaurs and the cruel Amazons. Thus, then, do these magnificent sculptures proclaim the victory of Pallas Athene and the progressing development of her people.

The eighty colossal figures in the two pediments remained in excellent preservation until the seventeenth century. They were not only the most perfect master-pieces of sculpture the world ever saw, but their construction was so wonderfully solid that even the terrible explosion by gunpowder, during the siege in 1687, did only shake, but not destroy them.

After the surrender of the Castle by the Turks, the Venitian General, Count Morisini, desiring to send the victorious Minerva with her chariot and beautiful steeds to Venice, as a proud memorial of his triumph, ordered his engineers to take down the whole splendid group of the centre. Yet the workmen had hardly laid their unskillful hands on the great cornice, when it suddenly gave way, and the entire group, goddess, chariot, horses and heroes, were precipitated from the immense height on the marble pavement below and dashed to pieces. Several broken heads of men and horses, fragments of the olive-tree, and a magnificent bust of Mars, the war-god, together with heaps of sculptured splinters—all excavated on the spot, are now the only melancholy remains which still excite our admiration in the vast depositories of the Akropolis.

Most of the reclining figures in the flanks of the pediments remained in their places until they were carried off in 1802 by the Scottish robber, Lord Elgin—and at this moment, only old Kekrops and his wife are still sitting in the western pediment, looking down upon the revolutions of twenty-three centuries.

The late lamented French Archæologian, Mons. de Letronne, and the celebrated traveler Alphonse Laborde, some years ago announced triumphantly that they had discovered two other beautiful colossal heads, those of the Victory and of Erichthonios, guiding the steeds of Athene; the one in the dark vaults of the Royal Library in Paris, and the other in the store of a merchant in Venice—both now form the most precious sculptures in the immense Museum of the Louvre.

The colossal ivory statue of Minerva was represented in a standing posture in complete armor, with a golden sphinx adorning the crest of her helmet. In the left hand she held the goddess of Victory; in the right the lance. Her height was sixty feet, and her crest must have touched the ceiling of the temple. She wore a golden robe hanging down in deep folds to her feet, for the composition of which Phidias employed the immense sum of forty gold talents, or $600,000, from the public treasury.

The haughty bearing and the vanity of the matchless artist excited the envy and anger of the fickle Athenian people. Perikles, in vain attempted to defend his friend. Phidias fled from Athens, and took a noble revenge by producing the still more magnificent statue of the Olympian Jove in Elis.

What a wonderful era of genius and art, enjoyed and appreciated by a whole nation, the most civilized of classical antiquity!

But not only was the statue of Minerva so richly ornamented; the same precious metal was profusely employed in the decorations of the sculptures and the glittering shields, which adorned the fazades of the temple. Their relief was set off by the most brilliant colors. Here on the Parthenon, the whole tympanum of the pediments and the ground of the metopes were painted in purple. The triglyphs and the frieze were of a brilliant azure blue, and the peristyle and both the eastern and the western porticoes were richly painted with elegant and fanciful decorations.

At the excavations along the foundations of the temple an endless variety of painted figures in terra cotta, fragments of columns, capitals, and nearly every smaller member of architecture, were discovered, which still retained their original colors, blue, red, deep purple, the brightest ultra marine and a beautiful sea green.

These colors are all metallic, and were applied to the marble by means of a thin coating of wax. This encaustic painting, burnt on the marble by fire, was used by the ancients, in order to give gloss and brilliancy to their decorations, and to preserve them from injury by the air or by moisture.

The ancient paintings on the polished surface of the marble have nearly vanished in the long course of centuries—but nature has retouched them. The marbles of the Akropolis have now taken those burning, those golden hues, which give such an indescribable beauty to the monuments of the south.

The Greeks, in their bright, creative imagination, and in their high sense of beauty, living surrounded by a scenery which nature had touched with the brilliant tints of the rainbow—boldly took up the hint thus given them, and adorned their sanctuaries with bright and glittering colors in perfect harmony with the natural objects around them.

The Goths, the Danes, the Anglo-Saxons, beneath their cold and cloudy sky, could only admire the immense gray and gloomy piles of their churches, the vaulted aisles of their convents, and their turretted and battlemented castles. The Greeks, on the contrary, were fond of light and life; they consecrated darkness and death to the austere deities of the Plutonian regions, and called the furies—the sable sisters of night.

The dazzling light of day—*to aglaon phaos*—surrounded the snowy abode of their Olympian gods, and the magnificent sanctuary of Pallas Athene, here, on her own towering Akropolis. But what signifies an idol surrounded by a kneeling worshipping multitude? Is it not the juvenile creation of man, sprung from his ardent desire to embody in a visible form before his eye, the presence of the invisible Being of the Almighty which he so deeply feels in his heart? The more fervid his imagination, the more vivid his faith in the presence of his Creator, the less he wants to be aroused to devotion by any sensual assistance. The rocky block, the pillar of stone, the gigantic oak tree, call forth his veneration for the Deity. Nay, long centuries after, when the skilful hand of the rapidly advancing Greek race had made their astonishing progress in the arts and comforts of civilized life, had built sanctuaries and temples, they still devoutly and with superstitious awe, continued to venerate the archaic and symbolic forms of their gods in their unwieldly wooden statues.

And it was not until the Periklean era, when the Athenian

art had reached its highest flight, that Phidias, the master mind, took up the bold and brilliant idea, at once, to represent the God-head in the most perfect beauty of the human form—grand, colossal, and adorned by all the splendor and pomp of ivory and gold, of precious stones and glittering vestments. and surrounded by a gorgeous architecture, which combined the whole symbolic representation into one harmonious picture. The supernatural beauty of the virgin goddess, the unrivalled perfection of the temple, the ingenious grouping of the traditions, and of the entire theology of the times—all was then considered a divine revelation by the enraptured people. Nay, Phidias alone, they said, had been called to behold the Olympian ruler of the universe, and no man could then die happy who had not venerated the divine, the inspired productions from his hand.

Such was the belief. And thus the Parthenon, in its unity, represented the whole imaginative theology of the Athenians—it formed a perfect model of art, an epic poem, sculptured in marble, complete and finished like a tragedy of Sophokles, or a hymn of Pindar, sprung from the deepest feelings of the heart and from the highest flight of the imagination.

The glory of the goddess is the theme. On the pediments is the foundation of her worship on earth and her veneration among the gods. On the metopes her victorious progress carrying civilization and happiness among her children. On the frieze she receives her grateful Athenian people, who joyfully approach her sanctuary with hymns and offerings—and within the magnificent vault of the temple, she stands herself, the protectress and guardian of her warlike republic.

Such was the poetic and artistic flight of Athenian religion. But the brooding mind of the philosophers rose above the glittering forms, and they said with a smile, that if Minerva would toss her head on high, the mighty temple would sink into ruins at her feet. And some centuries later, Paul, the divine Apostle of Christ, standing on Mars Hill, revealed to the astonished Sophists, "that the Lord of Heaven and Earth dwelleth not in temples made with human hands."

This thoroughly studied elegance—this extreme solicitude to

improve the effect to the eye, is proper *only* to the Greek race. We look in vain for this perfection of art among the Romans, nor do we find it in our own modern imitations of Grecian architecture, in our churches, banks and city halls, which though handsomely built and of good materials, are unable to convey any adequate idea of the complete harmony and the beautiful effect of the ancient Athenian temples.

An important discovery was made on the Akropolis in the year 1841 by our distinguished friend, Chevalier Edward Schaubert, principal architect to King Otho, which in a remarkable manner proves the accuracy and solicitude of the ancients to augment the effect of their architecture to the eye of the distant observer. This consisted in the *curvature* or inclination of all the lines in the Theseum and Parthenon. Not only do the lines of each column converge from the base of the shaft to the top of the capital—but the *axes* themselves converge also to assist the perspective of elevation. The architraves likewise form a curve and the columns, both of the porticoes and flanks stand in convex lines, contributing, as the architects say, to the beauty of the perspective and the concentrated strength of the structure.

The Greek artist gave a greater bulk to the columns at the angles of the peristyle, not in order to strengthen them, but as Vitruvius says, because these outer columns would appear more slender than they really were, by the effect of the sky seen between them. This perfection of art in its different parts contributed particularly to give grace and elegance to the whole. Great attention was paid to the columns and an extreme care taken by the Attic architects in placing the different *frusta* of the columns. They were polished like a marble-table; two frusta were placed the one upon the other, both fastened in the centre by an axis of cedar-wood, round which they were turned. By this continual friction on a fine sand, which was strown in between them, the surfaces of both became so equal and united that the column appeared to be a monolith, or made of one entire stone, and that the most exercised eye hardly can distinguish its joints to this day.*

* A splendid volume on the restoration of the temple of Victory and the

Christianity now began to shed its light over the world; the Parthenon became consecrated as a Christian church; and those tasteless Byzantine mosaics, and paintings of the Virgin Mary and the saints, began to cover the walls and ceilings, which, even at the present day, show us the utter degradation of the fine arts during the earlier period of the middle ages.

In the year 1460, the indolent dukes of Athens, the successors of the Crusaders, were inhabiting the towers and temples of the Akropolis, when they heard, with frantic despair, the wild shout of the *Allah Acbar*, *Allah Kerim*, of thousands of Turkish horsemen galloping through the plain.

The last duke, Franco Acciajuoli, surrendered to the terrible Mohammed, the conqueror of Constantinople, who himself visited the Akropolis, and, struck with admiration at the beauty of the great temple and its sculptures, turned round to his viziers and said, "Not one stone of this sacred mosque of the prophet is to be removed."

Thus the Parthenon, from a church of St. Mary, now became a mosque with soaring minarets, from which the Muezzim five times a day called the Moslemin to prayers—yet not a stone was removed from the Akropolis.

But, alas! Two centuries later, in 1687, during the siege of the Castle Hill, a Venetian shell, lighting on the temple, at that time used as a powder magazine, blew it up with the greater part of the Turkish garrison.

The explosion was terrific; and yet, the wonderfully strong building of Kallikrates resisted. Only eight columns on the north, and six on the south, were thrown down, together with their entablature, the roof and the greater part of the cell.

The building was thus split into two distinct parts, while between both remained immense mounds of marble blocks and fragments of the most beautiful sculpture.

The fickle and faithless merchants of Venice soon abandoned

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excavations on the Akropolis, with colored plates, has been published in Berlin by the architects Schaubert and Hansen, and edited by the learned Prof. Doctor Lewis Ross. Yet in spite of the important information it contains, which has furnished materials for numerous English and French treatises on architecture and articles in Reviews—not a single copy of this work has as yet reached any public library in the United States.

their new conquest. The violence of war had in part ruined the sacred Parthenon, yet many of its superb ornaments still remained untouched—when a far more disgraceful spoliation was to be perpetrated by a British nobleman, in our own enlightened age.

Lord Elgin, the Scot, as British Ambassador in Constantinople, obtained by bribery in the Sultan's Harem, a firman, permitting him to gather some old stones in the Küleh or Castle of Athens. The work of spoilation now began by breaking down the cella wall of the Parthenon with axes and crow-bars, in order to take away the sculptures of the frieze. Lord Elgin or his satellites destroyed the entablatures; they removed the metopes; they disfigured the beautiful Portico of the Erechtheion by breaking down one of the Athenian Virgins; they pulled down the whole monument of Trasyllos, while carrying away the colossal statue of Bacchus; nay, they went so far in this arrogance and insolence, that they excited even the indignation and wrath of the stupid Turks themselves. They attempted in vain to remove the elegant monument of Lysikrates, on the east of the Akropolis, which the Greeks called the lantern of Demosthenes.

When the last metope was broken away from the southwestern corner of the Parthenon, in the effort of removing it, the greater part of the superstructure, with the triglyphs, was hurled down by the workmen of the lord. The Turkish commander, who beheld the destruction of the noble building, took his pipe from his mouth, dropped a tear, and said, in a supplicating tone of voice, to Lusieri, the helpmate of Lord Elgin, in the presence of Lord Byron, "Let there now be an end of this, sir."

The French Ambassador, General Sebastiani, then almighty at Constantinople, took up the gauntlet; and lo! a Tartar comes galloping with the order that the Ingless Effendi should have no more stones from the Küleh!

This timely decree saved the beautiful procession of young Athenian horsemen on the western frieze, while all the other precious marbles having been transported to dark and smoky London, are now placed in the dull and dreary halls of the British Museum, looking gray and colorless, like all the objects around.

During my residence in London some few years ago, my countryman Chevalier Brönsted, who has published the best work ever written on the Akropolis, told me, that one day when he was studying in the British Museum, a bluff-faced citizen's wife from the city of London, who had been looking at the mutilated and headless figures, came up and asked him "if those stones yonder were called the Elgin Marbles, and if it was *for them* that Parliament had paid 50,000 pounds sterling?"

On his answering in the affirmative, the cockney lady broke forth: "Bless my soul! Have we not *living* people enough in this country with broken limbs, legs and arms, and they needs must bring *dead* ones hither from *abroad* and pay such a vast sum of money for them too!"

Since the arrival of king Otho every care has been taken of the Ruins by the Greek government; some four or five columns have already been raised on their bases and we still hope we may all to see the day of the *partial* restoration of the Parthenon.

This, we are happy to say, has already been the case with the third monument of the Akropolis, the Erechtheion or Ionic temple of Minerva Polias.

That small but magnificent building, with its three porticoes, the most perfect model of the Ionic order of architecture, was erected by the Athenians from fear of the wrath of Neptune, the Sea God, for their having chosen Minerva as their patroness.

They, therefore, contrived ingeniously to propitiate the terrible God of the Waters, by consecrating the same temple to him and to Minerva, at the Sepulchre of Kekrops, the king, who had been a witness to the great contest. Thus they built a most beautiful triple temple, richly decorated with paintings, gildings and a vast number of statues, placed on a pediment of black marble. These details are now explained by numerous inscriptions lately discovered and published. Yet, the most interesting part of the Erechtheion is the Portico of the Karyatids, or virgins carrying baskets on their heads, and thus supporting the entablature instead of columns.

The historical origin of the Karyatids is very remarkable. Karyæ was a small town on the northern frontier of Lakonia, the still existing ruins of which we visited in 1843. Its inhabitants being Lakonians, nourished that deep-rooted hatred, to the overbearing Dorians of Sparta, which prompted them, according to the rather doubtful statement of Vitruvius, to conspire with the Persians against the Greeks during the first Persian war.

The Spartans, irritated at their treachery, stormed the city, slew with the sword all the male citizens, and carried off the women as slaves. These elegant female statues were then introduced in architecture as supporters of the architrave and called Karyatids, or women from Karyæ.

This beautiful idea is executed in the most perfect style. The Athenian virgins wear the long, modest Attic dress, holding with one hand their garment, the other hanging down at their side. Of the six, one maiden is now a prisoner in a dark corner of the British Museum.

At the time she was carried away by Lord Elgin, it was a belief among the Athenian women in the city below, that they, during nights, could hear the five remaining sisters weeping and bewailing her loss.

On a marble beam of this monument we still may read the well known lines of Lord Byron:

> "Oh Athens! scarce escaped from Turk and Goth,
> Hell sends a paltry Scotchman worse than both!"

The Erechtheion is the only antique building at Athens which suffered during the late war.

Ghouras, the Greek commander of the Akropolis, had placed his beautiful wife and children beneath the northern portico, and had taken the precaution of heaping earth over the marble roof, to prevent the Turkish shells from doing harm.

But during a dark night, when he passed the round among the outposts of the castle, he was shot, and during the confusion the Turks began the fire from all their batteries.

A ball having struck the corner column of the portico, it fell, carrying along with it another column and the whole entablature. Thus the northern side of this splendid building,

sinking down with the shock of earthquake, buried beneath its ruins the unhappy widow of Ghouras and all her children.

From every part of the Akropolis we enjoy the most delightful prospects: northward, the city of Athens, spread out in the plain below; on the east, the great temple-ruins of the Olympian Jove, with the high and picturesque mountains of Pentelikon and Hymettos in the distance; south and west, the sea, the islands of Salamis and Ægina, and the snow-capped ridges of the distant Peloponnesus.

Beautiful as is this grand and classical panorama in the golden light of morning, or in the purple and violet tints of evening, yet the moonlight scenery of the Akropolis is still more impressive.

At the national festival in Athens, in June, 1835, when young king Otho was declared of age, and took the government of Greece into his own hands, the whole city was on the move.

Reviews of the troops, Olympian games of the Greek youths, horse-races and equestrian combats of the Palikars or Greek warriors, throwing the *jerrid* or Turkish javelin, had continued during the day in the presence of the King, and the picturesque concourse of the happy, thoughtless multitude, who fancied that the twelve millions of a foreign loan would never be at an end.

At sunset, bonfires were lighted on the Akropolis, and the city was brilliantly illuminated with thousands of lamps, while the Bengal fires from the terrace of the Russian and French embassies threw a dazzling light over the huge masses of the Olympeion and the splendid temple of Theseus.

It had been announced in the programme that the court, the ambassadors, and the high society in Athens, would ascend to the Castle hill, and many picturesque groups of Greek warriors were therefore placed around the bonfires to heighten their wonderful effect.

But the wise and wary ministers of state, and the jovial military men of Bavaria found themselves, in the meantime, so comfortably enjoying the more substantial pleasures of the royal table, and the mass of the Greeks themselves were so busy with their fire-works, with their dancing and carousing in the city below, that the wonders of the Akropolis were entirely forgotten.

Thus, then, it happened, that the two Danish architects and myself, were the only happy mortals who enjoyed the grandest and most brilliant spectacle imagination can conceive.

The first blazing pile had been placed on the north-west, before the entrance to the Propylæa, where it diffused a lurid light over the high pedestal, the columns, the battlements, and the huge Gothic tower of the Crusaders. Albanian warriors, in their snowwhite kilts and glittering arms, with torches in their hands, were wandering up and down the ruinous batteries, every moment changing the light and shades.

It was a warm and lovely summer-night, and high on the pure and dark blue heaven arose the full moon in all her glory. Ascending across the batteries to the interior platform of the castle, we met with several large fires, lighted along the north-west side of the Parthenon, which threw a brilliant glare on the peristyle and the sharp corners of the fazade, and made it appear as if old Kekrops and his wife had become animated with life and were saluting us from their exalted throne.

All those numerous unpleasant spots and splinters on the time-worn columns, occasioned by the Turkish balls and shells during the last siege, which, in the day-time, chequer and disfigure the noble front of the temple, had now vanished in the oblique illumination of the brilliant flames, or the mellow moonlight.

Farther on, the gigantic Virgins of the Erechtheion emerged from the deep shade in the combined light of the ruddy fire and the pale moon, as supernatural beings from another world, while in the depth below, the plain, the distant city of Athens, beneath the influence of the illumination, appeared as an immense lake, reflecting the twinkling of the stars above.

We have seen the cupola of St. Peter in Rome, blazing with thousands of lamps. We have seen the vast galleries of the Vatican, with all their statuary lit up by torches, and the huge vaults of the Colliseum, in the glare of the fire piles, become transformed into the infernal circles of Dante. We have, from the summit of Mount Olivet, beheld Jerusalem sleeping in the silvery moon-beams of a Syrian sky, and the Bazars and Mosques of Damascus irradiant with oriental fireworks—all magnificent

sights, never to be forgotten. But none of them can be compared to the inexpressible beauty and the quite marvellous effect of an illumination, combined with the moonlight scenery on the temples of the Akropolis.

Lancaster, Pa. A. L. K.

ART. II.—QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

How is the German Reformed Church related to other Churches?

1. Her relation to the Roman Catholic Church may be compared to the relation of a disobedient child to his unrighteous mother. The child is disobedient, because many erroneous doctrines and dangerous practices of his deluded mother have become apparent to him in the light of the gospel. He feels it his imperative duty to resist her unjust demands; for the mouth of eternal Truth has told him: "*He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.*" "*We must obey God rather than men.*" In divine Revelation he has discovered to his soul's rejoicing, that living faith in Christ, worshipping the Father in Spirit and in Truth, and placing oneself under the directing influence of the Holy Ghost, is the only proper and sure way to everlasting life. So it was with our Reformation forefathers. But their mother-Church had constructed a different way of salvation. Not Christ, but the Church was the first and principal object of her faith, and not the Church of our Redeemer in its gospel simplicity, but the Church of Rome with all her corruptions. Whilst the primitive Church fathers justly held that: "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus,*" (out of the Church there is no salvation,) the Papacy proclaimed and insisted: That: "*Extra ecclesiam romano-Catholicam nulla salus,*" (out of the *Roman Catholic* Church there is no

salvation.) Thus she inverted the natural order, placing the Romish Church before Christ, and making the individual's salvation dependent upon his obedience to her rules. This unscriptural and false human theory, practically carried out, produced spiritual security and pride, doctrinal and moral degeneration, self-complacency and fanatic exclusiveness, despotic jealousy, hatred and persecution against all that would not readily submit to her authority. In her worship the mother-Church of our Reformation ancestors disregarded the Saviour's declaration, (John 4: 23;) her established forms and ceremonies had reference not only to "Father, Son and Holy Ghost," but first and foremost to St. Mary, and a number of other deified human beings, and they were more fascinating for the senses, than elevating for the spirit. Hence public worship had lost its spirituality and divine character, most of the deluded worshippers being satisfied with a mechanical rotation in this machinery of imposing forms. And no wonder; for the human heart is too prone to substitute the external forms of religion for its real internal life, and to perform a certain number of good works is always much easier than to cultivate the Christian graces. But this system of religious forms and ceremonies in the Papal Church brought her members wholly under the influence of the Pope, which they considered all-sufficient, and thus the directing influence of the Holy Spirit was in most cases neither desired nor obeyed. Such were the prevailing errors at the time when our Reformation Church-fathers commenced their holy work. But their mother-Church would not permit them to pursue and make known the direct gospel road to heaven. She excited all her most powerful sons to commence a persecution against their legitimate brethren, and did not rest until they were forcibly driven away from her communion. Nay more, she even meditated their utter extermination; sanctioned the establishment of that horrible machinery, the Inquisition, and pursued our innocent Reformed brethren with death. In France and other countries thousands have fallen by the bloody hands of Romish assassins. Their blood, like the blood of Abel, cries yet to heaven!

This has been our relation to the Roman Catholic Church in

times past, and this is our relation still. Although it is true, her policy has become more refined, and circumstances have compelled her to put aside, for the time being, the *bloody* Inquisition; but who can vouch that she will never use it again? Her fundamental doctrine of the Church has not been changed, and in accordance with this must be her spirit and practice. Does she not still teach Maryolatry and other saint-worship? Does she not still grant Indulgences for various means? Does she not still make a vast amount of money from poor widows and orphans by the doctrine of "Mass for the dead?" Does she not still make the Church *practically* the all-sufficient mediator between God and man? And does she not still hold and publicly proclaim that Protestant Christians are no better than Jews and Gentiles? Most certainly she does! and the German Reformed Church is fully aware of the fact, and can never look with indifference upon such monstrous errors. True to the essence of Protestantism, namely: "Justification by the merits and sacrifice of Christ, through faith," as taught in her venerable symbol, our Church must protest against the Papacy and all its unscriptural doctrines and soul-deceiving ceremonies, by which the Lord Jesus Christ is *practically* placed in the back ground, and too often lost sight of entirely. But then, occupying this position, can we expect the good will of Rome? No, never! As she has hated us from the beginning, so she must hate us now, and does hate us! She has pursued our Reformed brethren in past ages with bloody persecution, and we have sufficient reason to expect similar treatment in future, circumstances favoring. For there are even now thousands of bitter Bible-haters in the Romish Church, and her Bishops and Priests habitually denounce and condemn "Protestant heretics." Should the Pope so command, this very day our houses would be searched by the ignorant masses of his subjects, and the Bibles discovered would be committed to the flames, even if the poor zealots must perish in the attempt. So deeply rooted is his authority in the hearts of his people. Therefore we say, that the relation of the German Reformed Church to Rome has been, and ever must be like the relation of a disobedient child to its unrighteous mother.

But this relation does not justify us to return evil for evil. hatred for hatred and persecution for persecution, which would indeed place us on the same level with our enemy. As faithful soldiers of the Cross, we are bound to use the sword of the Spirit diligently against all error; but the mouth of heavenly wisdom has also instructed us to exercise forbearance and mercy, and to pray for those that persecute us for his name's sake, according to our divine Master's example. Hence our Church, founded upon the Prophets and Apostles, with Christ her chief corner-stone, is conscientiously and determinately opposed to all the dangerous errors of the old "mother-Church," and must forever protest against them; but her gospel wisdom does not allow her to engage in groundless accusations and angry denunciations, much less in the use of violent *offensive* means: which is always more injurious to the noble cause of Protestantism than beneficial. It is her sacred duty, not to fill her members with blind prejudice, by feeding them with the *black* pages of history; but to fill their hearts with the love of God, by pasturing them upon the ever green fields of gospel truth, in order that they may become rich in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

2. Our relation to the Episcopal Church is very much similar to the relation of the people to the aristocracy. Although both are Protestant denominations, based for their origin upon the same existing causes in the wretched condition of the old "mother-Church," and as such they are animated by kindred feelings and motives, with the same object, (the glory of God and the salvation of sinners,) in view; yet the sympathy and friendship between them have ever been rendered inactive by the exclusive element of high-toned Episcopacy. And this characteristic element, with its large ingredient of self-partiality, will keep our Church, and all other religious bodies of a presbyterian cast, always at a respectful distance. Also in her strong features of a traditionary character, the Episcopal Church differs materially from ours, which is predominantly scriptural, and this striking difference is apparent even in the very origin of these two denominations. Whilst our Church in Germany employed Kings and Princes as mere instruments to

accomplish her establishment, and cast off the cumbrous forms of Romanism, preferring to let her new life develop its own suitable forms; in England it was the King, induced and urged on by Parliament, who constructed his own Church, using the gospel ministers only as means for this object, and he retained the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome almost without exception or alteration. Therefore it was indeed the King's Church, and "Parliament declared Henry VIII, and his heirs to be the principal heads of the Church of England." Great improvements took place during the reign of Edward VI, but the Episcopal High Church system, with all its forms, was retained, and became afterwards fully established under the direction of Queen Elizabeth, all Presbyterian and Puritan protestation and opposition against it notwithstanding.

The German Reformed Church is not ignorant of the efficiency and advantages of the Episcopal system; but her eyes are also open to the great dangers of soul-deceiving formality connected with it. In the High Church we have before us not only the evidences of a Romanizing tendency in theory and views, but also the ripe fruit of its practical operation, which has delighted the Papacy more than once. Speaking on this subject, an able and worthy Episcopal minister remarks: "After all their indignant denials of the tendency of their views to Popery, they have had the chagrin of seeing many of their number steadily developing, until inconsistency was stretched into downright duplicity, and they could no longer, with any semblance of honesty, remain even nominally Protestants." And then looking back about thirty years to the past, we find the Church of England, to a lamentable extent, in a state of spiritual slumber, beneath the soothing cover of her beautiful forms and ceremonies, from which she was afterwards aroused again by the loud voice and hard pushes of Methodism.

In view of this strong tendency to Romanism and cold formality, the German Reformed people could never make common cause with the Episcopal system, even if that Church should lay aside her self-partiality and condescend to recognize them as legitimate brethren. But on the other hand we cheerfully acknowledge also the truly evangelical spirit which is so ac-

tively at work in the Episcopal Church, throughout her borders, especially among the Low Church party. Not only are they fully aware of the dangerous position of their "High Church brethren," but their voice of warning and earnest admonition has also often been heard, and they evidently cultivate a spirit of Christian liberality toward other denominations. Their commendable zeal in the extension of Christ's kingdom is manifest in their successful Home and Foreign Missionary operations. There seems to be at work also among the Low Church people, an earnest desire to cast off the stiff formality of their system, to facilitate their labor and insure greater success. Hence the change that has lately been made in their "Canons respecting deacons, and the election and institution of ministers." We look upon this new measure with great favor, because it gives us some hope that in the course of time the Episcopal Church may be led to break down her own partition wall of High Church exclusiveness. Till then we wish her God speed. May her great Theologians be guided by the Holy Spirit, not to look so much to the Pope nor to the Queen, but to Christ, the true and only head of the Church.

3. *Our relation to the Lutheran Church.*

Our relation to the Melancthonian Lutheran Church is like the relation between two sisters, and very appropriately have these two denominations been compared to Mary and Martha. The Lutheran Church, like busy Martha, has been ever on her feet, running from kitchen to cellar, and from cellar to garret in her house of religious and theological science, to serve the Lord and make him feel comfortable; whilst our Church, like gentle Mary, has always preferred sitting at the feet of Christ to delight her soul with the words of life dropping from his holy lips. Hence the Lutheran Church has collected and produced such a superabundance of every kind of religious, theological and literary works, whilst our Church has accomplished comparatively little in this respect. And busy Martha knows it but too well that she has done so much; for she proclaims it loudly, at the same time complaining of poor Mary's indolence and insignificance. But Mary feels satisfied with the treasures of divine grace in the rich provision store of her Lord, and if

she should occasionally be in want of a little dogmatical spice or liturgical assistance, this she can always find at sister Martha's literary store-house.

The sisterly relation between these two denominations, caused them also to cultivate genuine Christian friendship and to labor hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder in the vineyard of their divine Master. But this happy relation, which had lasted so many years, was greatly disturbed by the unfortunate appearance of the Form of Concord in 1577. The rigid, hostile element of the fanatic Flacius, found in this document, forced the two sister Churches asunder, and this same element has ever since rendered it impossible to effect a thorough and lasting re-union.

The true gospel spirit of peace, so largely imbibed by the German Reformed Church, has prompted her from time to time to make vigorous efforts in behalf of Church-union; for she is fully conscious of the fact, that the Church of Christ must be one, and that her members must be influenced and directed by one spirit, in order to become firmly united in the bonds of Christian love. Therefore she has prayed and labored zealously to remove the separation between herself and the Lutheran Church, and the pages of history furnish abundant evidence that our Church has been willing and able to bring great sacrifices upon the altar of this noble cause. To her pacific spirit and generous disposition the united Church of Germany owes, to a great extent, its origin and existence. For it is a fact that nearly the whole German Reformed Church in that country had been swallowed up by the united Church, until the year 1848, when the uncharitable, hostile spirit of old Lutheranism renewed its attacks upon the Church union, and compelled the German Reformed people to rally around their standard and gather themselves together again as a distinct religious body. But by far the greater number of our people in Germany are still in union with the milder Melancthonian Lutherans, who together constitute the Evangelical Church.

The earnest longing of our people after an intimate connection with their Lutheran brethren has been strikingly exemplified by the German Reformed congregations of Bremen. As

we have stated before, all the Protestant Churches in that city had become German Reformed, with the exception of but one; yet our people made the generous proposition to that one Lutheran congregation, to station a Lutheran minister in each of their congregations, provided they would admit a Reformed pastor into their church, in order that in this way all the citizens might gradually become one in faith. The proposition was accepted; a day for the celebration of the union set apart, and the primarius of the four Lutheran ministers was chosen to preach the union sermon. When the hopeful day had at length arrived, the whole city was in motion, and long before the hour of service the largest church was crowded full of people, all anxious to take part in the great festival. The preacher mounted the pulpit, and all eyes were directed to him in silence, to catch every word of the glad tidings he had agreed to proclaim. But how great was the astonishment among that vast assembly, when he commenced, in real Flacian style, to preach a severe sermon against the union and against the whole German Reformed Church! This trick might have justly provoked our German Reformed people to anger and opposition; but it did not. They only pitied the man, and felt grieved on account of the sad consequences. To heap coals of fire upon the head of this preacher, they stationed Lutheran ministers in their churches, and in this way proved also their Christian integrity and honest zeal in the noble cause they advocated.

The same pacific spirit and earnest desire to live in close connection with the Lutheran Church, has been manifested repeatedly also by our people in this country. Liberal propositions for a closer union have been made by them, but the Lutheran professors and ministers have rejected them. And now, since the old Flacian element has been transplanted to this country, our hope for a closer union is growing very feeble indeed. For this exclusive element assumes the form of religious warfare, wherever it exists, and in real Popish style, it condemns all beyond its own sphere, as experience abundantly teaches. Hence it is to be feared that these two sister Churches of the Reformation will only be driven further apart. The Lord grant that it may be different. But whatever may be

the result, our Church is too firmly established in the Gospel of Jesus Christ to lose her generous spirit. She will continue, with the help of the Lord, to cultivate peace with all Christians, and especially with her dear sister Martha, the Melancthonian Lutheran Church.

4. The relation of our Church to the different other Reformed denominations, is like the relation of one member of a family to the rest, and she has always endeavored to render herself worthy of their sympathy and Christian fellowship. The powerful and happy influenee of the great Reformer, Calvin, constitutes the family element by which the different branches of the Reformed Church are drawn and kept together, and also distinguished from the Lutheran Church. But the use of different languages, national peculiarities and local distances, have ever rendered the cultivation of their family communion difficult, and hence each branch has again its individual peculiarities, in which it conscientiously differs more or less from all the rest. Besides, we have seen already that in our Church Calvin's influence was greatly modified by Melancthon, which has not been the case, to such an extent, in our Reformed sister-Churches. With the exception of the Swiss Church, they all originated in the strong element of high Calvinism, and that they have moved steadily along in this element, is a well known fact of history.

John Knox, the celebrated Reformer of Scotland, was a pupil of Calvin, whose doctrinal views he adopted in full, and in establishing the Church of Scotland, he patterned exclusively after Calvin's Church at Geneva, which he believed to be a better institution than any that had existed since the days of the Apostles. His work, though extremely radical in some respects, was nevertheless owned and blessed by the great head of the Church, as the wonderful success of his labors abundantly proves. The happy result of the Scotch Reformation has always been an object of admiration and much pleasure to the German Reformed Church, and our prayers for its abundant success have often ascended to a throne of grace. We feel that its interest is our interest, and our success depends to a great extent upon its success. For these two branches of

the Reformed Church are evidently the same substantially, or in first principles, although they have always differed in the manner in which those principles are developed. The leading difference between them has grown out of the doctrine of predestination and a limited atonement, as held by the Church of Scotland, which, *in their sense*, has never been accepted by the German Reformed Church. And that their extreme Calvinistic views on these important subjects are not sound, and can therefore not be successfully maintained, is evident from the disastrous split, caused by them in the Presbyterian Church of this country. The New School has abandoned these extreme views entirely, whilst the Old School has become much more cautious in handling them, and we can say, therefore, that in this respect the whole Presbyterian Church has come nearer to our doctrine. And since both denominations have met on this continent, the difference in language is no longer an obstacle to the cultivation of their acquaintance and fellowship. But the original distinctive characteristics of these two Churches are still retained and propagated, each trying to fulfill her mission in her own way according to the best of her ability. And we wish them success, although it would be glorious if both could work hand in hand, especially in their missionary operations; but this is rendered difficult and almost impossible by the difference in their views of the Church, and by their different systems of churchly training. Therefore our earnest wish and prayer is, that the Lord may continue to bless them richly in their important missions, as he has done hitherto.

5. Our relation to the Dutch Reformed Church was characterized, at the time of the Reformation in Holland, by brotherly love and heartfelt sympathy. And this was very natural and proper, because her original membership was composed of Calvinists, German Reformed and Lutherans, that had been hunted and driven by Papal persecution from place to place, until they found a home of religious freedom in Holland, which was then an open asylum for all persecuted Protestants. There our brethren from France, Germany, Switzerland and other countries were privileged to worship God the Father in Spirit and in Truth "according to the dictates of their conscience,"

and our German Reformed Zion was deeply interested in their spiritual welfare. This is evident from the sincere and heartfelt prayers in some of our older Liturgies, that were offered up every Sabbath day by the different German Reformed congregations in behalf of their oppressed brethren in France, Holland and all other countries. Among the different elements of the Reformation, that were thus carried into Holland, Calvinism was by far the strongest, and the advocates of this element in the propagation of their faith, were animated by a zeal that outrivaled all the rest. Hence it is that Calvinism became so extensively and deeply rooted in the Holland nation, of which all her numerous theological productions, more or less, furnish abundant evidences. And in this prominent feature we discover a considerable shade of difference between the Dutch Reformed Church and ours. It is true indeed that the Church of Holland has officially adopted the Heidelberg Catechism as a doctrinal platform and guide, and she has practically used and expounded its contents with greater faithfulness and zeal, perhaps, than even the German Reformed Church, its own mother. But the spirit and manner in which this has been done, differs considerably from that of our Church. In examining some of the principal expositions of the Heidelberg Catechism, in sermons and commentaries by Holland writers, t will be found that in most instances they have not adapted their peculiar views to the Catechism, but the Catechism to their views. Strong Calvinism is perceptible everywhere, both in ministers and people, in theory and practice, and some of the positions assumed by the Church of Holland in former years, have been considered wrong and untenable by our Church, and were therefore rejected. This was the case, for instance, with the famous Articles of Dort, which the German Reformed Church, as a body, felt it impossible to accept. Even the German delegates to that Synod, where those Articles were constituted a law, could not subscribe to them. After their return home, the delegate from Bremen exclaimed: "O Dort, Dort, I wish that I had never seen thee." The Articles met with strong opposition from English, German and other foreign delegates, but the Dutch were by far the strong-

est in number and zeal for their favorite views, and hence they overruled them. Therefore the transactions of that ecclesiastical body, performed in such a rigoristic and exclusive spirit, created considerable dissatisfaction in many sections of the German Reformed Church. Kindler, a prominent minister of our Church in the old country, considers the Articles of Dort a yoke of conscience, fully as heavy for the German Reformed, as the Form of Concord, with its Ubiquity, is for the Melancthonian Lutherans. This difference between the two denominations, in their spirit and doctrinal views, honesty requires us to acknowledge and make known to our people, as long as it is permitted to exist. But this should not be done for the sake of separation; it should not prevent us from the exercise of brotherly love and sympathy, and we can state with pleasure, that in many respects these two individual branches of the great Reformation family have labored hand in hand in the cause of Christ ever since the bright morning of the Reformation Notwithstanding their separation in the old country by different nationalities and language, they have in common cultivated a large and important field in their Master's vineyard, and to this day there are many congregations jointly served by Reformed ministers of Germany and Holland. And this united ministration seems to have enjoyed the blessing of God in a special manner; for it is a remarkable fact that such congregations as a general thing give better evidences of genuine Christianity than many others that are exclusively Holland. For it is well known, that the Dutch Reformed Church in the old country had cradled herself into a spiritual slumber by the clock movements of her *doctrinal formalism*, from which she has lately been extensively aroused again by the strong secessions in her own bosom, of Koxians, Baptists and others. This has compelled our Dutch brethren to lay aside a considerable portion of their inherited peculiarity; so that now our Church in the old world has ground for strong hopes of a more intimate union with them, which has also already begun to manifest itself in various ways. May the Lord grant the increase to this desirable object!

In this country the relation between these two religious bod-

ies has varied considerably. When they first met here, weak, poor and dependant on each other for assistance, and no longer separated by the difference in language, they greeted each other as brethren in Christ, and appeared to be almost entirely united in spirit and aim. The great missionary work before them happily occupied their minds to such an extent that the existing difference in doctrinal views could have received little or no attention. Both standing on the common platform of the Heidelberg Catechism, there was no doubt and contention about their orthodoxy. But that blessed time has, alas, passed away, and the former intimate relation has been greatly disturbed by the introduction of foreign elements into both branches. Whilst our Church, under the desperate attacks of sectarianism in many places, was frightened away from the use of her venerable symbol, and consequently grew weak and became actually diseased in many of her members, (from which she has, thank God, now almost entirely recovered;) the Reformed Dutch Church, under the imposing, powerful influence of New England Puritanism has gradually lost her historical identity in spirit and views, and even her family name is sought to be cut off by the strange spirit now reigning in her midst. This has separated the two children of the Reformation, and the distance between them has been sadly increased by the instrumentality of individual peculiarities and misunderstanding. Some of the leading minds in our Dutch sister have carried her up to an elevation of imaginary orthodoxy, from which *they* are pleased to look down upon us in pity, as a Church unworthy even of their correspondence. It would be well for them to meditate on Matth. 7: 1–5. But may God in mercy not deal with them according to these words. We have a strong faith in divine Providence, and feel assured that in the end all will work for our good. Although we are at present not able to work together, yet each Church has a large field to cultivate, and we are happy to know that both are now actively engaged. It would be well, however, if the Dutch Reformed Church would not draw away so many of our ministers, and cultivate our field for herself, whilst she leaves her own brethren from Holland, here and in other places, to the mercy of the Baptists.

6. Our relation to the French, Swiss, Hungarian and other Reformed Churches, though not so intimate, has yet been characterized by deep reciprocal interest. The leading practical tendency in all the different branches of the Reformed Church, to a thorough life-reformation, in thought, word and action; a tendency to convert the whole man into a living Gospel, has ever manifested itself as the motive power of their spiritual correspondence. Urged on by this inborn tendency, and animated by the principle of Christian fellowship; the lines of distinction now and then strikingly exhibited by individual deep coloring of their respective doctrinal views, have formed no effectual barrier to the exercise and interchange of mutual sympathy. And notwithstanding the great difference in country, language, national peculiârities, etc., that has separated them externally, they have ever felt and acknowledged their most intimate spiritual relation, and the cementing power of the Holy Spirit has always drawn and kept them together. One spirit, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father over them all, has presided and ruled in their midst, and the noblest purpose of their Christian activity has been the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom in the hearts of poor sinners, after which they have aspired individually and collectively. Our German Reformed ministers and missionaries have labored, and are still laboring in France, England, Hungary, Italy, Russia, etc., and wherever they have succeeded in raising the victorious banner of the cross, there superstition and infidelity have been put to shame, the Lord in grace blessing their ministry to the conversion and salvation of many immortal souls.

It must be acknowledged, however, that, in consequence of the great distance and other obstacles that formerly rendered a free interchange of sentiments exceedingly difficult, and in some instances almost impossible, the union between the different branches of the Reformed Church has hitherto been far from being complete. But these difficulties have already been greatly reduced by the rapid progress of science and the arts, and especially by their application to national, political and commercial intercourse. Steamships, rail-roads, telegraphs, all are instruments in the hands of an allwise Providence, not

only to extend the kingdom of Christ into distant countries, but also to bring the faithful into closer union and communion with each other. And then, as the Lord has to our knowledge often brought good out of evil, so also the unfortunate revolution of 1848 has aroused the Reformed denominations in the old country to increased activity, and they are now earnestly endeavoring in various ways to establish a more intimate acquaintance. The happy results of their noble efforts in this direction are already very encouraging. Many important facts, cheering to the heart of every Reformed Christian, are thereby brought to light, which must otherwise have remained unknown. Who would not rejoice, for instance, in the "glad tidings," that there are 1,600,000 people in Hungary, belonging to the Reformed Church, and sympathizing earnestly with their Reformed brethren in Germany, France, Holland and wherever they may be found. And how very encouraging to us all is the happy intelligence, lately received from our Reformed brethren in France, informing us of the great success of their labors in various parts, and that in one of their schools religious instruction is given to five hundred children of Catholic parents.

In view of these blessed results who would not pray and labor with all Christian sincerity for a closer union between the different branches of the Reformed Churches, both in Europe and America? And have we not abundant reason to believe that the Lord in his loving kindness will hear our prayers and bless our labors for the accomplishment of so desirable an object? Verily the way is open, and the different Reformed Churches of Europe have already joined hands in the bonds of Christian fellowship. The voice of their fathers, who died as martyrs in the cause of Christ, and sealed their Reformed faith with their hearts' blood, is again rising up from the tombs, and admonishing them earnestly not to be weakened by dogmatical disputes, but to love one another as brethren in Christ, as children of one father, as heirs of one heavenly kingdom, and to be faithful in their Christian calling and profession until death! Shall not also we, their children in this new land of promise, lay their admonition to heart, and cheerfully extend

the hand of fellowship to our brethren beyond the great deep? What is there that should prevent us from cultivating the most intimate acquaintance with all our Reformed brethren in every part of the world? If the love of worldly gain is strong enough to break down the walls of China, and to conquer the fortress of Japanese prejudice, should not the love of God, shed abroad in our hearts, be strong enough to remove the imaginary mountain of doctrinal differences, and to conquer all the non-essential causes of separation between the different members of one great family of God?

7. *Our relation to the Methodist Church.*

The relation of our Church to Methodism in years past, has not been so friendly as it might, and perhaps ought to have been. The principal cause of the discrepance between us originated from misunderstanding on both sides. In her youthful, inexperienced enthusiasm, the Methodist Church, in many respects, set her claims far too high, and many of the zealous advocates of her new and singular operation brought extravagant charges against all the Churches of the Reformation, and made hostile attacks on their educated ministers. That there was abundant reason for complaint about the formal and sad condition to which many old congregations had been reduced by the indifferent preaching of their learned pastors, must be conceded by all who are acquainted with the state of Protestantism at that time. But then those Methodist ministers, in their prejudiced zeal against the existing evils, went a great deal too far. The principal object of their attacks was evidently, not to arouse those congregations from their spiritual slumber, by infusing new life into their members; but to break them down if possible, by taking away from them all the material available for the construction of Methodist congregations on their ruins. That such unjust proceedings caused ill feeling and awakened strong prejudice against Methodism, is not at all surprising, and no wonder that in many sections of our Church hostile opposition was the result. If Methodist ministers everywhere had gone to work cautiously, in a spirit of Christian forbearance, without so much of ignorant prejudice against the existing Churches, and had they tried in a kind

manner, to expose and correct the errors and dangers of many pastors and their congregations, we feel confident that their labor would have been much better appreciated, and whilst in this way they could have accomplished a great deal more real and lasting good, it would also have resulted in a more friendly relation between them and us.

Again, another cause of the discrepancy between us has arisen from the unrighteous warfare, carried on by Methodist ministers against our venerable Catechism and against catechetical instruction. Instead of confining their censure to the *abuse* of these subjects, for which no one could have blamed them, they pronounced wholesale condemnation against the entire use of them, which was both wrong and very provoking. The same can be said in regard to some of our doctrines, confirmation, mode of worship, and many other important matters, which received the most insulting treatment from Methodist ministers in former years. And then the fanatical, disorderly and sometimes boisterous manner in which Methodist congregations formerly conducted their public worship, appeared to our people neither scriptural nor churchly, and hence they felt it their duty to disapprove and oppose it, in which they were also entirely justifiable, as is now fully proven by the fact, that many of those very Methodist congregations, having seen their error, have long since abandoned the original disorderly mode of their worship. A grave misapprehension of the true worship in the New Testament sense was the ground, in many instances, of their objectionable fanatical proceedings.

But on the other hand, many of our ministers and congregations committed a great mistake in not acknowledging freely and trying to correct the dangerous errors into which they had fallen. This should have been done even before a judging Providence sent those preachers of repentance, "of hell and damnation" into their midst. If such had been the case, and they had gone to work energetically in the performance of their sacred duties, according to the spirit and the precepts of the gospel, there would have been no real ground for complaint, and Methodism could have done them no harm. On the contrary, its soul-stirring operations must have resulted in their

benefit. Instead of this, they folded their arms complacently, crying peace, peace, in the very face of war, and trying to make the world believe that all was right with them, even whilst the storm was already fast approaching, that should arouse them from their dangerous slumber of spiritual indifference. Hence the great consternation and confusion! Hence those fiery contentions, and hence the many captives taken from our ranks by the "enemy."

The opinion formerly entertained by many, that the relation of the Reformed Churches to Methodism was like the relation of Truth to Error, must be abandoned as groundless and false. In the first place the Reformed Churches have never seen the day yet, when they could boast of freedom from error, so as to justify a comparison to Truth. On mere churchly or traditional ground such a presumption of purity and infallibility might be maintained, as it is actually the case; but does not history and our own observation convince us that much of the theory and practice, *considered churchly*, turns black and abominable as soon as the brilliant light of *divine Truth* falls upon it? And must we not in honesty confess the sad fact, that before the rise of Methodism, genuine practical Christianity in the Protestant Church was greatly encumbered by the extensive reign of doctrinal formality and selfish indifference? The old Churches had become untrue to their divine principles, and hence the performance of their sacred duties, at home and abroad, was sadly neglected. A true revival had become indispensably necessary.

In the second place, Methodism was indeed neither a product nor the embodiment of religious error. Although in her starting movements the Methodist Church acted certainly *unchurchly*, according to the established orthodoxy; does that prove that she acted also *unchristian?* It is true she modified the *forms* in which the doctrines of Christianity had been held by the old Churches, but in doing so she did not reject or suppress any of the doctrines themselves. The divine plan of salvation, together with the established means of grace was evidently kept before her eyes, and accordingly, in her own way, she has labored zealously to make known this salva-

tion and to bring the means of grace within the reach of as many immortal souls as possible. But in adapting the Bible doctrines to her peculiar spirit and system of operation she has certainly committed grievous errors, both in theory and practice; because in her forgetful enthusiasm, Anthropology, Psychology and Moral Philosophy, the indispensable groundwork of a sound Theology, received very little attention, and consequently her Theology must be defective. This has been illustrated most forcibly in the case of many Methodist ministers, by their liberal and violent denunciations against an educated ministry and existing institutions; by their strange and oftentimes ridiculous conduct at public worship; by their vehement delivery of unscriptural and dangerous doctrinal views, etc., which has created much ill feeling and opposition on the one hand, and great confusion and errors on the other.

In some sections Arminianism of the strongest kind has been promulgated by them, mixed even with Pelagianism, which has left many "church people" under the firm impression that the whole Methodist Church lives and moves in the element of Arminianism. But this is a mistake; for in her Articles of faith she teaches plainly that by nature we are corrupt and constantly inclined to do evil, and that by our natural power we are unable to exercise faith, and unfit to worship God, and that the grace of God in Christ must cause us to will and to do what is good and pleasing in his sight. Again, the "doctrine of sinless perfection" has in many sections been advocated zealously by Methodist ministers, by which they have caused much confusion and given great offence to the "church people," and also this unfortunate, erroneous notion has been blamed upon the whole Methodist Church. But in her "Articles of Faith," XII, she teaches that "*those are to be rejected who assert that they cannot sin any more as long as they live here.*" We consider it wrong, therefore, to blame the whole "Society" for erroneous views and consequent mischief produced by individual ministers. In examining the various doctrines of the Methodist Church, as laid down in her book of Discipline, it will be found that they do not materially differ from ours. The difference between us consists mostly in par-

ticular views that have arisen principally from the external, *temporary* appendages of the "Anxious bench system," by which catechetical instruction and proper religious training, as held and practiced in our Church, had not only been undervalued, but suppressed and shamefully denounced. If this system, which is now fortunately sinking fast, has once been entirely removed, the principal partition wall of prejudice between us will also be gone, and we will then be able to meet and shake hands with our Methodist brethren in the true spirit of Christian fellowship. God speed the time! Should any one ask, why the doctrines of Methodism have so often been misrepresented, and why many pernicious heretical notions have been promulgated from that source, causing confusion and strife, the simple answer is: Because in former times the great majority of Methodist ministers, not having enjoyed a proper education, and often blindfolded by an inordinate zeal, were unable properly to comprehend the sense and meaning of their own doctrines, and could of course not appreciate the order and institutions of the Reformed Churches. It was a misapprehension of the stated means of grace, which led the Methodist Church to place far too much, and groundless confidence in the special operation of the Holy Spirit, thereby undervaluing the importance of religious training and theological education. Whilst we, therefore, do not blame her for the mistakes and errors committed by individual ministers, we still must blame her for cherishing so irrational and defective a system, and for the silent consent with which she looked upon the distortion and misrepresentations of her own doctrines.

We have reason to hope, however, that ere long all those evils will be more or less corrected. For Methodism is not like other sects that live by mere negation, a shame to themselves and a curse to Christianity, and that are destined to perish by the inborn principle of self-destruction. The Methodist Church is animated by a *churchly*, religious principle. She must be considered as a churchly individuality, a particular and peculiar representative of the whole Christian Church. For she does not only embody the Christian religion in a formal way, but contains also a restorative, self-correcting life

principle, by which the injurious is cast out and the beneficial taken in and assimilated. This is evident from the great changes that have already taken place in the Methodist Church for the better. Instead of denouncing, she now advocates an educated, efficient ministry. Instead of boasting loudly and constantly of her Anxious bench system, she has become very cautious, because her faith in it has been very much shaken, and in many places it will soon be abolished as a useless thing. Instead of ridiculing catechetical instruction, she now uses and begins to advocate it earnestly. And with every change she is coming a step nearer to us. Already is our Heidelberg Catechism used by many Methodist ministers, in preparing Tracts and books. The same may be expected of our Constitution. Many in the Methodist Episcopal Church are now dissatisfied with their Hierarchical church government, and I feel certain they could not find a more Apostolical, republican government, than ours! Read our Constitution, brethren. In many other things, be it said to our shame, we are far behind the Methodist Church! Her wonderful Book Concern and grand Missionary operations, are well calculated to drive a flush into our cheeks. Let us advance toward her in this respect, whilst she comes nearer to us in other respects, until we are *One*.

8. *Our relation to the Baptist Society.*

The early Baptists, having persuaded themselves by common sense reasoning into the notion, that a person must first exercise practical faith before he can be baptized, and that immersion is the only proper mode of Baptism, assumed at once a radical, antagonistic position to all the Reformed Churches, because they continued to administer the sacrament of Baptism to children of believing parents. And this position has been successfully maintained by them through many hard struggles, and although their manners have become considerably modified by the spirit of the age and its cunning policy, yet their opposition to Infant Baptism and to all its friends, is still the same. This is manifest not only from their practical demonstrations in regard to this subject, but also from the remarkable fact that they have, in accordance with their common sense notion of the sacraments, established their own Baptist communion,

from which all church-people, no matter how pious they may be, are carefully excluded. Hence our relation to the Baptist Society must necessarily be disagreeable and unpleasant. For the difference between us is indeed not about unimportant, accidental matters, but it regards principle. Infant Baptism, which we consider and cherish as a sacred rite, is treated by them with blasphemous ridicule! Whilst some of their great preachers, with brazen faced boldness, proclaim publicly "*that of all the heresies in the world, Infant Baptism is the most damnable*," the prejudiced followers of those champions privately endeavor to undermine the people's faith in this blessed and venerable institution, by calling it "baby sprinkling." This lying declaration and ridiculing wit are the most offensive, and perhaps also the most powerful instruments in the hands of Baptists; for it is certain that in the diligent use of them lies the secret of their great success. I have been in several places of this State where members of our own and of other denominations, through their frequent intercourse with cunning Baptists, had been influenced to such a deplorable extent, that they habitually applied the disrespectful term "baby sprinkling" to the sacred institution of Infant Baptism. Of course, wherever such religious meanness becomes prevalent, the faith of churchly parents is greatly endangered, and as soon as Satan can persuade them that Infant Baptism is nothing more than "baby sprinkling," they will prefer letting their children grow up unbaptized. No wonder, therefore, that comparatively so few children are dedicated to God in holy Baptism. It is but the natural result of the cunning Baptist operations, in connection with the prevailing tendency to churchly indifferentism. If church members would act consistently with their confession of faith, they must frown with holy indignation upon every Baptist who, in their presence, is so impious as to apply the degrading term "baby sprinkling" to Infant Baptism!

In the light of Scripture we must regard the sacraments as objects of faith, and can therefore not agree with the Baptist manner of reasoning, by which they are stripped of all mystery and reduced to objects of mere common sense. Whilst they

put all stress on the *mode* of Baptism and make its efficacy entirely dependent *on* this; we feel it our duty to exercise faith in the intrinsical power of the sacrament, as a means of grace, through which the Lord is pleased to confirm his spiritual blessings to his children. In child-like obedience to the Saviour's admonition: "*Suffer little children to come unto me,*" &c., we consider it a blessed privilege, as well as our solemn duty, to dedicate them to God in their Infancy, through the sacrament of Baptism. Christ has taken upon himself human nature in Infancy, in order that human Infants might become heirs of immortal glory, and hence we consider it not only wrong, but unchristian, when Baptists, by the dictates of their cold understanding, exclude all the little children from the means of grace in the visible Church. If Christian Infants are not fit subjects for Baptism, then old sinners, covered with guilt, should never be baptized, and if Christian children are unfit to be received into the Church on earth, then they are certainly never fit to enter the kingdom of heaven, and hence, when children die in their infancy, parents can have no hope of their salvation, but must give them up in despair to a cold, comfortless grave! Where is there a tender hearted Christian mother, that could feel satisfied with such comfortless doctrine? Away with your Baptistic rationalism; let us keep our simple faith in the Redeemer's promise: "*Of such is the kingdom of heaven.*"

But Baptists contend that we must first be able to understand before Baptism can be of any use to us. This is making its efficacy dependent on human understanding, which we consider a grave error. For does not our reason, experience and observation convince us, that the Almighty is willing and able to bestow his blessings even upon the cold, *unfeeling earth!* And should that same God, who, through Christ, has become our kind and gracious Father, not also be willing and able to bless a living Infant, created for a blissful immortality? If Christian parents feel naturally dependent on God "for all they have and all they are," and with grateful hearts for his precious gifts consecrate themselves anew to his service, at the dedication of their beloved infants; can they have no assurance

that the Lord will hear and answer their fervent prayers, and receive their child under his parental care? Is there no efficacy in the transaction of the sacrament by the gospel minister, and are his earnest supplications at a throne of grace of no avail? If the blood of Christ is all sufficient to cleanse the polluted soul of a malefactor, should it not be able to cleanse the comparatively innocent soul of an infant sinner? It is argued that a person must first believe, and then be baptized. But who would dare to call any infant an unbeliever? The subjective principle of religious faith, the main distinguishing feature of man from the mere animal, is not implanted from without, but is inborn in the child, and all that is wanting is its proper development under the regenerating influence of God's Holy Spirit. Therefore we consider infants proper subjects for Baptism. Our Church does, however, not hold the erroneous doctrine of Baptismal regeneration, as it obtains in the Catholic and old Lutheran sects. (See Heid. Cat., Quest. 73 and 74.) But neither can we agree with Dr. Ebrard on this subject, who wishes to substitute for Infant Baptism the laying on of hands, and thinks that the best practice would be to leave it entirely free to Christian parents, whether they will get their children baptized or not. (See his Dogmatic, page 628–9.) If others abuse the institution of Infant Baptism, that is no reason why we should do away with its proper use. Let our doctrine on this subject be the guide to our practice, and we will be sure to go right. Infant Baptism is not only a solemn pledge on the part of parents, but also the proper foundation for a Christian education of their children. Without such an education, Infant Baptism would indeed be a mere mockery, just as much so, as a Christian education is without Baptism; for whilst the former wants the superstructure, the latter is destitute of the proper foundation, resting on the flimsy groundwork of private opinion, as is the case with Baptist training. According to the solemn promise of Christian parents, their child must be carefully educated upon the foundation of its Baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, until he is prepared, conscientiously, to meet with them at the altar of God, to make a solemn profession of his

faith in the doctrines of the Gospel, to take upon himself the baptismal vows of his parents, and through the rite of confirmation be introduced to the privileges of the Christian Church, where, by diligent use of the means of grace, he may grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ into life eternal. We consider it therefore a dangerous error to regard Infant Baptism complete in itself, as the source of regeneration, independent of religious instruction and confirmation. Yet this error is very prevalent among church-members, as the indifferent training of their children abundantly proves. It is this faithlessness to their solemn vows, this shameful neglect of religious instruction, which produces so many ungodly youth, to whom Baptists are wont to point in triumph as a sufficient ground for their unbelief in Infant Baptism. But whilst we must acknowledge the sad fact that thousands of children have apparently received no benefit from their baptism, we must, at the same time, deny the conclusion that Infant Baptism is without effect and useless. If the midsummer's sun in his fiery chariot passes over our fields, causing everything to droop and wither, or if a destructive hail-storm prostrates our promising crops to the ground, is this a proof that the preceding genial spring was no blessing, and that its productions were useless?

The Baptist sect is unchurchly by nature and constitution, and hence it is destitute also of the restorative, self-correcting principle, possessed by all churchly denominations. Self-conceit and arrogance, the natural product of blind prejudice and opposition, have led the Baptists to exercise Popish exclusiveness toward all true church members. And as there is no hope for their return to the Church, we must expect that they will only grow stronger and more determinate in the element of Popish arrogance and exclusiveness, as their recent movements plainly indicate. Hitherto they have still condescended to let other ministers preach in their pulpits, but this privilege is now being denied. Thank God that we are dependent for our salvation neither on the Pope at Rome, nor the Popish liberality of Baptists in America! That there are many noble minded men and true Christians in the Baptist society, we

readily acknowledge, and rejoice in the fact. We feel persuaded also that the Lord in his providence has permitted this sect to perform its mission to the honor and glory of his great name. Therefore, whilst we are distinct and separated in principle and practice, let us exercise charity toward them, and not return evil for evil. He, who has received all judgment from his Father, is our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and he will make it well with us if we put our trust in Him. But our love of truth does not permit us to look with indifference upon the cunning operations of Baptists. We are obliged to use the sword of the Spirit also in this case, and we will try to do it faithfully at every suitable opportunity. But whenever we are in a place, where we cannot defend ourselves, and hear a Baptist preacher trying to shake our people's faith in Infant Baptism, by explaining, "Baptizo," and Greek particles, let us say to him in our mind: The Lord have mercy on thee, thou deluded simpleton!

Cincinnati, Ohio. H. R.

Art. III.—AMERICA.

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Two discourses by Dr. Philip Schaff, *Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pa., delivered before the Evangelical Union at Berlin, March 20, 1854.*

[Continued.]

4. SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.*

It would be very unfair and unreasonable to demand already as much scientific and aesthetic culture from so youthful a country as America, as from the countries of the old world, that stand

* It may be proper to inform the reader, that the lectures of Dr. Schaff on America at Berlin have been expanded, and published in a volume of nearly three hundred pages. They were prepared for publication in Germany at the solicitation of various persons, theologians, clergymen and others, who had heard them when they were delivered. They now form a very readable book, abounding in just and striking views of American life, and calculated to in-

upon the summit of modern cultivation with a history of centuries in their rear. Rather it is in the highest degree wonderful, that in two centuries since the settlement of New England, with which the history of North America commences, so much has been done in this respect. At the same time it is true it must not be ungratefully denied, that the results of the process of European civilization for two thousand years, have in this way served as an enormous capital for a basis and starting-point. Yet sufficient reason still remains for astonishment at the extraordinary energy, enterprize and activity which Americans have also manifested in the sphere of Science and Literature. It is ignorance, or calumny, when they are so frequently described as a purely materialistic race, that measures the worth of a man only by his money. They take rather the most active interest in all the branches of a higher education, and attest it at times by a true princely liberality. There have been cases in New England, where single individuals from a free impulse have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars for the purpose of founding scientific institutions. If the same noble munificence were found among the Germans of America, then in Pennsylvania we should have had long ago a complete German University, which, though not as it regards the faculty, for this requires time, yet as it regards external means, might be compared with the ancient venerable literary institutions of Europe.

In America the tendency in general is towards the widest possible extension of culture and the multiplication of educational institutions. This is associated with the system of republican freedom and equality. Hence the number of colleges, seminaries, so called academies and literary associations is great and rapidly on the increase. There every little Synod,

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spire the reader with an intelligent, if not an unqualified love and admiration for everything purely American. The translation which appeared in the last number of the Review, together with the present article, constitute the first part of the book, whilst the second and third parts give a more particular account of the religious condition of this country, as may be seen from a survey of its various religious denominations, first the English and then the German. Those who have read the translations will most likely be anxious to procure the book itself, which they will prize as a valuable contribution to American ecclesiastical history.—[Translator.

or even every village wishes to have its own little seminary, or other petty, quasi-scientific institution. Of course they are then often accordingly. For intensity and depth do not necessarily go hand in hand with extension. There are even among professors of the higher institutions of learning a wonderful degree of superficiality, which is then commonly associated with literary vanity and grandiloquence. For superficial knowledge puffs up, whilst profound knowledge makes humble. It lies in the nature of things that a deeper scientific culture must be the prerogative of the relatively smaller class of men, because a world of simply learned men could not indeed exist for a single day. Nevertheless that tendency towards as general a spread of a certain grade of scientific culture as possible, cannot be prevented in such a country as America, and it has then again moreover also its advantages. I will first of all speak of the institution and means of education.

1. *Elementary education* is at the present time for the most part under the care of the single States, yet in such a manner, that the right of parents to send their children to private schools remains unabridged. Whole New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other States have introduced the Common School system, in part according to the Prussian model, by means of which the elements of knowledge are made accessible even to the poorest and the humblest. In New England in fact very seldom can any one also be found, who cannot read and write, and who does not moreover know something about the public affairs of the country besides. A peculiar phenomenon is the great number of female teachers. In this respect the "Yankee girls" in particular have distinguished themselves, who know how to get along in every direction successfully as teachers, similarly as in Europe the governesses of French Switzerland.

Lately the Roman clergy of New York and other States, made a systematic attempt to overthrow the State-schools, because the prevailing Protestant influence in them perceptibly alienated the youth from their Church. But the agitation was a failure, made Romanism only still more unpopular in public estimation, and confirmed the old accusation, that it is an en-

emy of universal popular education. Nevertheless these public schools, as they are at present constituted, have by all means their serious defects. Although they are usually opened with singing and reading of Scripture, yet no proper care is exercised for the religious education of the children, without which worldly culture can bring with it but little blessing. It is true there are everywhere Sunday schools, in addition to the public schools, where instruction in biblical history and the Catechism is gratuitously imparted to children by male and female members of the congregation, who devote themselves to this useful work of love from disinterested zeal for the good work itself. Nevertheless, even these, however valuable they are, and blessed in their operation, do not still appear wholly to meet the want. For this reason prominent men in Protestant confessions have likewise taken a polemical position towards these schools conducted by the State, and labored for the establishment of parochial schools, which shall stand in closer connection with the Church, and educate youth not only for time, but also for eternity.

2. The higher scientific education commences in the so called Academies, or Latin schools, and is then carried forward in the *Colleges*. These partly correspond to the upper classes in German Gymnasia and Lycea, but in some sense partly also at the same time, to a university, inasmuch as they not only presuppose a preparatory knowledge of the classics, and embrace everything which does not belong to a special department of study, but have also from the Legislature of the State the authority to confer all the academical degrees. The age of college students varies between sixteen and thirty years. In the full German sense of the term, there is, properly speaking, no University as yet in the United States. An idea to that effect has been lately suggested by very influential persons, and perhaps it will still likewise be carried out, but probably without a Theological Faculty, inasmuch as an organization of the kind would present almost insuperable difficulties on account of the multitude of rival Churches and sects; and a University without theology, this *regina scientiarum*, is in want of an animating soul, and a governing head. The Colleges at Cam-

bridge, Massachusetts, (Harvard University,) at New Haven, Connecticut, (Yale College,) and the University of Virginia, approach this conception nearest of all. For there a theological, a legal and a medical school is connected with the literary department. But then they fail in a philosophical faculty. Whatever of philosophy is taught is included in the proper collegiate or gymnasial course.

American colleges are established upon the old English model, and divided into four classes, the Freshmen, Sophomore, Junior and Senior. The students usually live together in one building, and are under the inspection of tutors, or assistant teachers. The instruction is commenced and concluded with divine service. Intoxication, and other excesses are punished with a fine, by a public reprimand, by suspension, and in repeated cases by expulsion. Such an unrestrained freedom, as prevails in German Universities, would be regarded in America as dangerous and impracticable. It is the opinion that a youth should be kept under discipline, that as a man he may rationally enjoy liberty. At the completion of a course of four years, the students must stand an examination before the faculty, and deliver an oration at the so-called Commencement, which is usually very well attended by ladies and gentlemen from far and near, and is a great festival occasion to the entire neighboring population. Then in the presence of the numerous assembly the degree of *baccalaureus artium* is solemnly conferred upon them by the President, and usually three years afterwards the degree of *magister artium*. The festival is concluded with an address from the President, music and the benediction. On such an occasion honorary degrees are also usually conferred, and indeed in such a profuse manner, that they must eventually lose their significance entirely, if a reaction does not take place. There are American doctors of Theology, who, however distinguished they may be as pulpit orators, have not on the score of science secured for themselves the least claim, and are scarcely able to read the New Testament in the original text.

The number of colleges is already considerable, and increasing almost every year. Of course not a few of them eke out

a very miserable existence, and do no credit to science. The most of them were established by the voluntary contributions of the Church, more particularly as preparatory schools for the Theological Seminary. Others are institutions of the State, and have no particular denominational complexion. Finally, others still owe their existence to the liberality of some individual, as Girard College at Philadelphia, with its costly edifice consisting of pure marble. The education imparted in these institutions is not as thorough as in Germany, but better adapted for public, practical life. The students have two literary societies, that rival each other, and are almost as important as the lectures. There, for instance, in their weekly meetings, exercises in speaking and declamation are held, and there already they learn the management of public assemblies, and the whole parliamentary method of dispatching business, which is so important for the political and social life of a republic. It is remarkable what an *esprit de corps* already rules in these students' societies, that are as completely organized as the great political parties of the land.

3. *Professional studies.* As in England so also in America a great many pass through a college course, who do not devote themselves to any learned profession, but wish to be merchants, land-owners, politicians and statesmen, and yet at the same time, cultivated gentlemen. Nevertheless the proper professional studies already receive more attention in the United States than in the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where, as is known, they almost entirely give way to general college-studies. *Jurisprudence*, it is true, is usually studied privately under some lawyer engaged in practice, and has much less to do with abstract theories of right and its theoretical development, than with the forms of the old English laws, and of the American Constitution. Nevertheless there is, for instance, a formal law-school in Harvard University and Yale College. Much more numerous, however, are the *Medical Schools* for the education of physicians—in Philadelphia there are three of these, and besides one even for female physicians!—and *Theological Seminaries* for the education of preachers.

Formerly it was the custom for persons to prepare themselves for the office of the ministry under some experienced divine, and this is done in part still. Since the beginning of the present century, however, it has been found necessary to establish particular institutions for this object, for the most part in connection with a college. At the present time almost every respectable confession and sect has one or more of these seminaries, and the tendency to an increase of the same, is truly only too great. For when the sympathies of the public are so much divided, it is almost impossible to endow each one as it should be, in order that it may worthily accomplish its object. Thus, for instance, the various divisions of the German Church in America have already almost a dozen of such seminaries, and quasi seminaries, of which the most are still in their infancy, have an inadequate body of teachers, few students, small libraries, and must still struggle for their existence, so that the dignity of a theological professor there is very little to be envied. Sometimes they are even sent out as agents in order that they may first procure the necessary means for their support. However humiliating, however unavoidable at times, this employment may be, the self-denial and energy of the men, who submit themselves to it, are worthy of all acknowledgment when they proceed from a pure interest for the Church. It must be borne in mind, that the State, which is indeed separated from the Church, does nothing for institutions of this kind; that they must consequently be founded and sustained by the voluntary contributions of congregations, and therefore, it is truly to be wondered at, that in such a short time so much has already been done for them. Many of the older seminaries, as for instance, the Congregational at Andover, and the Presbyterian at Princeton, are not only permanently endowed, and supplied with four or five professorships, beautiful libraries, large buildings for teachers and students, but have also already manifested a considerable literary activity. I believe that scientific theology in America has secured a more favorable soil and accomplished more, comparatively, than in England and Scotland. In this respect we may certainly expect a great deal from the future. Then again these

American seminaries for preachers, have at all events this advantage, that the students do not devote themselves to theology for the sake of their bread, but from a religious motive, and therefore, so far as fallible men can judge of this, are truly converted young men, and that the practical preparation for the office goes hand in hand with the scientific training. Very frequently a seminary becomes the mother of a college, which then serves it as a scientific basis, and maintains from the beginning more or less a churchly and confessional character.

4. There is at present also in America an institution, which, to a certain extent, corresponds to an *Academy of Sciences*, namely, the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, the seat of the General Government. It was founded by a wealthy Englishman, whose name it bears, for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," is controlled by Congress, and carried on by three secretaries. A large amount of interest which, had been accumulating for a number of years, has been expended in the erection of a splendid gothic building and in founding a library. Hitherto it has paid attention almost exclusively to the natural sciences, but it has also done much for the elucidation of the languages and antiquities of the Indians, and sends its richly furnished illustrated publications to nearly all the learned institutions and societies at home and abroad. In addition to the above, there are in nearly all of the older States Scientific Associations, Historical Societies, &c.

5. *Libraries.* There are already a great multitude of libraries in the United States, although none of them have yet reached the number of 100,000 volumes. The most considerable are at Cambridge, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. Every literary institution has a greater or smaller collection of books. The more wealthy colleges from time to time send agents to Europe to purchase valuable works in all departments of literature. Not seldom whole libraries are bought up. Thus, for instance, Neander's library is at present in a Baptist seminary at Rochester in the State of New York, and the library of Dr. Thilo, deceased, in Halle, in a few weeks will go to Yale College, New Haven, for which an American friend has just purchased it. Some years ago

John Jacob Astor of New York, the richest man in America, a German by birth, bequeathed half a million of dollars for the establishment of a public library in the city of New York, which was recently opened with 40,000 volumes, in an admirably arranged edifice. He might, with his more than sixteen millions, just as well have established a complete German University for the welfare of his own countrymen, if he had felt the proper interest in them.

6. *Literature.* Americans receive their education not only in their literary institutions, but almost as much from public life and activity, and the enormous mass of periodical and other literature, which circulates through the whole land. The United States are the classic ground of newspapers. Every political party, every religious sect, every theological school, and indeed every country town has its periodical organ, through which it seeks to mould public opinion in its favor. Hence, the number of quarterly Reviews, of monthly, weekly and daily papers is legion. The reading of political and religious newspapers has become as indispensable as breakfast. Every respectable man takes for himself at least one, and not unfrequently a half dozen of periodical newspapers, which are commonly *in omnibus quid*, but certainly also very often *in toto nihil*. Such reading by all means contributes to the diffusion of a certain amount of culture among all ranks of society, promotes however also superficiality to the same extent, destroys a taste for the study of more solid works, and dissipates the mind in the same degree as the reading of romances, whose place in America it has for the most part supplied. An earnest and worthy professor from New England said to me lately: "Our religious newspapers, which often live upon stale gossip, and party-squabbles, are the curse of our country." They are, however, in the worst case a necessary evil, and it is the duty of all good persons, not to suppress the public press; for that is now absolutely impossible; but to labor with the end in view, that it may become more and more the bearer and lever of truth and virtue. The circulation of many of these newspapers has not its equal in Europe. The New York Observer, a religious weekly newspaper, which is devoted to Presbyterian

principles, but contains at the same time also a checkered variety of political and other news, has 20,000, and Harper's Magazine, an illustrated monthly for the fashionable world, even 150,000 subscribers. Besides moreover in the absence of an international copy-right law, all the more important English and Scotch Quarterlies, the Edinburg, London Quarterly, Westminster, North British Review, Blackwood's Magazine, Chambers' Journal, &c., are republished partly in full, partly in extracts, and sold far cheaper than the original edition.

With this, however, the number of non-periodical works is also in proportion. All in any respect important books, which appear in Great Britain, are republished in America and are sold for at least half the price. The greatest establishment of the kind, and perhaps the greatest publishing concern in the world is that of the firm of Harpers in New York, which was burnt down in last December, (a year ago,) but with genuine American energy immediately set in operation again in another street, and with the assistance of the press in Philadelphia, Boston, Andover, &c., as if no disaster at all had happened. The positive expectation has been expressed to me by men acquainted with facts, that New York will become before a long time the greatest book-market in the world. The American Tract Society competes with the secular press, and multiplies the classic productions of English devotional literature, the ascetic writings of Baxter, Flavel, Owen, Howe, Bunyan, Chalmers, Merle D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, Krummacher's Elijah, &c., in thousands upon thousands of copies, and sends them away by their agents underprice to the lowest huts in the far West.

A person might now think that this mass of republications of foreign works would destroy all productivity, and render the growth of an original literature almost impossible. This, however, is not yet the case. It is true America has produced as yet no genius of the first magnitude in the field of science and art, and of twenty literary productions, which appear there, scarcely one has the right to appear, whilst the rest fall still-born from the press. Nevertheless we may already speak at least of the promising beginnings of an independent Ameri-

can literature, and even Europe, which was formerly inclined to ridicule and smile at it, bestows upon it its homage. For, how many American books of the last few decades have been republished in England and Scotland, and translated into the German, French, Italian, and other cultivated languages. The names of Cooper, Washington Irving, Longfellow, Bryant, Dana, and the female writers, Stowe, Wetherill, Fanny Fern, &c., have already a European reputation. How often already in these days have I seen the "Wide, Wide, World," and "Queechy" lying upon the tables at Berlin. What an enormous celebrity, and we may indeed say unexampled circulation, has not Uncle Tom's Cabin obtained in a few weeks not only in England, but also upon the whole continent, so that even the pope, in the face of public opinion, saw himself induced to place the same with Humboldt's Cosmos and Macaulay's History upon the index of forbidden books; as if such works were more dangerous than Boccaccio's Decameron, which a person may find in almost every Italian family, and the text books of jesuitical casuistry and refined moral poison! America, however, has something better and more permanent to exhibit than sentimental romances, although even these, to their praise it must be said, possess a certain moral earnestness and religious sense, which sets them in an advantageous light as compared with the frivilous French romance literature. Prescott and Bancroft occupy an honorable rank among historians. Agassiz (who, it is true, brought with him an acquired celebrity from Switzerland, his native country,) Morse, Henry, Baird, among naturalists; Jonathan Edwards, Park, Stowe, Hodge, Alexander, Nevin, are in their spheres distinguished theologians; Robinson and Lynch have marked out the path for the thorough exploration of the localities and antiquities of the holy land, and are also in Europe recognized as authorities in this province. The natural sciences, especially, on account of their practical utility, and their influence upon the development of the material resources of the land, have there reached a high degree of perfection. Besides, the Americans are indeed directed by the political institutions at home to a thorough cultivation of the art of forensic and parliamentary eloquence, and

Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Everett, come at least near the rhetorical heroes of the British Parliament; indeed the first has no need to fear a comparison with the genial Burke.

In the *fine arts* the Americans are of course far in the rear, especially in the plastic arts, whose freer development prevailing puritan prejudices, have served to prevent. Nevertheless, poetry, the highest, the most spiritual, the most diversified of the liberal arts, has, as the above mentioned names prove, its respectable representatives. For music they have at least more sense than the English, and Jenny Lind, in the year 1850, was received with extravagant enthusiasm, and her journey through the United States resembled a true triumphal procession. The taste for architecture is making rapid progress in improvement, and in the larger cities within a few years have arisen magnificent churches in the byzantine and gothic style. In the *mechanical or useful arts*, especially in the construction of railroads, steamboats and machines of every description, Americans have already reached the English and in part have also surpassed them,

I cannot conclude this paragraph, without adverting to the increasing influence, which *German science and literature*, in the face of all the hitherto prevalent hostile bigoted prejudices, have exerted within the last few years, especially in the province of Philology, History, Philosophy and Theology. No important Latin or Greek Grammar, no edition or commentary is published there, which is not based upon the labors of Zumpt, Buttman, Kuehner, Freund, Passow, Böckh, Jacobs. Coleridge, the English Schelling, whose spirited and suggestive works have as many readers and friends in America as in England, first led the way in transferring the ideas of German philosophy and in making them his own. The most important productions of the more modern German Theology, the historical works of Neander, Gieseler and Ranke, the writings of Knapp, Nitszch, J. Müller on Dogmatics, the exegetical works of Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Lücke are widely circulated in more or less successful translations. Almost every number of the Bibliotheca Sacra of Andover, the Biblical Repertory of Princeton, the New Englander of New Haven,

the Methodist Quarterly of New York, the Christian Review of the Baptists, the Mercersburg Review of the Reformed, the Evangelical Review of the Lutherans, brings us translations or reviews of the latest productions of the theological literature of Germany. In the most important colleges and seminaries of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, &c., it is now almost good ton to make oneself in some degree at least acquainted with German literature, if it be also merely to combat it. I still well remember, as I landed in America ten years ago, how difficult it was to procure German works and periodicals. At present in New York alone there are four respectable German book stores, in Philadelphia as many, in Cincinnati two, and the latest works, especially in the department of theology, may be seen lying there a few weeks after their appearance. Many Americans, above all New Englanders, visit German Universities—here in Berlin alone at present it is said that over twenty are engaged in different studies—with the view of completing their education. In general owing to the greater facility of communication, travelling to Europe, and even to the distant East, particularly to the Holy Places, where the Saviour of the world once sojourned, and upon which this people of the distant West look with remarkable interest, will become still more frequent. Distances of hundreds and thousands of miles do not deter an American, when he has once sailed across the ocean, and from the most remote regions of the earth he collects new knowledge and views, in order to work them up in his native country, to which he returns with increased love and enthusiasm, and to make them serviceable to the process of American culture.

In short, America, favored by the most extensive emigration from all lands, will become more and more the rendezvous of all the good and bad elements of the civilization of the old world, which will there wildly ferment through each other, and upon the most fertile soil on earth unfold themselves further for the weal or the woe of future generations.

5. RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

I now come to the point, which to myself is the most important, and to the assembly also the most interesting, but for

want of time I must confine myself to some general remarks, which, to some extent at least, may serve to orient my hearers in the checkered and confused scene of American Church History.

For the United States, and we may well say for the whole world, it is of immeasurable significance, that its first settlements for the most part proceeded from *Christian, religious motives*, that the earliest emigrants forsook the home of their fathers for the sake of their *faith* and *conscience*, and thereby impressed upon their new home from the beginning, a decidedly religious character, which now of itself exerts a beneficial influence upon such emigrants as are void and destitute of all religious feeling.

The ecclesiastical religious character of America is now, however, of course very different from that of the old world. There are two points in particular, which we must here keep in view.

The first is this. Whilst in Europe Catholicism constitutes the starting point of ecclesiastical conditions and relations, and even in Evangelical countries, most of the city and village churches, universities, and benevolent institutions are traced back to a medieval origin, so in North America, everything *began Protestant*, and the Catholic Church came in for the first afterwards as a constantly subordinate sect with reference to the others. There Protestantism, so to speak, has fallen heir to Catholicism; here Catholicism, under the protection of Protestant toleration and religious freedom, has found a new adopted home, and stands everywhere surrounded by Protestant creations and institutions. It is true the colony of Maryland founded by Lord Baltimore, the Catholic, belongs to the oldest settlements of North America. Howbeit, it was by no means in itself specifically Romish, but took for its basis the principle of religious freedom, which is essentially Protestant and directly opposed to Romish exclusiveness, and in that case it exercised also no specific religious influence upon the land; for the important position, which Baltimore, as the metropolis of the Romish Church in the United States occupies, is of later date. Much more significant were the settlements of the Pu-

ritans in New England, the Episcopalians in Virginia, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Hollanders in New York in the course of the seventeenth century, the Presbyterians from Scotland and North Ireland, and the Lutherans and Reformed from the Palatinate in the first half of the eighteenth century. They have impressed upon the country its prevailing spirit and character. What it has been and become up to this time is, without any question, mainly owing to the influence of Protestant principles, and the Romish Church has only within the last twenty years, particularly in consequence of the immense emigration from Ireland, secured a social and political influence in the eastern and western States of the Union.

Another peculiarity in the ecclesiastical affairs of North America, which is connected with the Protestant origin and character of the country as just described, is the *separation of Church and State.* The reproach of infidelity, that Christianity, without the help of civil power, would have already long ago died out, and the argument of Roman polemics, that Protestantism without the support of government and princes could not sustain itself, are set aside and totally annihilated by facts in the United States. The President and Governors, Congress at Washington and the legislative assemblies of the single States as such, have nothing to do with the Church, and it is expressly forbidden them by the Constitution to intermeddle with the affairs of the same. In the Church they have no other rights but those which belong to them personally as members of a religious communion. The Church, it is true, enjoys everywhere the protection of the civil law for her property, but manages her affairs quite independently, and must also provide for all her wants solely through voluntary contributions. As the State professes no definite religion, so of course there is no coercion as it regards baptism, confirmation or communing; religion is left to the free-will of each individual, and the Church has only moral means to make effectual her influence upon the world.

The separation was by no means brought about suddenly at one time or another in consequence of a revolution. The earliest settlers had certainly indeed no idea of it; but, like Calvin,

John Knox, the Scotch Presbyterians, and the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, proceeded from the Old Testament theocratic principles, and regarded the State and the Church as the two closely united arms of one and the same divine will. In fact the Puritans in the colony of Massachusetts, also founded a strenuous Congregational State-Church-establishment, made the enjoyment of civil rights dependant upon membership in the Church, and punished not only blasphemy, and open infidelity, but every departure from the publicly acknowledged Christian doctrine and customs as a political offence. In Boston in the seventeenth century, the Quakers who there made their appearance in a fanatical way, and rudely violated decency, were formally persecuted, publicly scourged, imprisoned, and driven out of the country, and in Salem witches were burnt as standing in league with the devil. The last traces of these politico-ecclesiastical regulations, vanished in New England only a good while after the American war of independence, and even still at this time there are in most of the States laws for maintaining the observance of Sunday, monogamy, and other specifically Christian institutions. So far accordingly the separation is by no means an absolute one. Whilst in New England Congregationalism, in New York at first the Dutch Church, but afterwards the English Episcopal Church, so in Virginia and in some other southern States likewise the English Episcopal Church was the established religion, by the side of which the other forms of Christianity were either not tolerated at all, or only with important restrictions, like the dissenters formerly in England.

But then, on the other hand, in the other North American colonies, from the commencement of their establishment, consequently already long before the war of independence in 1776, perfect freedom of faith and conscience prevailed all along; namely, in Rhode Island, which was founded by the Baptist, Roger Williams, who was driven out of Massachusetts on account of heresy, and therefore from bitter experience rendered averse to religious intolerance; in Pennsylvania, which the Quaker, William Penn, selected more particularly as an asylum for the persecuted brethren of his own faith, whither he

soon invited also the Lutheran and Reformed of the Palatinate, allowing to them the same rights, and leaving every one to the pole-star of the "inner light;" and finally in Maryland, which was at first settled by Lord Baltimore, also on the basis of general religious toleration.

This state of things became by degrees general after the American war of Independence. The legislative assembly of Virginia, after the colony had separated itself from the mother country, first annulled the rights and privileges of the established Episcopal Church, and placed all dissenting communions upon a perfectly equal footing before the law. The other colonies in which a so-called ecclesiastical establishment prevailed, followed her example. As Congress was organized after the termination of the war, an article was inserted into the Constitution, which forbids it ever to pass laws respecting religion, and similar restrictions are found in the Constitutions of the single States.

We would not by any means defend this separation of Church and State, as the ideal state, which requires much more a leaven-like penetration, and transformation of all the relations of individual and national life. We, however, by far prefer it to the territorial system, and the police-like guardianship of the Church, this Bride of the God-man, this freeborn daughter of heaven, and consider it adapted to the present wants of America and promotive of her religious interests. For we must not by any means regard this separation as a *renunciation of Christianity* on the part of the nation, somewhat in the sense in which some members of the abortive Frankfort Parliament wished to bring about in Germany, a separation of the State and School from the Church, and the civil equality of Atheism with Christianity. It is not the annihilation of one factor, but merely a peaceful separation of the two spheres, and as much so a declaration of independence and emancipation of the Church from the guardianship of the State, as an emancipation of the last from the control of a distinct confession. The *nation* is, therefore, still Christian, although it refuses to be determined and led in the deepest concerns of the spirit and the heart by the secular power. Yea, under such circumstances Christianity as a freer expres-

sion of a people's character, has even greater power over the mind, than when it is enjoined by civil statutes, and is held up by police-measures. This is shown in fact by the strict observance of Sunday, in the numerous religious and Church-institutions for instruction, in the zeal for Bible and Tract Societies, for Domestic and Foreign Missions, in the numerous revivals, in the general attendance upon divine worship, and in the habit of family-devotion,—pure utterances of the Christian religious character of a people, in which Americans already excel most nations of old Christian Europe.

The State indeed as such in America acknowledges Christianity to a certain extent officially, inasmuch as Congress appoints chaplains for itself, for the army and navy,—mostly Episcopal and Presbyterian, but also Methodist clergymen,—opens every one of its sessions with prayer, and holds every Sunday divine worship in the Senate Chamber in the Capitol at Washington. The Constitutions of the single States contain likewise strenuous laws against blasphemy, against atheism, against the profanation of the Sabbath, against polygamy, and other gross violations of the general Christian morality.

The separation is thus not absolutely accomplished, just because of the influence of Christianity upon the character of the people. Indeed it is very possible, that the two powers may yet come into collision. The toleration of the Americans has its limits and its counterpoise in religious fanaticism, to which they are very much inclined. This is seen in the banishment of the Mormons, who offended so grossly the religious sense of the people. The growth of the Roman Church, however, which of late everywhere aims at gaining political influence, and thereby excites the jealousy and opposition of the great Protestant majority, may yet produce great difficulties upon the political field. For puritanically minded Americans see in Catholicism an ecclesiastical despotism, which if it be consistent must lead to a political despotism, and thus, in case it gains the supremacy in the United States, to the overthrow of republican liberty. The Catholic question thus at the same time has come to be regarded on many sides as a political question, which involves the existence of the republic, and a religious

war between the Catholics and the Protestants, if it be even in the highest degree improbable, is nevertheless by no means an absolute impossibility, as slight beginnings thereof made their appearance in the conflict of the two parties upon the streets of Philadelphia in the year 1844, and in the violent destruction of a Romish convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

If, however, the great question concerning the relation of the Church to the State, is in itself by no means as yet fully solved in the United States, still at all events the two powers there are nevertheless much more strictly separate than in any other land,

The natural result of this state of things is the general freedom of religion and conscience, and the so called voluntary principle, i. e., the maintenance and promotion of all churchly-religious objects and purposes by the voluntary contributions of the people. The State does nothing, except in the few above mentioned cases, for the erection of churches, for the salary of ministers, the establishment of Theological Seminaries, the support of indigent students in their education for the ministerial office. It gives no taxes to these objects, and there is no person obliged to contribute a farthing to them. What is done for them, does not necessarily by any means proceed from the purest motives, from mere love to God and religion, but often from a certain feeling of honor, and from all kinds of selfish, subordinate considerations, yet nevertheless always from a free impulse without any external compulsion.

When a person properly considers this, he must justly wonder at the multitude of churches, preachers, colleges, Theological Seminaries, and benevolent institutions, which are all founded and kept up by free will offerings. In Berlin there are scarcely forty churches for a population of 450,000 inhabitants, of whom, notwithstanding the connection of Church and State, only about 30,000 attend divine worship; in New York out of 700,000 inhabitants there are perhaps five or six hundred, of which some are very large and costly churches, and in many of the country towns of America, at least in the east, one church on an average for a thousand souls. If they are not gothic cathedrals, yet they are most respectable and con-

venient edifices, and answer all the wants of the congregation, often indeed much better than the most imposing dome. In every new part of the town, in every new settlement, persons are equally concerned for the erection of a temple to the Lord, where the neighboring population shall be regularly fed with the bread of life, and incited to labor, order, discipline and every good work. Imagine once the case, if in Germany the State should suddenly withdraw her support from the Church and the Universities, and how many preachers and ministers there would be at once without bread, and how many lecture rooms would be closed!

The voluntary system has certainly a great many dark sides, and is connected with all kinds of petty drudgery and crosses, of which nothing is known in Germany. The ministers and teachers among the recent German emigrants of America, who are accustomed to have the State take care of all churchly and scientific wants, have to suffer a good deal from these circumstances, must very often make a begging-tour for the erection of a church, and must expose themselves to innumerable other disagreeable things for the sake of the good thing, until once a congregation is brought into a proper state and its members are exercised in liberality.

But on the other hand, the voluntary system also calls forth a large amount of *individual activity and participation of the laity in the affairs of the Church*, in the establishment of new churches and congregations, colleges and seminaries, in domestic and foreign missions, and in the promotion of all kinds of charity and mercy. He who without external force brings his regular offerings for the support of the Church and minister, has usually also more interest in both, and sees at the same time in their prosperity with pleasure the fruit of his own labor. The same is true of Seminaries. For a theological teacher all the congregations and Synods that contribute to his support, and for whom he educates ministers of the word, feel an interest, whilst in Europe the people concern themselves little or nothing about the theological faculty.

Persons may think that this circumstance has as its necessary result an undignified dependence of the clergy upon the

congregation. This as a rule is not the case. The Americans expect of a clergyman that he should perform his duty, and respect the person most, who, without the fear or favor of man, exhibits the whole counsel of salvation, and holds forth as sharply and specifically human depravity and the threats of the divine Word as its consoling promises. Cases, where preachers are hired for an appointed time, as hired servants, occur sometimes by all means, it is true, among independent German rationalist congregations, and to some extent in the sect of Universalists, but not in a regular Synod; a pious congregation knows very well, that such an abasement of the sacred office, which in the name of Jesus Christ proclaims reconciliation and binds and looses, would disgrace itself, and a preacher, who belongs to a respectable ecclesiastical body, is not at all permitted to accept of a call under such conditions even if he would.

Under the protection of general religious freedom, all religious parties and sects, with the exception of the oriental, have now settled in the United States, stand side by side with the same civil rights, in part attract, in part repel, in a good and a bad sense rival, and in numerous religious newspapers mutually combat each other. They present in this way a *model-chart of the entire history of the Church and of its results hitherto.* Partly time and partly the limits of this discourse, forbid us to enter into a fuller description of them.* We must content ourselves with the general remark, that we must view the whole present form and division of churchly relations and parties in America, however pleasant and promising on one side, nevertheless on the whole, as unsatisfactory, and as a mere transition-state to something higher and better. America appears to us to be selected for this object, that it may become the phœnix-grave not only of all European nationalities, as we maintained above, but also of all European sects, of Protestantism and Romanism. I cannot possibly think, that any one of the present confessions and sects, whether the Romish, or the Episcopal, or the Congregational, or the Presbyterian, or

* In the second and third parts of the book on America, which grew out of these Lectures, this is done.

the Lutheran, or the Methodist, or the Baptistic communion, will ever there reach an exclusive supremacy, but readily, that something entirely new will be gradually formed out of the mutual collision of all. In any case the kingdom of Jesus Christ must in the end gain the victory in the new world, also over all old and new enemies. A pledge of this is found in the mass of individual Christianity in America, but above all in the assurance of the Lord, who has promised his Church the victory over the whole world; and his words are yea and amen.

With this prospect we bring to a close this sketch-like miniature picture of life and activity in the United States. You perceive from this, that there all the good and evil energies of Europe ferment together under new and peculiar relations and conditions. Everything is still comprehended in a chaotic transitional state; but the formative powers are also already at hand, and brooding over them hovers the Spirit of God, who in his own time will speak the almighty word: Let there be light, and call forth a beautiful creation out of the confused chaos.

If in the view of many of my respected hearers I have perhaps drawn too favorable a description, I ask them to remember, that the dark sides of the picture, which indeed I also have not suppressed, have been only too often held up by European travellers or spectators from a distance, in a one sided way, and in too highly wrought colors, and then that it would be manifestly very ungrateful and dishonorable for me to disparage my new fatherland behind its back, to uncover its nakedness with an unsparing hand, and to pass silently over its excellencies and great prospects.

In general, there are certainly few cultivated and unprejudiced Germans, who in the face of all the differences in particulars, will not give me right when I designate America as the world of the *future*. I do not do this to the prejudice of old and venerable Europe, which truly, by all means, quaked to its very foundations in the year 1848, and seemed to be approaching a fearful anarchy and barbarism, but since then has already proved, that it has in Christianity and civilization the power and guaranty of regeneration and rejuvenescence. I do not believe, that Europe, which we Americans honor and

love as our bodily and spiritual mother, must first become a escond Asia, in order that America may become a higher Europe. Indeed even at the present moment the prospects of a regeneration of the orient, and of the venerable original seat of Christianity open up, which it is to be hoped, will prove under a divine dispensation the end-result of the warlike complications of Russia with the western powers about the apple of contention, Turkey and the keys of the holy sepulchre. The hitherto partition-walls between nations, and distant parts of the world, fall more and more before the material means of communication, which in a higher hand must serve as instruments for spiritual and eternal objects. Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, indeed all belong to the Lord, who died for them all. They move nearer to each other from year to year, and must at last extend a brotherly hand to each other without distinction of laborers, new or old; those that come early or late into the vineyard, must adhere to the same Lord in free obedience, and present the one promised fold under one shepherd.

Lancaster, Pa. T. A.

ART. IV.—INAUGURAL EXERCISES.

1.) Introductory Discourse, by Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D.

2.) Charge to the Professor, by Rev. Samuel R. Fisher, D. D.

3.) Inaugural Address, by Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D. D.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

Ephesians, 8–16.—Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers: For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; But, speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.

WE propose to consider from this passage, without farther introduction, the Origin, Nature, and Design of the Christian Ministry.

I. In the first place, its ORIGIN. This is here referred by St. Paul explicitly to what may be denominated the *Ascension Gift* of our Lord Jesus Christ. When he ascended up on high, we are told, leading captivity captive, far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, he gave gifts unto men; and he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers. The ministry was the result and fruit of his glorification at the right hand of God, when he became "head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." All lay in the Gift of the Holy Ghost, as his presence began to reveal itself in the world on the day of Pentecost.

This Gift forms in a certain sense the end or completion of

the Gospel. In it the "Mystery of Godliness," the economy of redemption, came first to its full perfection as the power of God, not in purpose merely, but in actual reality, for the salvation of the world. What was begun when the Word became Flesh in the Virgin's womb, was brought here to its proper consummation. The Incarnation of Christ and the Mission of the Holy Ghost stand related to each other, not simply as cause and effect, but as commencement and conclusion of one and the same grand fact. The first was in order to the last, and looked forward to it continually as its own necessary issue and scope. Short of this, the design of Christ's coming into the world could not be reached. He took upon him our nature, that he might die for our sins and rise again for our justification, that is, that having by his death exhausted the curse which lay upon the world through the fall, and having broken thus the power of death and hell, he might be constituted by his resurrection and glorification the head of a new creation, the principle and fountain of a new order of life among men, in the bosom of which it should be possible for the believing and obedient, through all time, to be saved from their iniquities and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. All this took place by the mission of the Holy Ghost, for which it was necessary that room should in this way be first made by the whole previous manifestation and work of the Redeemer.

The New Testament is full of this thought; so that it is truly wonderful there should ever be any doubt in regard to it, with those who pretend to take the Scriptures as their guide. The Gospel goes throughout upon the assumption, that the power which Christ carried in himself for the salvation of the world could not make itself felt with free, full, constant action among men, till it had gone through a certain course of qualification previously in his own person. The Spirit dwelt in him, we know, without measure; but so long as he continued in our present mortal state, it was necessarily confined to his own individual life. Between it and the surrounding world of humanity, comprehended as this was in the order of mere nature, rose as a high wall of separation, the law of sin and death which reigns

throughout this constitution, making it impossible for the law of spiritual life in Christ Jesus to reach it under its own form. Death and sin must first be conquered on their own territory by the Son of God himself; which however implied, of course, that he should with real victory transcend, at the same time, their domain, and so take possession of the world under the form of a new, higher existence, no longer natural, but supernatural, from the plain of which it might be possible for him to extend to men generally the power of his redemption in a corresponding real and truly supernatural way. The order of nature could never be the platform of any such work; and therefore it must be left behind for the sake of the work itself; and room must be found for the mystery of righteousness in another system altogether, in the order of grace, as this was to be constituted and made permanent in the world by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.

This great idea underlies all our Saviour's instructions, as it may be said also to be the actuating sense of his own entire life. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and *die*," we hear him saying, (John 12 : 24,) "it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." This refers to himself; but then he adds immediately, as the standing law and general conception of the Christian salvation: "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life *in this world*, shall keep it unto life eternal." So after his resurrection (Luke 24 : 25, 26 :) "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! *Ought* not Christ to have suffered these things, and to *enter into his glory?*" Everywhere we may see, that in the mind of our Saviour, the whole purpose and force of his life were felt to be conditioned by his dying, and so entering upon a new mode of existence, in which he should no longer be subject to the limitations of his mortal state, but have his humanity itself exalted above nature, and clothed with dominion over it for the benefit of his Church. His removal from the world of sense in this way was to be no loss to his disciples, but on the contrary great gain. He would be put to death in the flesh, as St. Paul expresses it, only that he might be quickened *in the Spirit*. His presence with his

people, under this form, would be not less real than it had been before, but in some sense, we might say, even more real, as being at the same time far more unrestrained, and intimately near, and powerfully efficacious for the ends of the Gospel, than it was ever possible for it to be previously to his glorification. For it is by the Spirit that he enters into living communication with the members of his mystical body; and the Spirit or Holy Ghost, we are told (John 7: 39,) could not be given, or *was* not, as the original text has it—that is, was not as the actual revelation of the Saviour's higher presence in the world—till Jesus was glorified. "I will not leave you orphans," he says, (John 14: 18, 19,) "I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also." So again, (John 16: 7,) "*It is expedient for you* that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart, I will send him unto you." The presence in the flesh must be withdrawn, to make room for a higher, better, and far more glorious presence in the Spirit.

The great burden indeed of our Saviour's valedictory discourse may be said to turn upon this thought; and after his resurrection, accordingly, all is made to depend with him on what was to be now brought to pass by his formal ascension into heaven. "Behold I send the promise of my Father upon you," it was said (Luke 14: 49. Acts 1: 4, 5;) "but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." The mission of the Spirit is made thus to be the great object of his whole previous life. It formed the travail of his soul, from the commencement of his sufferings to their close. For this he wrestled with the powers of hell. This was emphatically the purchase of his death, the boon of salvation which he came into the world to obtain for our fallen race. He became the author and finisher of our faith, (Heb. 12: 2,) by enduring the cross, with all its shame, and so being set down at the right hand of the throne of God; ascending up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things; leading captivity captive, and

taking possession of the world as its supernatural king and head, that he might bestow gifts upon men. And all these gifts were comprehended primarily in the Holy Ghost, as the form under which it was now made possible for the power of his glorified life to reveal itself with free effect in the world. The Holy Ghost, in this view, is not one among other gifts for which the world is indebted to Christ, but the sum and absolute unity at once of the whole; the Gift of gifts; that without which there could be no room to conceive of any other, and through which only all others have their significance and force. It is that which men need as the very complement of their life, that they may be redeemed from the power of the fall, and raised to a participation of the divine nature, (2 Peter 1: 4,) having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust. For "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;" and only what is thus born of God, as distinguished from all that is the birth of mere flesh, (1 John 5: 4,) can ever have power to overcome the world. So wide and vast is the grace procured for man by the death and resurrection of the Son of God, and bestowed upon them after his ascension through the gift of the Holy Ghost.

This Gift now forms the origin and ground of the Christian Church; which by its very nature, therefore, is a supernatural constitution, a truly real and abiding fact in the world, and yet, at the same time, a fact not of the world in its natural view, but flowing from the resurrection of Christ and belonging to that new order of things which has been brought to pass by his glorification at the right hand of God; a fact not dependent, accordingly, on the laws and conditions that reign in "this present evil world," and not at the mercy of its changes in any way—"against which the gates of hell shall not prevail," and that is destined to outlast and conquer in the end all other institutions, interests and powers of the earth. As a supernatural presence among men in any such constant and really historical way as the Gift and Promise of Christ seem necessarily to imply, the Spirit must have his own supernatural sphere, in distinction from the order of nature, within which to carry forward his operations as the power of a new creation

over against the vanity and misery of the old. This constitution or order of grace is what our faith is taught to receive in the article of the Holy Catholic Church; that great mystery which is denominated Christ's Body, and within which is comprised, according to the Creed, the whole supernatural process of man's salvation, from baptism for the remission of sins, onward to the resurrection of the flesh and the life everlasting. It is not of the first creation, like the art and science, and political institutions of mankind in every other view. It holds directly from Christ in his capacity of glorified superiority to the universal order of nature. He is "head *over all things* to the Church." It is in virtue of his having conquered, and ascended up on high, leading captivity captive, far above all heavens—far above all principality, (Eph. 1: 21,) "and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come"—that he has by his Spirit created for himself this glorious constitution, and continues to reign over it through all ages as "the beginning (Col. 1: 18) and first-born from the dead." So when he commissioned his Apostles for their great work, all was made to depend on what had thus been accomplished in his own person. "All power," he said (Matth. 28: 18–20,) "is given unto me in heaven and in earth: Go ye *therefore*"—because it is so and I am able, as the conqueror of sin and death and hell, having all power in my hands, to become the author, the principle and ground of a new creation, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; because it is so, go ye therefore—"and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: And, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

And here we are brought directly to the point which we have now before us for particular consideration, namely, the origin of the Christian Ministry. It is, by the terms of this commission, identified with the institution of the Church itself. The two things are not just the same. The Church is a much wider conception than the Ministry. But still they are so joined together, that the one cannot be severed from the other.

The idea of the Church is made to involve the idea of the Ministry. The first is in truth constituted by the commission that creates the second; for it has its whole existence conditioned by an act of faith in the reality of this commission, and this tested again by an act of real outward homage to its authority, the sacrament of baptism being interposed as the sign and seal of every true entrance into the system of grace thus mysteriously consigned to its charge. "He that *believeth*, and is *baptized*," it is said, (Mark 16: 16,) "shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned."

The appointment of the Ministry in the form now mentioned, took place just before our Saviour's ascension; but it was not until the day of Pentecost that the appointment was fairly armed with its own proper supernatural force, as an institution springing from the glorious sovereignty with which Christ was invested, when he took his seat at the right hand of God as head over all things to the Church. The Apostles were directed to wait at Jerusalem, accordingly, till they should be endued with power from on high. Then, when the right time was fully come, the Spirit descended in symbols of wind and flame. The great promise of the gospel was fulfilled. The Ministry received its baptism of fire. The Church came to its solemn inauguration; all as an order of things proceeding really and truly from the Saviour's glorification. "Being by the right hand of God exalted," the people were told at the time, (Acts 2: 33,) "and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear."

II. We are to consider, in the next place, the NATURE of the Christian Ministry, the peculiar quality and constitution of the office, as related to its origin in one direction and to its general purpose or design in another.

And what we need first and chiefly to fix in our minds here, is its *supernatural* character. This lies in what we have now seen to be the source from which it springs. It refers itself at once to the ascended and glorified Christ. When he went up, leading captivity captive, far above all heavens, and was constituted head over all things at God's right hand, then it was, and in this capacity and posture, that he gave gifts unto men,

and foremost among these the institution of the Ministry, endued with power from on high for its own heavenly ends.

Let us endeavor to apprehend well the full force of this thought. We may speak of a divine agency in the order of nature. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork." And still more room is there to refer the life of man, in its higher forms, to his ordination and care. "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth him wisdom." In this way, we are prompted to ascribe remarkable providences to his hand, and are accustomed to talk of nations and men as having been raised up by him for the accomplishment of particular ends. There may be a vocation thus, and along with it a corresponding commission, for purposes embraced in the economy of our present life, which are as truly referable to the divine will as this economy itself is in all its parts. Cyrus had his mission from God; so had Alexander the Great; and so also our own more illustrious Washington. Great statesmen, great artists, and great scholars, may be regarded as men sent of God for their own special work. We ascribe to them at times an actual inspiration from on high, a sort of truly divine afflatus, answerable to the idea of such a mission. And so the Bible itself teaches us to look upon the domestic constitution and upon civil government, as existing by the authority and will of heaven. Parents have a divine right to the respect and obedience of their children; and magistrates, according to St. Paul, are to be obeyed for conscience' sake. "The powers that be," he tells us, (Rom. 13: 1, 2,) "are ordained of God: Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, ersisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." Thus it is, we may see, that the order of nature admits, not only the idea, but the actual reality also of heaven-appointed functions and functionaries, in its own sphere, on all sides.

But is the Christian Ministry now a divine institution, only in the same general view? Such seems to be the opinion of many. They attach much the same force to the commission claimed by Calvin or John Wesley, that they are ready to allow also to that of Oliver Cromwell. Both the authority of the of

fice, and the vocation to it, are supposed to be lodged in some way in the moral constitution of the world under its ordinarv form, and to be divine only in virtue of those general relations to God, which this must be allowed on all hands to carry in its bosom. But this is in truth to mistake and deny the supernatural character of the Ministry altogether, and to turn it into an institution of mere nature, the very thing which our faith is required to contradict. The peculiarity of the office is, that it does not originate in any way out of the order of this world naturally, but proceeds directly and altogether from a new and higher order of things brought to pass by the Spirit of Christ in consequence of his resurrection and ascension. It belongs to that constitution which we call the Church; which starts from him who is the resurrection and the life, and who has passed into the heavens as its glorified head; which is by its very conception, therefore, a supernatural fact; and whose whole existence in the world, accordingly—its actual relations, capabilities, and powers—is a mystery that can be apprehended only by faith. To conceive properly of the divine character of the sacred office, we must make full earnest with the relation it bears to the glorification of Christ, as the cause and source of an order of things higher than nature in the world, which was not and could not be in it before. It holds from him immediately as head over all things to the Church.

And as regards this point, it is plain that no account is to be made of the distinction that is justly enough drawn between the ordinary and extraordinary forms of the office. "He gave some, apostles," it is said, "and some, prophets, and some, evangelists, and some, pastors and teachers;" various classes and orders, some special and for a time only, others for the ordinary use of the Church through all ages; but so far as their origin is concerned, all of precisely the same character and nature; since all alike are referred to the same ascension gift. The source of the apostleship, is the source also of the common pastoral episcopate. As the Church is a supernatural constitution, and so an object rightly of faith, in its ordinary history, no less than in the midst of Pentecostal miracles, so does the Ministry also derive its force really and truly from Christ, in

his capacity of head over all things to the Church, whether exercised by inspired or by uninspired men. This deserves to be well considered and laid to heart. Either the office in its ordinary form is a mere sham, an idle mockery without reality or power, or else it must be allowed to represent and embody in itself actually the force of a supernatural commission.

It becomes easy, in this view, to determine its relation to the world, as it exists in the order of nature. The office is no product, in any sense, of the life of humanity in this form. It holds, as we have seen, from another economy or system, founded in a power which has actually surmounted the order of nature, and reigns above it in its own higher sphere. On this ground it is, that we declare the Church to be higher and greater than the State. Patriotism after all is not the first virtue of man, if we are to understand by it devotion to the will of the State, regarded as an absolute end. To make this will the absolute measure of truth and duty, to find in it the last idea of right and wrong, to denounce the conception of a real jurisdiction on the part of the Church that shall be taken as owing no subordination whatever to the jurisdiction of the State, (in the style of some who carry on the war blindly with the Church of Rome,) is in fact to betray Christ into the hands of Cæsar, and to treat the whole mystery of his ascension and glorification as a cunningly devised fable. Governments have no right to place themselves at the head of the Church, or over it, in its own sphere; converting it into a department of State, as in Prussia; or making the civil power the source and fountain of ecclesiastical authority, as since the days of Henry the Eighth and Cranmer in England. What can be more monstrous than the conception of such a pretended headship of the Church, resting as it does at this moment in the person of Queen Victoria, because she happens to be the political sovereign of the British nation! But if it be monstrous for any civil power to usurp this sort of lordship over God's heritage, affecting to play the part of sovereign in the sphere of powers that belong not to this world, can it be at all less monstrous to think of making these powers dependent on the constitution of the simply natural world in any other view?

The people have just as little right here as parliaments and kings, to shape the Church to their own ends, or to take the creation of its Ministry into their own hands. The fond notion which some have of a republican or democratic order in Christianity, by which the popular vote, or the will of any mass or majority of men, shall be regarded as sufficient to originate or bring to an end the sacred office wherever it may be thought proper, and even to create if need seem a new *Church*, as they dare to prostitute that glorious name, for its service and use—is just as far removed from the proper truth of the Gospel as any other that could well be applied to the subject. It is completely at war with the Creed. It makes no account of the strictly supernatural character of Christ's kingdom, as a real polity not of this world, and yet from its own higher sphere entering into it and taking hold upon its history in the most real way. It drags the whole mystery down continually to the level of the simply natural understanding, and forces it thus to lose itself at last altogether in the world of mere flesh and sense.

The relation of the Ministry to the world on the outside of the Church, however, as now described, does not determine at once its relation to the mass or body of men who belong to the Church itself; and there is room here, accordingly, for the democratic notion just dismissed, to return upon us again under another and much more plausible form. The office may be viewed as something which proceeds from Christ, not indeed through the constitution of nature as is the case with that of the civil magistrate, but yet through the constitution of grace itself as this is comprehended in the general Christian community. We are thus confronted with the question concerning the order which the Ministry and the Church hold to each other, in the system of Christianity. Both spring from the same source, and date from the same time. Still there is room to distinguish between them, as regards inward priority and dependence, and to ask, whether the Church is to be regarded as going before the Ministry, or the Ministry before the Church. To this question, however, an answer has been in fact already returned, in speaking of the commission origi-

nally given to the Apostles. The terms of that commission are such as of themselves plainly to show, that the Church was to be considered as starting in the Apostles, and extending itself out from them in the way of implicit submission to their embassy and proclamation. They were to stand between Christ and the world; to be his witnesses, his legates, the representatives of his authority, the mediators of his grace among men. They were to preach in his name, not merely a doctrine for the nations to hear, but a constitution to which they were required to surrender themselves, in order that they might be saved. The new organization was to be formed, and held together, by those who were thus authorized and empowered to carry into effect officially its conditions and terms. Hence the Church is said to be builded upon Peter, as the central representative of the college of the Apostles (Matth. 16 : 18 ;) and in another place, again, (Eph. 2 : 20,) "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." So in the passage we have taken for our text, the Ministry both in its extraordinary and ordinary character, is exhibited as the great agency which Christ is pleased to employ for the edification of his mystical body. There is no room then for the theory, by which the Church at large, or any particular part of it, is taken to be the depository in the first instance, of all the grace and force which belong to the ministerial office, just as in a political organization the body of the people may be supposed to contain in themselves primarily the powers with which they choose to invest their own officers and magistrates. The order of dependence here is not ascending but descending. The law of derivation is downwards and not upwards, from the few to the many, and not from the many to the few. The basis of Christianity, as it meets us in the New Testament, is not the popular mind and popular will as such in any form or shape. It starts from Christ. It reaches the world through the mediation of his ministers. Their mission is from him only. "As my Father hath sent me," he says, (John 20 : 21,) "even so send I you." They are overseers set over the house of God by the Holy Ghost. By whatever names they may be distinguished, apostles, prophets,

presbyters, rulers, or pastors, their office is in its essential constitution episcopal. They are shepherds under Him who is the Chief Shepherd, clothed by delegation with his authority, and appointed to have charge of the flock in his name, (1 Peter 5: 2–4,) with a power so real in its own sphere, and so absolutely irresponsible, at the same time, in any democratic or republican sense, that they are warned before Christ not to use it as lords over God's heritage. However well then the famous watch-word may sound for the popular ear: "A Church without a bishop, and a State without a king," it must be held to be, so far at least as the first part of it is concerned, absolutely treasonable to the true conception of Christianity. The question is not of the episcopal office in some special given form; but of the office in its broad New Testament sense, as involving the idea of a real pastoral jurisdiction over the Church, representing in it immediately the authority of Jesus Christ, and deriving its force from the sovereignty of heaven and earth to which he has been advanced by his resurrection from the dead.

To say that there may be a Church without a bishop, in such view, a purely republican assembly of Christians in simply lay capacity, able to generate and produce from itself a full, valid ministration of the mystery of grace contained in the Gospel, without the intervention, in any way, of the ministry constituted and commissioned for the purpose by the ascended Saviour himself; to say, in other words, that the Church is before the Ministry, in the order of existence, and in no way dependent upon it, but complete without it, (the very thing the maxim *does* mean to say, if it has any meaning whatever,) is a heresy which at once strikes at the root of all faith in the supernatural constitution of the Church, and turns both the apostolical commission and the gift of Pentecost into a solemn farce.

Both from its origin, as already considered, and from its design, which yet remains to be considered, it may be inferred with necessary consequence that the office in question must be a single institution, in harmony with itself in all its parts. The commission given to the Apostles implied that they were to act in concert. It was not an authority which each one of them was left to himself to exercise, in his own way and for his own

pleasure. It belonged to them only in their collective capacity. They were bound by it to the real and fixed constitution of grace with which it was concerned, in the capacity of a college or corporation. And so as the Ministry assumed other forms, whether ordinary or extraordinary, it remained necessarily subject still to the power of the same law. Just as among the Jews, the Priesthood was one, though the Priests were many and of different orders; so in the Christian Church, however the Ministers might be multiplied, and the forms of their office varied, the office itself could be of force only as it retained always the character of a single body bound together, and in union with itself. As there can be by the very conception of Christianity, but one faith, one baptism, and one Church, so can there be also but one Ministry; and this unity must be taken to extend to all times and ages, as well as to all lands.

And thus we have, in the next place, the idea of apostolical succession; and along with that the conception also of ordination, as the veritable channel through which is transmitted mystically, from age to age, the supernatural authority in which this succession consists. It is easy, of course, to deride everything of this sort, and to make sport with the notion of a tactual communication, as it is sneeringly styled, of heavenly powers, and of grace that is supposed to trickle from consecrated fingers in the imposition of hands; but it comes certainly with a very bad grace from those who pretend to make a merit of their respect for the Bible. The Old Testament is full of this way of ordering spiritual things; and in the New Testament also exemplifications of it occur on all sides. The derision in question only serves to reveal and expose the unbelieving habit of mind from which it proceeds. What is in truth the subject of sceptical scorn in the case, is the existence in the world of any such supernatural constitution, any such mystery of faith, as the Church claims to be in virtue of her derivation from him who has "ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things." The mockery regards the whole reality of the order of grace, as an abiding economy among men, different from the order of nature and above it. Let this first conception be admitted, with some felt sense of its

being a fact, and not merely a speculation or notion; and then it will be easy comparatively to allow also all other points belonging in any way to the same grand article of faith. Sacramental grace will follow as a matter of course. And so will the idea of the Ministry, as an institution proceeding from Christ's commission, and armed with power by his Spirit, and having all its force accordingiy in the unity and perpetuity of its first appointment. This involves succession; and the succession, to be valid, must be kept up in some way within the bosom of the institution itself. For, as we have seen, this holds not from the natural life of the world, nor even from the higher life of the Church collectively taken, but directly and wholly from the commission and ordination of Christ; and so can be maintained with its original character from age to age, only as it may have power to transmit the actual virtue of this first supernatural appointment from one generation still onward to another.

It remains to notice, finally, under our present head, the force and power of the office. It is not properly of this world; for the sphere of existence to which it belongs is that higher economy of the Spirit, which has been introduced by the triumph of Christ over the whole constitution of nature. The virtue which it carries in itself for its own ends, therefore, is not to be measured by any merely natural or worldly standard. The preaching of the cross is foolishness to the Greek and a stumbling block to the Jew, we are told, and yet the wisdom and power of God for salvation to them that believe. "The weapons of our warfare," St. Paul says, (2 Cor. 10: 4) "are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds." The power of the Ministry stands not in the wisdom, or eloquence, or art and policy of men in any form. It is a quality derived from the kingdom of Christ, and answerable to its heavenly constitution. In its own form and sphere, however, it has to do with relations that are most real, and takes hold of interests which are lasting and solemn as eternity itself. It involves the stewardship of the mysteries of God, (1 Cor. 4: 2,) the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, (Matth. 16: 19; 18: 18; John 20: 23,)

the negotiation of the terms of eternal life, (Mark 16: 16; 2 Cor. 2: 15, 16; 5: 18–20.) All this supernatural force, in the case of those by whom it is thus exercised, is of course official and not personal. It belongs to the institution of the Ministry, and not to the men privately considered who may be charged at any given time with the sacred trust. Their personal character may come in to enforce or to prejudice its claims to respect; but the claims themselves are independent of this, and rest upon other ground altogether. They go with the office; and the whole case supposes, that so long as it may be held to its legitimate form this will be found true and equal to the purposes of its original institution. Even a simply human organization, where the mind and action of the individual functionary are necessarily ruled by the spirit of the body as a whole, is found to have a wonderful power of self-consistency and self-conservation in this way; as we may see, for instance, in the case of our civil courts, where the decisions of a judge, circumscribed and controled by the fixed relations of his office in the general system of which it is a part, are something very different from his merely personal will, and carry with them rightly and safely an authority to which out of such position he could lay no good claim whatever. And why should it be thought strange then, if the same law of organized corporate life, raised from the sphere of nature to the sphere of grace, and having to do with the "powers of the world to come," be represented as carrying with it in the Church, by virtue of Christ's Spirit, not only a general moral security, but an absolutely infallible guaranty, for the truth and trustworthiness of its results? What less than this can the commission mean, that clothes the Ministry with Christ's own authority, and requires the nations to bow to it under penalty of damnation? Whatever may be said of single ministers in their private character, or in particular acts of their office, the institution as a whole, and taken in its corporate unity, must be held to be equal in full to the terms of this appointment. It cannot prove false and recreant to its supernatural trust. "On this rock," Christ says, "I build my Church: He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me: Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

III. We come now, in the third place, to the DESIGN of the Christian Ministry.

The whole office is, as St. Paul expresses it, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto itself in love."

Here we have the great thought, which may be said to form the key note of this whole Epistle to the Ephesians, Christ "head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." The Church is no congregation merely of persons professing Christianty, brought together in an outward way, the result in such view of private and separate piety supposed to be brought to pass under such form on the outside of its communion. It is a living constitution which starts from Christ himself, in virtue of his resurrection from the dead, forms the home of the Spirit in the world, and includes in itself powers altogether above nature for the accomplishment of its own heavenly ends; within the bosom of which only is comprehended all the grace that men need for their salvation, as truly as deliverance from the Flood was to be found only within the Ark in the days of Noah. Here is the forgiveness of sins, the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the manna of heaven, the communion of saints, the victory of faith, the resurrection of the dead, and the life everlasting. And these benefits are conditioned by the vitality of the whole system or constitution to which they belong. Thus the Church is viewed as being to Christ in the world of grace, what the body is to the head in the natural world. It is the form in which he re-

veals his presence among men through the Spirit, and the organ by which he carries into effect the purposes of his grace. His people in this view are members of himself, and at the same time "members one of another," by their common relationship to the Church. "For as the body is one," the Apostle writes, (1 Cor. 12 : 12, 13; Comp. Rom. 12 : 5,) "and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free ; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." It is, as comprehended in the general organization of the Church, that its members grow up more and more into him who is the head, and this process of growth on their part is, at the same time, the edification of the Church as a whole.

The mystery of the general Christian life goes forward thus by the activity of its several parts, working unitedly together for a common end, in obedience to the law of its own supernatural constitution. The whole is an organic process. The growth of the Church is carried forward by the growth of its members ; while at the same time the plastic power from which this last comes resides only in the Church itself. There it flows from Christ, through the Spirit, fashioning and building up the new nature according to its own divine type. Its operation is primarily by the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, that living apprehension of the truth as it is in Christ, which faith only has power to produce, when brought into communication with the realities of the Gospel in their own sphere. Such knowledge is, as far as it goes, an actual entrance into the truth itself, and so a real participation in the life of him who is the absolute light of the world. What serves thus to redeem the understanding from darkness, brings into the will also the law of charity or love ; which becomes then a perpetual fountain of grace, and the source of all Christian sanctification. Such wealth of salvation, according to the Apostle, is comprehended in the knowledge of Jesus Christ as it is made possible to men in the Church ! His prayer for Christians was accordingly, that God might give unto them the Spirit of wis-

dom and revelation in this form, the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, to know the hope of his calling, and the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and the exceeding greatness of his power towards them who believe, (Eph. 1: 17–19.) His soul struggles seemingly with the greatness of the theme, and no language is found strong enough in its service. "For this cause," he says, (Eph. 3: 14–19,) "I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God."

So in our text, the edification of the body of Christ is represented as going forward by the perfecting of the saints in this very process of faith and knowledge; whose scope is "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;" and through which, "speaking the truth in love," or rather as the original word means, *being one with the truth* in love, it is their privilege to "grow up into him in all things, which is the head," from whom the power of growth and spiritual completion is conveyed to the whole Church.

And here it is precisely, we say, that the Christian Ministry has its grand purpose and use. It is the agency, through whose intervention in the Church, Christ is pleased by his Spirit to provide for the building up of his people in the faith and hope of the gospel unto everlasting life. The representation of the Apostle implies that the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, by which the saints are carried forward towards their proper perfection, are conditioned by this arrangement as its necessary medium. And how much again this involves may be understood, by considering what results are supposed to be reached after and gained by its means. The case has to do with the mysteries of the kingdom of God, with the treasures of wisdom which are hid in Jesus Christ, with the deep

things of the Spirit which surpass all natural thought and comprehension. It has to do with a knowledge that begins altogether in faith, and supposes, therefore, an actual order of supernatural life and truth answerable to such faith, brought home to the soul in the form of revelation, and challenging its implicit submission. The obedience of faith, as it is called, is made to be in this way, over against all speculation and opinion, the ground of the whole Christian salvation. Men are required to surrender themselves to the economy of the gospel, in order that they may be formed by it to its own purposes and ends; and it is assumed, that in doing so they will come really and truly under the action of the truth as it is in Christ, so as to be no longer children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but having their very being in the element of truth and charity, may grow up in all things into him who is the head, even Christ. When we are told then, that the Ministry is the agency by which all this is brought to pass, we are not only enabled to form some right conception of its design, but from this come to see again what must necessarily be its constitution, agreeably to what we have already found to be true of the same, in looking at it from the side simply of its supernatural origin. The nature of the office is determined and explained by the object it is formed to serve, no less than by the source from which it springs; and from this view full as much as from the other, may be easily found to require all the qualifications which we have before shown it to possess. In no other form could it mediate safely between Christ and his Church, and promote the perfecting of the saints, "till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God," as distinguished from the winds and waves of all merely human doctrine, "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

In conclusion, it becomes us to consider seriously, from the whole subject, what are the general tests and conditions of a true Ministry, and to ponder well the misery and danger of a false one, both for those who exercise it and for those who trust themselves to its care.

The Ministry, under its true form, supposes, as we have seen, a divine commission, a strictly supernatural appointment and source. And as there has been in fact but one such commission, that which was given by Christ when he passed into the heavens as head over all things to the Church, it must be able, all the world over and through all time, to refer itself to this as the actual charter of its authority, in clear exclusion of every other title pretending to take its place.

From this it follows necessarily, in the next place, that the Ministry under its true form, wherever it exists, must be comprehended in the unity of the office as a whole, and so also at the same time in the unity of that one true Church which we all own and acknowledge, as an object of faith, in the Apostles' Creed. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. All starts from Christ; all subsists by his Spirit; all rests on the same foundation of the apostles and prophets. The very thought of a loose and divided Ministry, in such a constitution, destroys itself, by overthrowing the conception on which alone the whole authority of the office must rest. To see and feel the reality of the commission from which it flows, is at once to see and feel also that it must be in union and harmony with itself through all its parts, that it must have the character of a single organization, and that the whole force of it must fall to the ground whenever it is pretended to sever it from such connection, and to exercise its functions in an independent and isolated way. In any government, the powers by which it exists and carries on its affairs, must form one single constitution. However they may be distributed, they must remain still bound together as one orb, whose parts all meet in the unity of a common centre. Laws, titles, offices, functions, all have force only by virtue of their comprehension in the order which originates and sustains the whole. To think of powers being validly exercised, or rights validly claimed, in the name of the government, without regard to this order, would be a monstrous contradiction. And can it be any less monstrous to suppose the possibility of any similar disruption of authority and office in the kingdom of Christ, and under the great seal which imparts to the Christian Ministry its supernatural warrant and force? "Is

Christ divided?" May the same seal be attached here to different ministries, in no connection with one another, held by no common law, and moving in no common sphere? Is the connection something which a man may carry away with him wherever he pleases, to use in his private capacity as to himself shall seem right and good? The imagination is preposterously absurd. The force of the commission holds only in the office considered as a whole. To rend it from this unity, is to reduce it to nothing.

And so from this we have, by necessary consequence again, the third condition of a true Ministry, namely, submission to a living rule or order in which this unity of office may be actually exhibited in a real way, as a fact coming down from the time of the Apostles. To act officially in any polity, the single functionary must not only join himself with its general organization, but in doing so must bow also to the authority which already belongs to it as an actually existing constitution in its own sphere. How much more is it meet and fit that this should be the case also, where the administration regards the supernatural constitution of the Church, and the mysteries of the kingdom of God! Christianity, in its very nature, involves the idea of authority, under a form not dependent on human thought or will; so that here above all, the conception of office must be taken to imply, at the same time, submission to the actual polity or order from which it springs, regarded as a living permanent constitution. And if this polity be represented by the unity of the Ministry, as we have seen it to be, there must be a line of historical continuance by which both together shall be found falling back to the great commission, in which the Church originally took its start. The unity of the Ministry in this way is not the consent merely of any number of men, whether many or few, who may agree to take the office upon them and exercise it in the same way. It exists always as a historical fact already at hand, and dating from the day of Pentecost, to the authority of which in such view, accordingly, all must bow, who are brought from time to time to have part truly in its commission.

Such seem to be necessarily, from the nature of the subject,

the great tests of the Christian Ministry in its legitimate and true form. Where these are wanting, we may have the show and sham, but not, it is to be feared, the reality of the sacred office. It is hardly necessary to say, however, how widely different from all this is the reigning popular view of the subject, especially in our own country at the present time. Few appear to make serious account either of the supernatural commission of the Ministry, or of its necessary unity, or of its dependence upon an actual succession in this form, handed down from the time of the Apostles. Indeed nothing is more common, than to hear ministers themselves, those at least who call themselves such, openly deriding every requirement of this nature, as a sort of exploded superstition, fit only for Catholics and Old Testament *Jews*. Any evangelical sect, they take it, has power to originate the office for its own use; or at all events may be satisfied if it has been able to carry off with it some small fragment or particle of an older succession, in breaking away violently from some other Church; as Micah felt that all was right, when he obtained a wandering Levite for his priest, (Judges 17 : 7–13;) or as the children of Dan considered it an object afterwards to steal away the same unprincipled priest, and to make him the source of a new, separate priesthood for their own false worship. (Judges 18 : 18–31.) The flaw of schism, in such a case, is not felt to be of any consequence; for the persons in question have no sense whatever of the necessary oneness or corporate solidarity of the sacred office. They laugh at the idea of its legitimacy and force being conditioned, in their own case or in the case of others, by any such relation. They are bound by no such consciousness. Their commission is felt to be a sort of private property, which holds good to themselves directly and separately, from the great head of the Church. Enough, it may be, that it is acknowledged by a single congregation. Or, at most, that it is comprehended in the organized ministry of some particular sect. They care for no wider comprehension. And with such unbelieving indifference to the idea of the Church as a present whole, how should they be expected to have any such faith in its historical character, as to feel the least real concern about

the derivation of their title through its living succession in past ages. The only authority they think it necessary to bow to, in such view, is the constitution and tradition again of their own sect. What though this be only of yesterday, and its creed confessedly a mere opinion or "persuasion?" They are willing to trust themselves blindly to its guidance, and then make a merit of what they call their Christian liberty and independence by throwing off all respect for Church authority under every broader and older view.

Need we say that such a habit of thought always involves in its last analysis, an entire want of faith in the supernatural constitution of the Church, and in the divine order of the Ministry as we have had it under consideration at this time. We have a right to say of it, indeed, that it is absolutely at war with the mystery of Christianity from first to last. It substitutes for it another Gospel.

By comprehending what the Ministry involves in its true form, we are prepared to understand how great must be the calamity of a false Ministry for all who are concerned with it in any way. It is by its very nature an imposture and usurpation, where it is most dreadful to think of any such outrageous wrong. By pretending to be the truth, at the same time, under such false character, it contradicts and opposes the truth itself in its own proper form. It belongs in this way necessarily to the realm of Antichrist. For this precisely is the true conception of the power we call Antichrist, that it exalts itself against Christ by wickedly thrusting itself into his place, and seeking to pass itself off under his name. The grand criterion of the spirit, according to St. John, (1 John 4: 3,) is just this, that it "confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh;" is not willing to know and own the actual of a new and higher order of life in him as the Word made Flesh for us men and our salvation; but pertinaciously insists on resolving the whole mystery of godliness," (1 Tim. 3: 16,) either directly or indirectly, into the form of a mere abstract spiritualism belonging to nature in its own sphere. Thus a spurious Christ, existing only in the thought and fancy of men, and having no power to effect a real union, and so a real reconcil-

iation between the natural and supernatural worlds, is set up in mockery and rivalry of the true Christ, and made to challenge the faith of the world under the usurpation of his glorious name. And what else is it but the same spirit at work, when the true supernatural constitution of the Church, proceeding as this does from the mystery of the incarnation "justified in the Spirit"—the Son of Man received up into glory—is ignored, or virtually denied, and made to be practically of no account, by the substitution for it of another conception altogether, reducing it in fact to a simply rationalistic and natural form! Or when, in full conformity with this, the supernatural origin of the Ministry is sublimated into a sort of Gnostic idealism merely, its commission converted into a religious myth, the idea of its necessary unity and apostolical succession derided as a silly dream of the middle ages, and an institution of wholly different form and nature, excluding these characteristics in their true sense altogether, is brought forward and exhibited as fully equal to all the purposes and ends of the sacred office? Could any presumption more certainly refer itself, by St. John's criterion, to the domain of Antichrist? Whatever any such false Ministry may affect or pretend, it is a Ministry in truth, not of faith, but of unbelief, not of righteousness, but of sin. It practically proclaims God a liar, (1 John 5: 10,) by "not believing the record that he has given of his Son," not owning the mystery of the Gospel in its own form, but daring to put it into another form agreeably to its own taste. Christ, having risen from the dead, establishes his Church as a constitution above nature, and in virtue of the power that belongs to him as the fountain and head of this new creation solemnly commissions the Ministry in his own form, clothing it in a real way with powers answerable to the economy to which it belongs, and promising to surround it with the guaranty of his own presence in the Spirit through all time; bids it go teach all nations, baptizing them into his name; makes salvation to depend on believing and obeying the order which he has been pleased thus, in his sovereign goodness, to appoint. And now, in the face of all this, the false ministry of which we are speaking stands forward, and preaches to men that salvation depends

on no such special constitution whatever, and that if they will but trust themselves to *its* guidance all may be expected to come out right in the end. Is not this, we ask again, the very spirit of Antichrist? And what shall we say of those, who commit themselves to the care of such an episcopate, in the prosecution of eternal life? The very thought is dismal in the extreme, and the case, if Christianity be more than a dream, one of the most deplorable that can well be presented to the contemplation of a believing mind.

Of such vast significance is the question concerning a true Ministry and the true Church. It has to do, not merely with the accidental form of Christianity, but with its inmost constitution and life. All are bound, as they value their salvation, to look well to the nature of the commission and charter under which they propose to secure this all important object. Indifference with regard to the matter, is itself a just occasion for apprehension and alarm; for it implies at once serious infidelity towards the whole subject—infidelity at the very point too, where Christ makes all to depend on faith, when he says; "He that *believeth*, and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." As every minister is bound to be well assured, that he is a minister, not merely of this or that sect, but of the true Church Catholic, and has part thus in that one great commission from which hangs the unity of the whole office; so also are all other persons under obligation to satisfy themselves, on good and sufficient grounds, that they are in the bosom of the Church in its true form, and under the guidance and care of a legitimate and true Ministry.

CHARGE TO THE PROFESSOR.

DEAR BROTHER IN THE LORD:

You have now been fully inducted into your office, as Professor of Didactic and Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church in the United States. The circumstances in which you are thus placed are fraught with interest and solemnity. You are manifestly entering upon the most important career of your life. Whatever may have been the positions you have, in the Providence of God, been permitted to occupy heretofore, none can equal your present one in point of moment. You will, therefore, suffer a few words of counsel, which I may be induced to address to you, in discharge of the duty assigned me in the solemnities of the present occasion.

In the first place, I would affectionately remind you of the peculiar responsibility of the position you have this day assumed. You have doubtless carefully and prayerfully looked at this feature of it, before deciding to venture upon it. It may not be amiss, however, briefly to direct your attention to it again. Upon you hereafter will devolve, in connection with those who may be associated with you in the same work, the duty of training young men for the important office of the ministry of the Gospel. This is truly a responsible service. He who occupies the direct relation to the Church of a minister of the Gospel, has weighty responsibilities resting upon him. To him, in a most emphatic sense, is entrusted the welfare of immortal souls. This responsibility, however, must be greatly increased in the case of those to whom is committed the special duty of training the ministry for their responsible position. The fitness of the ministry for their work and the consequent success of their labors, depend, in a great measure, upon the kind of training they have received during their period of preparation. For the very cast of piety by which the rising ministry are distinguished, as well as their distinctive modes of

thought, their views of duty, and their plans of active operation in their respective spheres of labor, is likewise determined, to a very great extent, by the character of the influences to which they have been subjected in the midst of this same moulding process. This truth is perhaps not as generally realized as might be expected. A little observation, however, will be sufficient to satisfy any intelligent mind of its correctness. If its force, therefore, be admitted, it cannot fail to impress the mind with a deep sense of the intimate connection subsisting between the position of a Professor in a Theological Seminary and the success of the ministry of the Gospel in the important work assigned them; and of the consequent weighty responsibility resting upon one occupying the sphere upon which you have this day formally entered.

In the second place, permit me briefly to advert to some of the specific duties which will devolve upon you in your present position, in order that its weighty responsibilities may be properly met.

Let me then exhort you to give special attention to the cultivation of proper habits of piety in the young men who shall be entrusted to your care. This duty will devolve upon you, in common with those associated with you in the same work. It is one of the most important that can claim the attention of a Professor in a Theological Seminary; and yet, it is to be feared, that, in some instances at least, it does not receive that special attention which its great importance demands. The fitness of the ministry for their work is to be measured, to a very great extent, by the character of their piety. Intellectual training, it must be admitted, is of the very highest importance to the ministry of the Gospel. It is rendered valuable, however, only when it is sanctified by the presence of deeptoned piety. In the absence of the latter, the former only fits its possessor for interposing the more formidable obstacles in the way of the real progress of the kingdom of Christ. In discharging this important duty towards their pupils, the professors in a Theological Seminary, should exercise over them a special pastoral care. They should at all times, in their intercourse with them, endeavor to acquaint themselves with their

spiritual condition, impart unto them such counsel and direction as their circumstances require, and strive, in every appropriate way, to encourage in them the formation of habits of the most deep-toned piety. They should do this, not only from a regard to the prospective usefulness of their pupils, lying as it does, at the very foundation of success in their ministrations; but also from a regard to their personal salvation, so that when they have preached to others, they may not at last themselves be found to be cast-a-ways.

The duty to which I have thus far referred, as has been already intimated, belongs to you in common with those participating with you in the office of teaching in the Seminary. There are others which devolve more especially upon you in the particular department you have been called to fill; and these must receive at least a passing notice, before it will be proper to close my present remarks. The Professorship into which you have been inducted has been designated as the "Professorship of Didactic and Practical Theology." This title plainly indicates the nature of the specific duties you will be expected to perform.

From the first term employed in this title, it is manifest, that it will be required of you to endeavor, according to the best of your ability, to make the students committed to your care, perfectly familiar with the system of religious truths, as these are distinctive of Christianity, and thus to indoctrinate them fully in the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In your efforts to accomplish this end, it will be necessary to have a constant reference to the fact, that, in the several spheres they may subsequently occupy, it will be expected of them to unfold these truths clearly to others; to hold them up and enforce them also, in all their practical bearings; and likewise, to defend them successfully against the various assaults of enemies. In the discharge of this part of your duty, you will be expected, in the language of the solemn obligation you have assumed, to "make the inviolable divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the truth of the doctrine contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, the basis of all your instructions." The former is to be regarded as containing all things which relate

to the faith, the practice and the hope of the righteous; and as constituting the only rule of faith and practice in the Church of God, so that no traditions, as they are called, and no mere conclusions of reason contrary to the clear testimony of the Scriptures, can be received as rules of faith or of life. And the latter is to be received as containing, in a convenient summary form, the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. In carrying forward your instructions upon the particular basis thus pointed out, with a view to indoctrinate the students committed to your care in the principles of the Gospel, it should be your constant aim, to make them, not only sound in the faith, but also workmen, that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

The second term in the title employed to designate the Professorship to which you have been called, indicates, that to you will be specially entrusted the duty of preparing the young men who shall sit under your instructions, for turning to practical account in the active duties of the ministry, the varied furniture with which they may have been provided during their course of study, by way of qualifying them for their important work. In this particular sphere, it will be expected of you, to endeavor to familiarize them with the secret springs of human action, and to teach them how to form their various plans of usefulness and carry them out with the greatest prospect of success. It will be your duty, to impress indelibly upon their minds, the necessity and importance of mingling from day to day, as much as possible, with the different members of their flock, familiarizing themselves with their wants and contributing to their relief; and especially to teach them how to so shape their intercourse with their people, as to ensure from it, the most happy results. In a word, it will devolve upon you to instruct them how to labor out of the pulpit, as well as in it, so as to make their various ministrations effectually subserve the important ends they are designed to promote.

The particular duty to which I have just referred, is a most important one, and one too, which, it is to be feared, has been only too much neglected in the most of our Theological Seminaries in time past. To this neglect, it is doubtless owing,

that, at the present day, whilst we have so many able and instructive preachers, we have comparatively so few efficient and successful pastors. For, it matters not how excellent our pulpit performances may be, they will accomplish comparatively nothing, if they are not faithfully followed up by labors of a more personal and private character. And in view of the particular defect to which I have referred, it is no wonder that some excellent men have been led even to question the utility of Theological Seminaries for preparing candidates for the ministry, as compared with the method of preparation under the private instruction of an active pastor, pursued by our forefathers.

It is a gratifying fact, however, that the religious public have of late years been becoming specially alive to this want, and are laboring with commendable efficiency to provide for its removal. Professorships of Practical Theology are being established in nearly all our Theological Seminaries, and filled with men specially qualified for the duties they impose. Our own Church has happily caught up the spirit of the general movement, and in the selection of yourself for the particular post to which you have been called, I have no doubt but that distinct reference was had on the part of many, to your past experience as an efficient and successful pastor. Let me then counsel you, to give special attention to the particular duties which will devolve upon you as Professor of Practical Theology, so that the students who may be privileged to share your instructions, shall become men distinguished not only for their learning and pulpit talents, but also for their working powers, turning every thing they possess to practical account, in the way of promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.

With these few counsels, honestly, though it may be imperfectly expressed, we would affectionately commit you and the particular cause entrusted to your care, to the Great Head of the Church, praying that he may be ever present with you, to guide you with his counsel and replenish you with his grace, so that you may always be found to be an efficient and successful teacher in our School of the Prophets.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

THAT my mind is deeply affected by the circumstances under which I appear before you at this time, may well be conceived. I am about to take the place, in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, of a divine, as distinguished for his rare Christian virtues, as for his powerful intellect and ripe scholarship. To attempt his eulogy before this audience, would be superfluous. Nothing, that I could say, would increase the estimation in which he is held; and when I express profound regret that he was led to retire from a post, which no one is likely to fill with equal credit to himself and advantage to the cause of theological science, I only give utterance to the general sentiment.

The responsibility I thus assume, would be sufficiently trying to the sensibilities of a man of thorough mental training, and of large experience in the fulfilment of the duties of the station. In my case, the full consciousness of deficiency in these respects, together with a due sense of the importance of the position to which I have been called, at the present conjuncture of affairs in our Church, painfully oppresses me.

The state of the Church at large also adds to my embarrassment. It is very much unsettled. With great vagueness, as well as diversity of opinion respecting the doctrines of the Bible, there is an equal misapprehension in regard to divine institutions. According to the popular theory, the family is scarcely of this character—certainly not the State. Governments, we are usually told, originate with the people, and to say that "the powers that be are ordained of God," would be political heresy.

It would not be an easy matter to define the character of the Church, in popular estimation. If it exist at all, in concrete visible form, any association of individuals for religious worship, may be considered a church. It requires no particular organization—has no specific authority, and no peculiar sacredness

of character. The ministry is equally destitute of such claims. The worship of the sanctuary is made up chiefly of rhetorical exhibitions; and the sacraments—especially the Lord's Supper, as a memorial of Christ's death—are rites proper to be observed, but of nothing more than moral efficacy. Such opinions prevail to a large extent. Now, it is not to be expected that all men should trouble themselves with subtle scholastic criticisms upon the sacred text, or with abstruse speculations in reference to the constitution of the Church, or the sublime mysteries of our holy religion. It is, however, important that all men should have clear conceptions of saving truth, otherwise they may be led into dangerous error. They should also have a just appreciation of divine ordinances as means of grace, or they will be tempted to resort to inventions of their own, and their religious services will frequently degenerate into cold formality, or wild fanaticism.

Nor is this all, or the worst, that may be said of the existing state of the Church. As the natural result of vague and various opinions upon religious subjects, there is no cordial union or coöperation among professing Christians—at variance in their views of divine truth, their experiences are different, and they can have no sincere sympathies. With occasional intercourse and interchange of kind feeling, they seldom participate in each others counsels, or assist in each others labors. When, as it sometimes happens, they occupy the same field, a spirit of emulation and rivalry is soon elicited, and jealousy and suspicion separate and keep them apart. Generous and noble spirits, ready to unite in every good work, are to be met with in all confessions, but no two denominations, in their ecclesiastical capacity, can be brought in this way to coöperate. The tendencies are of an opposite character. This is undeniably true of the existing denominations in Protestant christendom. Facts of recent occurrence, in the history of our American Churches, bear melancholy witness to the truth of these statements.

It may be said, that this after all is no great evil. The divisions in the Church lead to greater exertion, and more is done than would otherwise be the case. But is it not a libel

on the Gospel, to suppose that the spirit of emulation which it condemns is more efficient than the spirit of charity which it enjoins? Besides, the good which it effects must be equivocal in its character, and can never compensate for the jealousy and ill will, and other forms of evil to which it gives rise.

Nor are these the only difficulties which disturb the Church. The original league between the powers of earth and hell for its destruction still exists, and the adversary at the head of it carries on the warfare with great skill and perseverance. When unable to accomplish his end by direct assault, he resorts to covert means, and seeks to strip the Church of influence, where he cannot resist its power. It is so contrived, accordingly, that the interests of education and charity, which properly belong to the Church, are taken out of the hands of professing Christians and committed to the management and control of irreligious men. In this way the spirit of the world enters and reigns within the sanctuary. In many instances, the pastors of large and wealthy congregations derive their chief support from men of the world, and though they may have it in their hearts faithfully to fulfil their duties, they must nevertheless be careful not to come too violently in conflict with the cherished opinions and prejudices of those upon whom they depend for the comfortable circumstances in which they and their families are placed.

In view of these, and other difficulties, in the Protestant Church, there are earnest-minded men whose confidence in its existing organizations is very much impaired, and it is with them a serious question, whether in their present form they can be sustained. The interest in this question is increased by recent events in Europe. Every thing there, in the spheres of religion and politics is unsettled, and the elements at work are antagonistic in their character, and of great power. The ultimate issue we need not fear. The Church will be carried safely through. But we can scarcely expect that the existing agitation will be composed, without effecting great changes in the condition both of Church and State. Their institutions cannot be maintained in their present form. They have waxed old, like a garment, and must be laid aside and give place to

others, the product organically of a new order of things. In the mean time, the Church will be exposed to peril, and the faith and patience of the saints will be severely tried. The best hope is, that in the general wreck, the connexion between the Church and the State will be dissolved, and that each will be left free, in its proper sphere, to the employment of its own resources, in the fulfilment of its proper functions.

The misfortune is, that in Europe, and especially in Germany, the Church is unaccustomed to this sort of self-reliance and independent exertion. Their divines speculate profoundly, but they are deficient in practical talent. Were they more active, carrying out their theories into practice, we would look with greater confidence for valuable results, as the fruit of their labors. American Christianity, unfortunately fails in the opposite direction. We are so absorbed in the pursuit of wealth and material advantages, that we scarcely have time to think of those important questions of the age, relating to the moral and religious improvement of the race, which engage their attention. This is the more to be regretted, as there are those present who will live to see this western continent covered with a teeming population, in the possession of unexampled resources, in the way of intelligence, power and wealth, and unless we transmit to them, not merely our social and political institutions—but what is indispensable to their perpetuity—the Gospel in its purity, a faithful ministry and divine ordinances, we will fail in our duty, and the consequences may be disastrous.

That, in view of a state of things so unfavorable, I shrink from the responsibility of the office to which I have been called, is not surprising. But instead of giving way to distrust and fear, should we not rather rouse ourselves to fervent prayer and active efforts to prevent the evils we dread? That the Church is in trouble, is not a strange thing. It has always been the case. It is wonderful, according to human probabilities, that it still exists. As well might we expect that a spark of fire, kindled on a rock, lashed by the surges of the ocean, would survive a storm, as that the Church should have been able successfully to resist all the assaults, open and disguised, that

have been made upon it from the first. No sooner was it in being, than its destruction was attempted. Throughout the period of the patriarchal dispensation, it often seemed to be in peril. Nor were its peace and prosperity uninterrupted, when those who composed it were established in the land of Canaan, and invested with peculiar privileges as the chosen people of God. It has had similar trials to encounter during the Christian dispensation. It might have been supposed, if the Scriptures had not faithfully admonished us to the contrary, that when the Son of God should ascend again to heaven, and be seated in authority and power at the right hand of the Father, that he would throw over his Church an impenetrable shield of protection, and preserve it safe from the hands of its foes. But such has not been the case. "The heathen" are still permitted to "rage, and the kings of the earth to set themselves, and the rulers to take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed." Satan, the great adversary, is now, and until the hour of his total and final defeat, he ever will be, as intent upon the ruin of the Church, as he was when, in the guise of a serpent, he tempted our first parents in the garden of Eden, or when he afterwards assailed the Son of God in the wilderness of Judea. Immediately preceding the Reformation, it seemed as if all true piety had become extinct—the ordinances of worship were perverted to the basest purposes, and the priests at the altar were frequently polluted with the worst of crimes. But by the power of its own imperishable life, derived from its proper spiritual head, the Church either threw off, or corrected much that was wrong, and started under a new form of organization, with fresh vigor, in the work of evangelizing the world. Its troubles, however, have not ceased. Protestantism, as well as primitive Christianity, has had its trials, and will have them again. Its greatest danger now appears to be from internal dissension. And yet we may venture to hope that it will suffer no material harm from this source. The very form which the discussions have assumed, warrants this expectation. They relate to the Church itself, and involve the questions at issue at the time of the Reformation. In the solution of these questions, the most earnest and gifted men in

our day are intensely occupied, and we may venture to hope, as well as sincerely pray, that the results of their investigations will be propitious, establishing the Church upon a firmer basis than ever. The trials of the Church hitherto have always been the prelude to its triumphs, and its sorest conflicts have ever issued in glorious success. They, in fact, have been the processes, by which its energies and proper life have been developed, and its greater prosperity secured.

This, in a remarkable degree, has been our own experience, as a denomination. We too have had our trials. In Europe we had much to endure from persecution and undeserved reproach. In this country we have had a similar experience, with a singular change of the position of our adversaries, and of the nature of the charges brought against us. When the views of truth held by Reformed divines were first embodied in their confessions, it was alleged that they were rationalistic, and allowed too large a liberty to the human mind. The same doctrines taught now, we are told, with a strange inconsistency, are Romanistic in their character, and interfere materially with the right of the individual to interpret the Scriptures for himself. For the last ten years, especially, we have been most unrighteously dealt with. But God has been with us. With Paul we can say: "We have been persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." The agitations, which it was thought would divide and distract us, have led to a more cordial understanding, and united us more firmly; and this day the German Reformed Church stands before the world in more perfect unity and greater strength than ever before—more fully conscious of her denominational character and mission—her ecclesiastical position more accurately defined, her past history better understood, her institutions more highly appreciated, her resources more available, and her obligations to use them, in the fulfilment of her proper destiny, more freely and more generally acknowledged.

There is, accordingly, everything in our present condition and prospects to inspire hope. Our position as a Church, geographically considered, is an important one. It is intermediate and extends east and west, not north and south. Thus

situated relatively, our people are not so much exposed to the sectional excitements which have distracted other denominations. They also are chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and industrious and frugal in their habits, they are seen to acquire a firm hold on the material interests of the country. In this respect their advantages are likely to be very great. Their theological position is equally favorable. It is very well known, that there are at this time two opposite tendencies in religion, as well as in politics, especially in this country, where it would seem the moral problems of the age connected with Church and State are to be worked out. In portions of the Protestant Church there is evidently a proclivity towards rationalism, whilst on the other hand, there is an obvious reaction, which, if not kept within proper bounds, may carry those who are brought within the sphere of its influence, into the domain of Romanism. As it regards the rationalistic tendency, it is not the less decided, nor likely to be the less disastrous, because it exists amongst those who are unconscious of it, and who profess to be perfectly secure in the belief of Bible truth, with great show of zeal for its propagation and spread. The danger is particularly with a class of persons, who graduate their piety by the measure of their hatred to Popery, and with great parade of their attachment to the principles of Protestantism, too often ignore their own confessions. This is by no means surprising. Their confessions, originating in opposition to error, as it sprung up from time to time, in the belief or practice, of the Protestant Church, and based also upon principles of mutual antagonism, rather than of direct resistance to the fundamental abuses of Popery, have run themselves out in an extreme way, to their final consequences; and however true they may have been in reference to the errors they were intended to oppose, they do not furnish ground, strong enough, or broad enough, for the Church of the present or future, to stand upon. They grew out of a condition of things no longer existing, and not likely to recur, and having answered the end of their construction at the time, it is no more than might have been expected, that they would gradually lose their hold, as standards of doctrine and tests of communion, upon the re-

spect of those who once avouched them. In regard to these tendencies, the theological position of the German Reformed Church is most auspiciously intermediate, and unmistakeably conservative, and it may be that its advantages in these respects may be appreciated and brought into requisition sooner and to an extent greater, than many now expect.

In view of this fact, it is matter of congratulation, that the German Reformed Church, in its opposition to both those tendancies, has been providentially thrown back upon its original principles, as set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism, and manifests at this time a stronger attachment to them than ever. It would be interesting to trace the process and causes by which this has been effected; but to advert to the principles themselves will be more profitable. In doing this, it will be seen that they refer to the fundamental truths of Christianity. They are not simply a protest against error; they are the open unqualified assertion of positive truth. They regard the advent and incarnation of Jesus Christ as the central fact of the Gospel, and the Son of God, the God-man Mediator, as the author and source of salvation. They regard man by nature as totally depraved, and of himself utterly unable to effect his recovery and restoration to the divine favor, and insist upon his regeneration and sanctification, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, in the faithful use of the Word and Sacraments, as divinely appointed means of grace. And whilst they deny that the righteousness of the believer is either the measure, the ground, or the condition of his acceptance with God, and firmly maintain that he is justified freely of grace, through faith, they also hold, that in his regeneration there is, in virtue of his union with Christ as his spiritual head, the principle of a new life imparted to him, that will produce in him the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and fit him for the service of God, so that his justification is not a legal fiction, nor an imaginary result, but an actual fact. They recognize the Church, with its ministry and ordinances, as divine, not only in its origination, by the appointment of God, but as being in fact a divine constitution, for the conversion of the world, and as carrying within itself supernatural elements adapted to this end. They

also hold that the Holy Scriptures are the only sufficient rule and measure of the faith and practice of the Christian. At the same time, they give no countenance to the notion that a formal connexion with the Church, and the use of its ordinances, are sufficient to ensure salvation. They are proper and necessary in their place, but without faith as the gift of God, and without cordial repentance as its appropriate fruit, the attendance upon them avails nothing. Rejecting those loose notions, which disparage the Church, and divine ordinances, they insist upon a vital union with the Lord Jesus—not merely the belief of his doctrines—not merely obedience to his commands—as the very element of all sincere piety, and the starting point of all experimental religion.

Recognizing these truths, we are accustomed to attach great importance to educational religion. By this is not meant learning religion by rote. According to our conception of the phrase, it is the regular training of the young in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord." There is a wide difference between education and instruction. A man may be instructed without education, but he cannot be educated without instruction. Education is the bringing out of the elements of knowledge received in instruction, and *religious* education is the development, in the form of living principle, of that, which is communicated by the process of instruction, in the form of knowledge. Not only, therefore, is the mind of the religiously educated man instructed, but his affections and will are also influenced and controlled by the truth which he has received. If religion does consist in fact in a thorough and entire change of man's whole being, and if it is not brought about in an arbitrary magical way, the principle indicated is certainly most reasonable. And if God has devised a method of salvation, we are constrained to believe that it will be most effectual in the case of those, who have not as yet by actual transgression and continuance in sin, familiarized themselves with evil and provoked his displeasure.

We may also suppose that, in any such plan of salvation, the means employed would be appropriate to the end proposed. Persuaded of this, we have no hesitation in asserting, that if the

divine method in the use of the means appointed for the purpose, were fully and faithfully carried out by every family and member of a given community, in covenant with God, it would never fail, but in every instance, would be effectual in bringing those born within the sphere of its influence, as they grew up to years of maturity, under the saving power of the Gospel.

This is implied in the baptism of children. In the use of this holy ordinance they are consecrated to the service of God, are received into covenant with him and are entitled to the privileges and blessings of his kingdom. But if, after they are thus admitted to favor and invested with privileges, there are no means to secure the benefits proposed to be bestowed upon them, and they are to be left exposed to the temptations, that are in the world, then is this sacred and impressive rite without significancy. It is utterly useless and no better than solemn mockery.

To the importance of the religious training of the young, the practice of the Churches of the Reformation bears the most decided testimony. The ablest and best men thought their time and talents well employed in the preparation of catechisms for this purpose, and never was the duty more carefully attended to. In one of the confessions of the seventeenth century, it is declared that "children born within the pale of the visible Church and dedicated to God in baptism, are under the inspection and government of the Church, and are to be taught to read and repeat the catechism, the apostle's creed and Lord's prayer. They are to be taught to pray, to abhor sin, to fear God, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ. And when they come to years of discretion, if they be free from scandal, appear sober and steady and have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, they ought to be informed that it is their duty and their privilege to come to the Lord's Supper." In the German Reformed Church it is required of "every minister to give especial attention to the youth in his congregation, that they may thereby be prepared to make a public profession of religion as members of the Church, and to approach the Lord's table with just views and a proper frame of mind." And "the

members of Consistory, particularly the elders, as shepherds and overseers of the flock, shall be present at the catechetical instructions, as often as it may be practicable, for the purpose of observing the deportment of those who are taught, and their acquaintance with religious truth." And to guard as effectually as possible against the abuses to which all methods of admitting persons to the communion of the Church are liable, it is required that, "before a confirmation, the minister shall diligently examine, in the presence of the elders, whether the applicants for admission to the communion of the Church, rightly understand the doctrines of religion, and whether they manifest their practical influence and purpose to lead a pious life."

Such are the prominent distinguishing features of the German Reformed Church. Surely they are eminently Protestant, evangelical and scriptural. It may also be remarked, that the spirit in which the principles of the Church are set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism, is strictly irenical. This venerable symbol of our faith was prepared, as is well known, for the express purpose of soothing and allaying the bitter animosities which had been produced by the theological discussions of the day. Without compromising truth on either side, or countenancing error in any form, its object was to mediate between the opposing parties and bring their disputes to a close. That it failed in this praiseworthy object, is no more to be laid to its charge, than is the Gospel to be blamed for not converting the world. The fault, in both cases, is to be ascribed to the perverseness of our fallen humanity. We may hope that it will yet succeed, and one day furnish, as it was intended, the ground of reconciliation, upon which all Churches may unite.

There is nothing invidious or unreasonable in this hope. The principles avowed in the Heidelberg Catechism are those in which the Reformers at first, generally concurred. Even upon the sacramental question they did not materially differ. Luther, for a time, acquiesced, or at least did not object, to the views expressed in the Reformed confessions, and it was only when he discovered, as he thought, danger of their losing sight of an important truth, that he took the stand, which has so

long and so unhappily divided the Protestant Church of Germany. The Lutheran and Reformed theories, in fact, are not antagonistic. They are both different and complementary parts of the same doctrine. They both admit a real presence in the eucharist—never indeed denied, or overlooked by divines pretending to orthodoxy, until a later period—and at variance only as to the manner in which that presence obtains.

Whilst, however, the Heidelberg Catechism, in its spirit, is decidedly irenical and conciliatory, as it regards the Protestant confessions, it is directly opposed in its principles to the abuses and perversions of Christianity in the Roman Catholic Church. It is equally opposed to all rationalistic tendencies. In no form does it countenance either. This is the ground which the German Reformed Church of this country has always maintained, and still maintains. It is here precisely, that she feels herself strongest and most secure; and the idea that she is disposed to abandon this position, in one direction or another, is an absurdity conceived either in profound ignorance, or palpable prejudice. It is here, too, upon this ground, that I, with the strongest conviction, profess to stand. No where else, indeed, can I stand. If I forsake it on either side, I place myself in a false position. On the one hand, I would shrink with dismay from committing myself to the waves of a plausible rationalism, which almost imperceptibly, yet not the less certainly, carry their victim into the vortex of scepticism and unbelief. On the other, I should feel myself in danger of making shipwreck of the faith among the rocks and quicksands which lie open or concealed in the opposite direction. With the Heidelberg Catechism for my guide, I hope to steer clear of both. I shun empty formalism and at the same time avoid a false spiritualism, ending always in an outward show of carnal observances—thus serving God in the use of his appointed means of grace, and worshipping him in spirit and in truth.

This is the only safe ground. It is the ground we have ever occupied, as a denomination, and that we must continue to occupy. Consistency demands it. The cause of truth—the interests of pure Protestantism, equally require it at our hands.

The fear of obloquy must never be permitted to drive us from it. I would sooner perish amidst the wreck, and be buried under the ruins of our venerated Church, than to defer in the least to the opposition, which any fits of envy, or jealousy and pride, may be able to array against us. All that can be done, in this way, will do us but little harm. No denomination, indeed, can stand permanently, and prosper, upon any other than the ground just indicated. Other principles may prevail for a time, and serve a good purpose, but they will pass away with the occasions which gave rise to them. Other causes and contingencies, of greater moment, and more immediate pressure will be continually occurring in the providence of God, and the Church that has no better foundation, will sooner or later lose its vitality, and be known only in the history of the past.

I may yet remark, that it is only upon this original Reformation ground that Protestants can unite. This is the ground upon which, as has been intimated, Protestantism started, and only while occupying it, can it make progress. It is not by ignoring the truth, or by eviscerating it, in the spirit of affected charity, of its proper contents, that different portions of the Church can be brought together in a real union, but by holding it fast and confessing it. Ignorance and unbelief separate and divide; whilst faith binds men together in the bonds of peace and unity and love.

Let us then firmly maintain our proper denominational position. We need not fear the result. The principles which it involves have borne us safely through seasons of sore trial and severe conflict. They will do it again, with the blessing of God.

What is more, we have a work to perform. It is not merely to assist in giving the Gospel and the ordinances of worship to the thousands who are daily flocking to our shores from the fatherland. This itself is a great work. But as a denomination, we ought to do our part to leaven afresh, with the principles of the Reformation, the theology of this wide spread Protestant land. This is still more important—and not sufficiently appreciated by many. We may not need theology, in its more scientific forms, for the conversion and edification of

souls. But we do need it, and we must have it, for the defence, the development and the illustration of truth; and no where, and never, was it more loudly called for, than precisely in our own country at the present time.

In this great work, it would have been our pleasure to join hands with other branches of the Reformed Church, especially with those who held the same form of doctrine, and professed to be interested in its dissemination. It was a mistake, however, to attempt such coöperation, without first assuring ourselves that there was nothing to interfere with the object contemplated—that the parties have an affinity for each other—were harmonious in their principles, and of congenial habits and dispositions. Unfortunately, in a particular instance, this was not the case, and the result must ever be lamented. The formal connexion, hastily and unadvisedly formed, terminated in a wider separation. What was worse, in leaning towards a denomination, which in great measure was unacquainted with the history and genius of our Church, and had no sympathy with the habits and spirit of our people, we estranged ourselves from another, which was "bone of our bone" and to which we were bound by the strongest and most intimate social and ecclesiastical ties.

In this connexion, it may not be out of place to remark, in reference to a union of Protestant confessions, that, desirable as it is, if it ever does take place in a permanent way, it must begin with the Churches of the Reformation. Let be said upon the subject what may, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches embody in their confessions the principles of Protestantism, and represent in fact the two sides of the great movement of the sixteenth century. They must, accordingly, first be reconciled in their views and be brought to coöperate harmoniously, before anything of the kind may be expected of other denominations. It is not enough to lay aside peculiarities of Church order, and worship and doctrine, and to meet on neutral ground in friendly conference about the interests of Christ's kingdom. There must be some acknowledged truth, appealing with authority and power to the consciences of men, or they will never be brought and bound together as one body

in Christ Jesus. It is worth while to remember, too, that in Germany have orignated those world-wide movements in the sphere of religion that have contributed so much to the welfare of our race in modern times; and if another shaking in Israel is to take place, it may possibly again originate there.

The German mind is peculiarly fitted for earnest and profound speculation, whilst that of the Anglo-Saxon is more inclined to practical exertion; and in America, where both elements frequently combine, and where all is full of fresh life and vigor, may be found the proper field for their display.

It is only in this way and upon some such ground as this, that a union of denominations can be effected. At one time, the evangelization of the world by the Bible Society and other kindred associations, had a happy effect in bringing Christians together in harmonious coöperation. The object was most worthy, and the result for a time was highly encouraging. It was pleasant to see the followers of Christ, of every name, and from every part of the world, meeting in fraternal embrace upon the same platform; and it seemed as if Satan was really foiled and his ingenuity at an end, for the means of arresting the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom. But these expedients for promoting coöperation among Christians, did not and could not—as, indeed, they were not intended—enable those who favored them most heartily, to advance to the same ecclesiastical position, and hence were insufficient to bind them together in one brotherhood, forgetful, in love to Christ, and zeal for his cause, of every private and separate interest. The denominational attachment in our day is stronger than ever; and it remains to be seen upon what more advanced and elevated position the Churches may yet unite and work together for the glory of Christ. May the providence of God speedily disclose it to our view.

In the mean time, the several denominations have a part to perform. Of none is this more certainly true, or more freely confessed, than of our own. To perform it, however, we must have a ministry of our own training, acquainted with the history and imbued with the spirit of our Church, as well as versed in its doctrines. This is required, with a view to its efficiency,

its peace and perpetuity. When the ministry of a Church is gathered in from abroad, and made up of men of different views, there will be frequent misunderstandings. If they are men of integrity and have any strength of character, they will be disposed to preach what they hold to be true, and to introduce the customs and practices to which they have been accustomed. They may even unwittingly imagine that everything new to them in the opinions and habits of the people, with which they have become connected, is necessarily wrong, and that they have been providentially called to correct it. Any such attempt, however honestly made, must interfere with the harmony and peace of the Church. It is, therefore, important to have a ministry of our own training, or composed at least of those who sincerely sympathize with us. They should also be interested in the history and the destiny and the proper mission of the Church, otherwise they will labor amongst us at great disadvantage, and with very little comfort. It is not enough that a minister strive for the conversion of souls. This is a primary duty, and one in which he cannot be too zealously engaged. But he should look beyond this, to the glory of Christ, and to the building up, and prosperity of his Church. It is in fact, when the Church prospers, and is active, that, in answer to the prayers of the saints, he may look for the happiest results, as the fruit of his labors in the conversion and sanctification of his people.

To succeed, one must also have a ministry imbued with the spirit of self-denial, and a willingness to endure hardship, and, if need be, persecution. Our people in many places, are in a transition state, in more senses than one, and with large accessions from abroad, must remain so for years to come. A minister laboring amongst them, must expect to make sacrifices of ease and comfort and to meet with trials. This is hard for flesh and blood to submit to, especially when the ministers of other denominations are well provided for. But when there is the spirit of faith and self-consecration, it may be done, and may even be turned to spiritual account. Nor must we suppose that we are beyond the reach of persecution. We sincerely pray that we may be permitted to escape, but judging from the

signs of the times, the hour may come before many are prepared for it.

Such a ministry, a learned, a devoted, self-sacrificing ministry, we should labor to provide. No other will enable us to maintain our position, or perform our duty as a Church. Without such a ministry, we had better give up our denominational existence, and fall in with other confessions, as our respective inclinations may prompt us, or as circumstances may seem to require. As to a union of denominations at this time, it is not to be thought of. The tendencies are of an opposite character. No two can walk together, except they be agreed. The only way, therefore, is for each, in the spirit of forbearance and charity, to maintain its proper ground, advocating its measure of truth, and fulfilling its appropriate duties, until, in the providence of God, the way is prepared, and the means provided, for all to advance to a higher position, where we may see eye to eye, and every heart throb in unison, filled with the love of Christ.

In doing this, we may expect many discouragements. Numerically, we are a small body, and compared with other denominations, have little influence. At this time, too, we are suffering undeserved reproach. We must not, however, despond. We are not forsaken of God. The tokens of his gracious presence, experienced during the past year, are too manifest to be mistaken; and earnest and good men regard us with interest, and would be sorry to see us halting in our course. Let us then, "thank God and take courage," determined to persevere; and though our name be blotted from the record of ecclesiastical organization on earth, and we perish, let us perish contending for the faith of our fathers, and we shall certainly find it written in the book of life in heaven. But no such result can take place, so long as we have a work to perform, and we continue faithfully to perform it, planting our feet upon the rock of ages; for though we wrestle, not only against flesh and blood, but also against principalities and powers in high places, we shall overcome in the end, and our "rest will be glorious."

Art. V.—CHRISTIAN CULTUS.

SECOND ARTICLE.

In a previous article we spake of the basis and range of true Christian Cultus, of its functions and their order, of its developments in history, of its character and defects in the age immediately preceding the Reformation, of the relation which the Reformation Cultus sustained to that in the Roman Catholic Church, of the characteristics of the Reformation Cultus, and of the relation which the two sides of the Reformation, the Reformed and the Lutheran, sustained towards each other in this respect. We gave notice also, at the close of our article, that our design contemplated more. We proceed, therefore, now to say, what want of space then admonished us to defer.

Since the Reformation, as is well known, a vast number of secondary reformations have sprung up in the History of the Church, some on one ground and some on another, separating themselves from the older confessions and organizations, and also springing out of, and dividing from each other, forming themselves into independent sects or communions, constructing their own symbols of faith, or having none at all, forming their own system of government, and, of course, developing also a Cultus peculiar to themselves, and differing from one another, as well as from what existed before. It would lead us too far, to follow historically all these divergent tendencies; nor is this necessary to our purpose. It is enough to characterize the general *spirit* in which they rise, and which they illustrate.

The very fact that divergencies and divisions became so easy, natural, and common, is proof that a true conception of the Church, and faith in it as a supernatural and gracious constitution in the world, gradually vanished from the minds and hearts of men. The Reformation was not a protest against the Church, but a reformation of it. The Reformers firmly

believed in the Church as the body of Christ, being in order before its members, over them, and as carrying in its bosom, from the Head, the only hope, and the only resources of salvation for men. Hence their zeal in holding fast to the old power beneath the powerful struggles of the new. Their ministry carried with it the old succession of ordination; their sacraments were adhered to in their true sacramental sense and power; their faith was the CREED, as it reigned from the earliest age; their Cultus owned the objective and sacramental, and had its home in the bosom of the Church; and their government rested, in its ultimate ground, on the authority of the Church.

While they thus, held fast to the churchly, they, at the same time, labored to develop the freedom of the Church. They felt that, although Jerusalem is from above, and "the mother of us all," it is also "free." They believed that the Church, as it then existed, having culminated in absolute power, in the Kingly office, was turning too arbitrary and terrible a side towards the just and necessary demands of individual freedom. They moved in favor of this last interest. Hence, in Cultus, as well as in other interests they made the individual more prominent; and while they most sacredly retained the idea of the objective and sacramental, they nevertheless brought out also in its proper prominence the subjective and sacrificial.

Now, as the Church before the Reformation grew gradually into the extreme of power, the Church after it grew gradually into the extreme of liberty; while the first lost the sacrificial in the sacramental, the latter lost the sacramental in the sacrificial. This tendency towards the latter extreme becomes the longer, the more apparent. The farther down from the Reformation, the less power has the idea of the Church, the easier and more frequent do divisions become, and the more does the individual thrust out the general. On the continent of Europe national and provincial Churches emerge more and more out of unity, and separatists form circles in the bosom of national Churches. In England rise first Puritan Dissenters, then Independents, then Quakers—the final extreme subjective distance from the churchly. Then again, still later, Methodism,

which reaches the extreme subjectivity by a different process, and cultivates it in a different form. Then, in America, in the element of civil freedom, the unchurchly tendencies have exhibited themselves in the most destructive and painful extremes, where we have even new independent productions, either by virtue of direct revelations, or as the products of assumed superior wisdom. Pronouncing all that has been a failure, we have the "New Church," "The Church of God," "The Church of Latter Day Saints," and "Independent Churches" without end, where a belief in "The Holy Catholic Church," is regarded as the mother of heresies.

In the bosom of such tendencies, it is easy to see, that a true churchly Cultus, such as we have in the Reformation period, is not possible. Being unchurchly it must be unsacramental. Having no objective basis to rest upon, it must become the product of individual will, and subjective feeling, and thus exhibit, in time, as it has actually done, all the distraction, weakness, and misery of individual caprice.

The unchurchly character and spirit of the post-Reformation Cultus manifests itself in various ways. We will briefly designate the more prominent.

1. It manifests itself in an undervaluing of the Sacraments.

That there has been degeneracy from higher to lower views of the Sacraments since the Reformation, is manifest to any one who has examined this subject historically with any degree of care. The idea of sacramental grace, both in Baptism and the Holy Supper, which was so central and familiar an idea in the sixteenth century, is now regarded as a dangerous heresy. The transaction is not regarded as something which God does to us, but something which we do to God—not sacramental but sacrificial. The extreme in which these divergencies have fallen, in reality meets the extreme of the Roman Church, making the sacraments virtually a work,—an offering to God, instead of a grace, an offering from God to man.

We may remind ourselves of the truth of this undervaluation of the sacraments, and a still farther divergency in the same direction, since the Reformation, by many considerations. Notice the fact in regard to the Lord's Supper, that it is far

less frequently administered—that the same solemn preparation for receiving it is no more made—that its administration to the dying is ridiculed—that so large a number, even of professing Christians, are not communicants—that some sects, as Separatists, fanatics, and Quakers, regard it as a mere outward form, at war with the Spirit, one of the "beggarly elements" of a carnal dispensation, and have set it entirely aside. Notice, too, how little power and solemnity, to the masses outside of the Church, have the momentous words: "Do this." "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you!"

In regard to Baptism, let the fact be noticed, that by some sects, as the Quakers, it is not practiced at all. In some of our American fanatical sects, it is left optional with the "converts." In some sects it is denied to infants; and generally, even when infant baptism is practiced, the solemnity is deferred much later than formerly. It is only necessary to compare the number of infants with that of adults in the baptismal statistics of those denominations where infant baptism is professedly practiced, to be convinced that there is a fearful and growing tendency to defer the administration of this sacrament; all of which is significant, and shows that its true original sacramental importance is not felt as it was formerly. Notice the fact, too, that in the whole shelves of books and pamphlets that have been written on the subject, they are all occupied with the subject, the mode, the outward, while you can scarcely find a single volume in which the *substance* of the sacrament is earnestly treated. All this indicates that the true sacramental substance is lost sight of, and that what has first diverged from the centre, is fast flying off from the periphery.

2. Closely allied to this growing indifference to the sacraments, and growing out of it, is a losing sight of the Priestly and Kingly functions in the Church. Sacred persons are no more regarded as ministers, only as "preachers." Christ's priestly office is not regarded, as in any sense, perpetuated in them. There is a tendency to regard them merely as chosen, authorized, and sent by men to men, instead of regarding them as coming from God to men, as being the functionaries of the

supernatural, and as having all their authority, responsibilities, and resources from the Head to the members. It is not regarded as a divinely gracious function, but only as a humanly wise arrangement. As to the kingly office, it is not to be thought for a moment, that any authority whatever is connected with the ministerial office—the solemn announcement of absolution, the binding and loosing, which is so prominent in the Cultus of the Reformation Churches, is regarded as next to blasphemy. Synods and symbols are alike put into the category of tyrannies; and though, by a kind of dead tradition, Church authority is acknowledged, yet there is but a feeble and restless submission to it. In the outer extremes of this tendency we have free independency, where every Church is its own authority, where the heights and depths, the lengths and the breadths of divine mysteries are measured, moulded, or voted out by the wisdom of the majority!

In some sects ministers are not needed—in others they are only needed as "preachers"—in others, again they are superseded in much of their ministrations by a thrusting forth of an unordained laity. There is growing the spirit of dictation, criticism, irreverence, and a general disposition to bandy the holy office upon the democratic level. Here the priestly function is virtually ignored; the minister's acts are viewed as personal, not official, and the solemn words are not felt: "He that heareth you, heareth me;" and "he that despiseth you, despiseth me!" His acts are transactions and suggestions, but not administrations and communications. In these conceptions no altar is needed, because there is no priest. Thus while the Roman Catholic Cultus sets aside the Prophet, this dispenses with the Priest and the King.

3. Still farther, we have in this unchurchly Cultus a great disrespect for all symbols of faith and forms of worship.

The Reformation Cultus made much use of the Creed, the commandments, the Lord's prayer; it had its liturgical forms of confession, prayer, intercession, and praise. The worshipper listened to these, and was moved by them, as the voice of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to them through the Church. These gave a holy order, and a subduing unction to

the worship. There was a priestly solemnity in the services, which inspired true devotion. Symbols of faith gave steadiness, firmness, and regulation to faith, and liturgical forms gave decent, sober, and reverent restraint and direction to devotional feeling. All this was in harmony with the idea that the objective and sacramental must be over the subjective and sacrificial—must call it forth, regulate, and limit it.

The later Cultus, disregarding these restraints, has, in many sects, become exceedingly wayward and wild. Irreverence and disorder often go so far as to take the form of actual revelry and frantic fanaticism, which has no bounds but every one's individual capacity. In such cases prayer is the mere vaporing of a fleshly excitement, in no sense the product of a sacramental Cultus. Thus, again, as in the Roman Church, worship becomes in reality a service, a work—that which is done to God from men, not that which God does for man, and in man—leaving out of view the entire one side of true Cultus, namely the sacramental.

4. This unchurchly Cultus becomes also distressingly naked and bare in its outward appendages and accompaniments.

It has zeal for plain unadorned churches—desires no sacred architecture, no solemn furniture—will have no altar, no organ, no distinctive dress for the minister in officiating—it will have no steeple pointing heavenward, no bell of solemn tone to preach over town and country—no superstitious "dim religious light" by means of stained glass; nothing that will give an air or appearance of solemn mystery to the holy place;—the consecration of a church, it prefers to call dedication—it will hear nothing of sacred places; it will rather say "meeting house" than church—it will hear nothing of sacred persons, sacred things, or sacred holidays. All must square with the secular, the natural, the every day feeling. It even seeks to put the grave-yard away from the church. It hates the old, around which associations are so apt to cling, because it fears superstition. It will be original in its faith, in its preaching, its prayers, its hymns, and its music. Nothing is stable long enough to awaken the home-feeling, and to bind the present to the past, the subjective to the objective, the sacrificial to the sacramental.

Such are some of the main features, and such some of the details, which characterize that Cultus which, in the various divisions and sects, has continued to diverge and degenerate since the Reformation—has diverged and degenerated, because it departed from the fundamental principles of a true Christian Cultus; or perhaps, more properly speaking, because it did not acknowledge and include these true elements in its start. This degenerate spirit could easily be traced out into almost any extent of detail; but this is not necessary, as the suggestions of any close observer will be abundantly confirmatory of the truth of the portrait which we have hastily sketched.

This is now the proper place for giving a brief historical exhibition of the true Reformed Cultus in its details, as the principles which lie at its foundation embodied themselves in the various provincial portions of the German Reformed Church. This will also enable us to see how far it embodied those functions and elements, which we have presented as the true substance of Christian Cultus, and which we have seen have evaporated in the various secondary reformations which have sprung up since. The first order of divine service which Zwingli introduced in the Church at Zurich, 1529, was as follows:

1. A general prayer.
2. The Kyrie Elesion.
3. The Gloria.
4. The prayer before the Epistle.
5. The Epistle Lesson.
6. The Graduale.
7. The Gospel Lesson.
8. The Creed.
9. The Sermon.
10. The Präfation.
11. The Lord's Supper.

The first order of service introduced by Calvin in the Church at Geneva, 1541, was more simple than that of Zwingli at Zurich. Farel, before him, had prepared the way. While Zwingli honored, to some extent, the old, and suffered himself to be influenced by Luther's order of service, Calvin brought the

Genevan order of worship rigidly to the test of what he regarded a truly evangelical simplicity. Its parts were as follows:

1. The Commandments.
2. A confession of sin.
3. Singing of a Psalm.
4. An extemporaneous prayer on the pulpit, ending with the Lord's Prayer.
5. Text and sermon.
6. Prayer, ending again with the Lord's prayer.
7. The Creed.
8. The Benediction.
9. A short closing Psalm.

This was substantially, also, the form and order of service in the French Reformed churches.

The German Reformed Church service in the Palatinate included the following parts:

1. Invocation.
2. A form of exhortation to prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer.
3. Singing.
4. A Liturgical prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer.
5. Singing.
6. Text and sermon.
7. Confession of sin—a Liturgical Form.
8. Absolution.
9. A Liturgical prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer.
10. A short Psalm.
11. Benediction.

In Calvin's Church Service, as used in the French churches, only the Psalms and the commandments were read in the altar —the last not by the minister, but by the clerk. In the Hessian Agenda, 1657, it appears that, in the German Reformed churches all the service that preceded the sermon was done in the altar. After the sermon, in this Agenda, comes the Absolution, which is done on the pulpit, as being a part of the announcements of the Gospel. After this, however, the minister descends again, and makes the closing prayer, and pronounces the benediction in the altar.

It will be seen, that amid a general uniformity in the main elements, there is considerable variety in the minor details, in the worship of the different provincial Churches. This is in keeping with the genius of the Reformed Cultus; upon a churchly basis, it allows freedom. It allows of development, to meet the variety of wants which ever arise from peculiarities of nationality, education and social habits. It will be seen also, that, though the Liturgical element enters largely into the service, it is not in so formal a manner as to be a yoke, or stiff harness to the free spirit of devotion, but rather in the way of help and guide. It is to lean on, as well as to be carried by. This is as it should be. Experience, in those Churches which are rigidly bound down to a full routine of forms, and are compelled to adhere to them uniformly, proves that a stiff formalism is the result. The interest of the worshippers cannot be secured by a rigid sameness of form during the whole worship.

It will be farther seen, from these various modes of service, that all the parts and elements of a full, free, churchly, and edifying Cultus have been preserved in the Reformed Church. A Liturgy, that will meet the wants of the Church, must include them all. They need not all be used in every service; but they must all be there, so that existing wants may always be met, and that there may be a free accommodation of the worship to circumstances and occasions. Thus worship, like all life, while bound to its organs and channels, is nevertheless free in all its activities.

Observing the general order of each, and combining all the parts and elements into one, we will have the following full order of worship:

1. Invocation.
2. Commandments.
3. Confession of sin, passing over into the Kyrie Elesion, and ending with the Lord's prayer.
4. Absolution.
5. Singing.
6. Reading the Epistle, or a passage from the Old Testament
7. The Graduale.

8. Reading of Gospel.
9. Creed, passing into the great prayer.
10. Singing a Psalm, Hymn, or Gloria.
11. Sermon.
12. Psalm, or Hymn.
13. Prayer, passing over into the Lord's prayer.
14. Doxology.
15. Benediction.

If there is to be the administration of the Lord's Supper, the service after the sermon ought to take the following order. Before the sermon there should be only the Invocation, Hymn, Prayer, and Gloria.

12. Psalm or Hymn.
13. Confession of sin.
14. Absolution.
15. The communion service.
16. Liturgical prayer, including the consecration, and ending in the Lord's prayer.

Präfation.*

17. Administration of the Lord's supper.
18. Thanksgiving.
19. Doxology.
20. Benediction.

It will be seen at once that a service that should follow, and use all these parts, would be much too long; but this is to be regarded as an advantage, inasmuch as it leaves room for omitting and using in a free way to suit the occasion, and the circumstances. As all these parts and elements belong properly to the Cultus of the Reformed Church, they ought to be at her service, and there ought to be opportunity and freedom to use them in that unbound accommodation to time, place, and circumstances, which makes a Liturgy truly a help, and not slavery.

As to the order in which these parts ought to succeed each

* A thanksgiving form before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in imitation of our Saviour, who "gave thanks" before he distributed the elements to his disciples. It is introduced by several beautiful responses between the minister and the choir, or congregation.

other, that must be decided with due reference to precedent, taking into consideration also their inward relation to, and dependence upon, each other. We hope to throw light upon this part of the subject by some comments upon the different parts of the order of worship.

1. The Invocation.

The invocation includes something of the Blessing and something of the Prayer. It invokes God's presence and blessing, and turns also towards the people with a kind of greeting from God through the minister. It was not originally in the order of worship instituted by Zwingli; but it became, in the lapse of time, a part of the Zwinglian form of service, as it was afterwards developed and established. It is found also in the Palatinate service. It is not found in the Calvinistic service. Calvin's form directly confronted the people with the law—abrupt and stern. In the French Reformed Churches the service began in the same way.

The following was the common form of Invocation:

"Grace, peace, and mercy, from God the Father, and his beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all. Amen."

This, it will be observed, has the form of a blessing, and is only passed over into a prayer by the words, "be with *us* all," including the minister, whereas a blessing leaves out the minister, and says, "be with you." The reason, why it is turned into a prayer, is, that it is the beginning of the exercises, and the minister as well as the people, needs "grace, peace, and mercy" for the discharge of his solemn duty.

2. The Commandments.

The commandments were used in the French and Dutch Reformed Churches. There is much propriety in the solemn announcements of these humiliating, and heart-searching words from Sinai in the service. They have the double effect of being words of conviction and penitence to sinners, and of reproof, correction, and direction to Christians. They come properly at the beginning of the service, because the first thing we ought to realize, when we enter upon divine service, is a deep sense of our need of divine grace. This comes from a

sense of our sin and misery, which is "out of the Law of God." Saints as well as sinners need a constant tender sense of unworthiness. Thus the commandments in worship—as they do in the Catechism, where they come forward both in the First Part for the conviction of sinners, and in the Third Part for the direction of believers—have their legitimate effect upon both classes. They also prepare the way very naturally for what follows, namely:

3. Confession of sin, passing over into the Kyrie Elesion, and ending with the Lord's prayer.

The penitential feeling which the law produces prepares the way for hearty and humble confession. This confession was generally made kneeling, or standing. It was brief; and it generally had brief earnest prayer mingled in with it, or at its conclusion. Hence, we think this confession of sin may properly pass over into the KYRIE ELESION. This is a very ancient, brief, humble, solemn form of prayer, founded on several passages of Scripture, such as Ps. 51: 1; 123: 3; Matth. 9: 17; 15: 22. It is in this form:

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

This prayer was from the very earliest times used in the Greek Church. It has since been, in various ways, beautifully enlarged, both by Protestants and Roman Catholics, and in the Greek Church. In Zwingli's form this prayer follows the first general prayer, which was no doubt of a penitential character. As this part of the service ought to be short, solemn, and hearty, and as this prayer is touchingly penitential, we can think of nothing more suitable to give relief to the heart from humble confession. In the faith and sense of forgiveness, of which we may suppose the heart to be conscious after the Kyrie Elesion, the transition is natural into the Lord's prayer, so full of humble joy and filial feeling. Thus are these three Cultus-forms brought together, like the three parts of the Catechism, which they resemble, both in the nature of their contents, and the order in which they are arranged.

4. Here very naturally and properly comes in the Absolution.

If the congregation have knelt during the confession and prayer, they will now hear the solemn words of absolution in a standing posture.

The absolution is founded upon the many promises in the Scripture by which penitent and believing hearts have the assurance of pardon and the favor of God. This assurance officially announced to them is calculated to afford them great relief and comfort. It is also implied that the minister, by virtue of his office, has authority to administer these consolations, and that in consequence they carry with them additional unction and power to awaken faith and beget comfort. The absolution, which announces to the believing that their sins are pardoned, also announces to the impenitent that their sins are retained. This is done to awaken their consciences, and bring them to repentance. The warrant for this double announcement is from those passages which give to the minister power to bind on earth and it shall be bound in heaven, to loose on earth and it shall be loosed in heaven, and which assure all that whosoever sins they remit they are remitted, and whosoever sins they retain they are retained. It will at once be felt that this solemn service grows very naturally out of what is called in the Heidelberg Catechism, the doctrine of the Keys.

In the Palatinate Liturgy, and also in the Hessian Agenda, the Absolution comes after the sermon. Is it not, however, more naturally connected with the confession of sin? Ought it not come in at the commencement of the service, so that the conscience may be relieved of its sense of guilt, and the heart comforted, and thus prepared, with humble joy, to engage in the service which is to follow? Ought it not to come in the bosom of the Altar service, where the sacrifice of broken and contrite hearts is properly brought? True, it may be said, it is an announcement of the gospel, and therefore belongs more properly to the pulpit, following the sermon as a part of it, by way of solemn application, making it glad tidings indeed; yet it is the announcement of the Priest rather than of the Prophet—it is the gracious acceptance of those hearts which in penitence and confession have been laid upon the altar of propitiation,

5. Singing. The Psalm or Hymn here sung ought to be purely liturgical and devotional. It need have no reference to the sermon, or to the portion of Scripture to be read after it. It looks back, and not forward. It may be penitential, as answering to the feelings awakened by the commandments and confession of sin. It may contain prevailingly the elements and the spirit of thanks and praise, as completing the feelings of joy and confidence awakened by a joyful sense of pardon, of which the worshipper is assured in the pronouncing of absolution. It may be the expression of faith, and prayer for the continuance of divine mercy and goodness.

It would be very interesting to treat fully the relation of the Zwinglian conceptions of worship to singing—the Reformer's indifference to it—its gradual introduction (for it was never abolished, because it had not been before in practice)—the opposition of the Reformed to Hymns, and their preference for the Psalms—their feeling, prevailingly for sacrificial hymns, over against the Lutherans, who preferred the sacramental. All this would be even in place, but must be suppressed in order to keep this article within proper limits.

We only yet remark, on this point, that singing ought to be regarded as an important part of divine service. It was so in the Old Dispensation. The Saviour consecrated it by singing a hymn with his disciples in the upper room in connection with the solemn institution of the Last Supper. The Apostle exhorts to the singing of Psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs. It is natural for a devout heart to hymn forth its emotions. It is adapted to that concert which is necessary to the order and harmony of worship in the great congregation. It is that part of service in which the congregation can so well engage in the way of penitential confession, and joyful thanksgiving and praise. By far too little attention is paid, at the present time, to this part of Cultus; and grievous defects prevail which call loudly for correction. It is a question now pressing heavily upon the hearts of earnest Christians, whether the number of Hymns and Psalms allowed to be sung is not by far too many —whether this is not still more the case with the tunes? whether the elements of Church music have not been expan-

ded into such endless variety, as to lose in a great measure their power, savor, unction and impressiveness? whether a return to the earlier simplicity, in regard to the number of Psalms and Hymns, as well as tunes, is not absolutely necessary, to a restoration of this part of Cultus to its true place and power. He that can speak on this subject so as to be heard and felt, will deserve the warmest gratitude of the Church.

6th, 7th and 8th. The propriety of hearing God directly through His own Word, read in the service, must be plain to every one. This has been a part of Cultus, in all dispensations, and in all ages of the Church. When we consider that the Holy Ghost dwells in the hearts of saints, to lead them into truth, to show them the things of Christ, it is at once seen what an instrument of illumination and comfort, the word read, may become in the hands of the Spirit. He will make the needed comments in their own minds and hearts. Read thus, it comes not from the prophet, but it has a priestly significance; it becomes an offering to the saints, and begets a spirit of sacrifice in them. For this reason it is properly read in the Altar.

The experience of every true believer, proves that the word of God thus read, is often accompanied with an unction, and an application, which it is not felt to possess when read in private. It shows itself capable of wonderful accommodation to the varied wants and circumstances, and states of the worshippers. Whatever may be the passages read, every one feels their suitableness to his own case.

The Reformed Church, we think, rightly protested against the formal and forced adherence to regularly designated portions of Scripture to which the Lutherans adhered. The word of God must not be bound. We must not encourage such preferences for portions of the word of God, which will exclude others from being read at all in the public service. All Scripture was given from God by inspiration, and it is all profitable for doctrine, for correction, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness. Why then should portions of it be ever repeated, and other parts of it not be heard at all?

As the Old Testament is related to the New in the way of

prophecy and fulfillment, and as the one ever illustrates the other, it is well to read from each in every service. Such is also, in a great measure, the relation which the Gospels sustain to the Epistles, and these may, therefore, to advantage, be combined in the reading of the Scriptures. This will give the reading of two portions in the same service, which will enlarge the portion read, the propriety of which is at once apparent. There is a tendency toward the neglect of reading the Scripture in divine service. This needs to be corrected, and it will be done, if two portions are regularly read. It may be proper, and convenient, on certain occasions, in order to shorten the service, to omit the reading of one lesson. The selection of the portions to be read being left free, as well as the length of them, and the privilege of omitting one lesson entirely, gives to this part of the service a free pliability which is greatly to the advantage of the service. It must be steadily kept in mind that a Cultus, while it rests upon, and is firmly bound to a churchly basis, and liturgical order, must, nevertheless, remain free. Any arrangement in the service which combines these two things, ought always to receive great consideration.

To avoid that abruptness of transition from the reading of one lesson to the other, which always grates on a devotional frame, the GRADUALE is introduced as a natural, easy, and devotional transition. This, it has been seen, is introduced in Zwingli's form of Church service. The Graduale—which is so called from the circumstance that the reader of the Gospel lesson, during the time it was sung, ascended some steps to th place from which he was to read—is a composition founded upon a Psalm. It may be a Chant or Anthem, that will give suitable expression to the devotional feelings of the congregation, and be a solemn preparation for the reading of the second lesson. Several suitable compositions may be designated for this part of the service, so as to avoid too much sameness. The one to be sung may be announced by the minister, by repeating the first few words; and the congregation, familiarized with it, will fall in as naturally, devoutly, and solemnly, as they do in the Doxology, which precedes the Benediction.

9. After reading of the Scriptures, which are the norm and fountain of faith, comes very properly the CREED, which is its summary expression. The Creed passes properly over into the Prayer. This is the principal, or "great Prayer," and ought to be made kneeling. In the Zwinglian service, prayer was offered kneeling; and this posture was only changed at a later period.

This prayer, as it is originally based upon the passage of Paul, 1 Timothy 2 : 1, 2, ought to include all the elements and objects of prayer there mentioned—supplication, prayer, intercession, and giving of thanks, for all men, for rulers, and for all in authority; for the peace of the world, for the welfare of the Church, for the congregation, its officers, members, children; for the poor, the suffering, for widows, orphans, prisoners, captives, strangers; for penitents, for those that mourn, for the forsaken; for such as are in temptations, perils, dangers; for sinners, for such as are bound in error, for enemies; in short, for all ranks and conditions of men. In the way of intercession, this prayer must place the Church between God and a world lying in sin and death. In the way of supplication, it must implore God's merciful protection and supporting grace. In the way of thanksgiving, it must recount and gratefully acknowledge the manifold mercies and blessings of a kind heavenly Father, of an atoning Saviour, and of a sanctifying Spirit.

How appropriately does such a prayer grow out of a solemn profession of our faith in the Creed; and how fit is it that the congregation appearing with such a burden of earnest petitions, should cast itself humbly upon its knees before the throne of the heavenly grace.

10. This is properly followed by a Psalm, Hymn, or the *gloria.* This concludes the Altar service, before the sermon; and forms an appropriate transition to the services of the pulpit.

As the entire service is to constitute one complete whole, the altar service ought to unite with that of the pulpit, even as the prophetic and priestly were joined in Christ. The singing, therefore, which is here introduced, looks forward as well as back; it may have reference, in its sentiment, to the sub-

ject matter of the sermon; or at least may be of such a character as to prepare the minds and hearts of the congregation for the sermon. If it is desirable to shorten the service, the short gloria, or a short anthem may appropriately take the place of a psalm or hymn. Thus: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen." This form of praise, founded upon the numerous Doxologies of the New Testament, is an appropriate expression of hearts blest in the preceding services. As praise and doxology, it appropriately concludes the altar service. Or as expression of hope and joy, it looks naturally and properly forward to the living word of joy and glory which is about to be heard. If time allow, the gloria may come in at the close of the psalm or hymn.

11. This is the place for the sermon. Here there is a very marked change in the character of the Cultus. What has preceded has been purely worship; here now comes a part which, though it is adapted to awaken devotional feelings of a varied kind, yet, as a whole, it is not so much worship, as a being taught how to worship. The pulpit points to the altar, like John the Baptist to Christ.

The Pulpit is properly behind the Altar, and the services in the Altar come properly before those of the Pulpit, because the reception of the word needs preparation. Faith comes before knowledge. The carnal mind cannot perceive the things of the Spirit. Though Christ taught before He sacrificed, yet his disciples did not fully understand his teachings until after his death; following the Prophet until they had fellowship with him as a Priest, all His teachings became clear in the light of His Priesthood. The first is a prayer: "Open thou our eyes"—then comes the effect: "That we may see wonderful things out of thy holy law." According to our Saviour's parable, the ground needs preparation for the seed of the word; and it must be plain that the heart is better prepared for the exercises connected with the prophetic office after it has passed through the solemnities of the Altar service. Not aside of the Altar, or away from it, separate and alone, is the place for the Pulpit, but behind it and forming one whole with it.

The little use which is made in the Roman Church of preaching, and its almost entire abolition in the Greek Church, as well as its subjection to the uncertainty of mere subjective suggestions, as with the Quaker, cannot be justified. The prophetic is an office, and must have its regular orderly and permanent place in the Cultus of the Church. The Old Testament practice, the example of our Saviour and of his Apostles, as well as the practice of the early Church, are strong precedents in favor of the great importance of preaching. Protestantism has fully restored the prophetic office to its proper place and prominence.

The sermon ought to be of such length as not to infringe upon the time needed for the Altar services, the devotional part. In the ancient Church, we are told, the sermons were very short, the homilies of Origen were, when longest, not more than a half an hour. "Few of the sermons of Augustine," says Dr, Alt, "can have been more than half an hour, the most of them scarcely a quarter, and many of them only ten minutes. So also the sermons of Leo the Great, Cæsarius of Arelata, and Gregory the Great." Luther was also a great enemy to long sermons, and often reproved Dr. Pomeranus for his long preaching; and when he sums up the characteristics of a good preacher, he says, "Sixthly, he must know when to stop." The Old Dissenters were noted for their sins against brevity. It is doubtful whether anything beyond three quarters of an hour effects much good. True it is, that where the sermon exceeds that time, the other parts of the service must be curtailed, or the service must be protracted beyond the patience of some, and even the earnest devotion of others. The longest discourse in the New Testament is the sermon on the Mount, and that would not exceed thirty minutes, spoken in the most deliberate manner. The congregation ought to be left, at the close of the sermon, in such an easy state of feeling, as to time, that they may be fitted to engage in the services which follow, with proper patience, attention and devotion.

12. After the sermon comes a Psalm or Hymn. This ought to have some adaptation to the subject matter of the sermon, so as to give natural and fit expression to the feelings awakened by the truth brought before the congregation.

13. A short prayer, passing over and ending in the Lord's prayer. In the Hessian Agenda this prayer was made in the Altar. This is, of course, the proper place for all prayer, if we keep up at all the idea of the Altar. There the minister stands, not away from the people, but on the same level with them, and among them; and thus he becomes the mouth and organ of their worship.

14. The Doxology. Here is an opportunity for the whole congregation to join in a brief and hearty expression of glory to God. There is in it gratitude and praise. It is a reverent and solemn turning toward the triune God before withdrawing, for the time, from His immediate presence, and at the close of His most solemn worship.

15. The service closes with the Benediction. This is either the Old Testament blessing, or one of those in the New, by which some of the Epistles are closed. This is a very solemn part of the service—we may say the crowning part. After God's presence and blessing has been bestowed and enjoyed while the congregation has been assembled, a gracious God now sends His blessing with them as they depart, to remain upon them when away. They are thus to bear the blessing with them into all the relations of secular life. They having been blest in the services, this is a public, official announcement of the blessed fact, for the increase of their confidence, consolation, and joy.

The blessing differs from a prayer, in that the minister does not include himself in it. He does not say, "be with *us*," but "be with *you*." There is in it a recognition of the fact, that, by virtue of his office, he has authority from God to bless. It rests upon the assurance that those who receive the blessing, in faith receive it, and with them it remains.

It ought, therefore, to be received devoutly and believingly. Nothing can be more grating to the feelings of one who has any proper conception of the solemn nature of this part of the service, than to witness the listlessness and irreverence with which some persons receive it. Do we say receive it?—we say wrong, they do not receive it, but arrange their dress, put on their cloaks, reach for hat, cane, or umbrella, and move to

depart, while God is lifting his hands over them to impart to them His gracious blessing! Such persons have not the least conception of the meaning of this service.

In regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper, we have indicated the course which the service ought to take after the Sermon; as also how, when this solemnity is in anticipation, the altar service preceding the sermon, may be abridged. We cannot, at this time, enter upon that part of the Christian Cultus.

Having now, briefly and hastily it is true, gone over the ground proposed, namely, the nature, history and relations of Christian Cultus, with its reference to the present Liturgical wants of the German Reformed Church, we here bring the subject to a close. We hope the general subject will continue to receive the earnest attention of our Ministers and Laity; so that, together with the formation of the new Liturgy, there may grow also a deeper and clearer conception of all that is involved in a true Christian Cultus.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. VI.—THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES IN ITS RELATION TO THE MOTHER CHURCH IN GERMANY.

Report of Professor Dr. Schaff of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, read before the German Church Diet at Frankfort on the Maine, on the 27th of September, 1854.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.]

HONORED AND BELOVED FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

BY way of introduction, I present to you, as the representatives of the German Evangelical Church of Europe, the good wishes and fraternal salutation of the German Evangelical Church of America, which, although separated from you by land and sea, is yet, and will continue to be, flesh of your flesh and bone of your bone; and, as the two hemispheres are now

brought nearer and nearer to each other through the power of steam, so she desires to become more and more closely united to you through the deeper power of faith and love.

Thousands of evangelical Christians in the New World, who still revere and love the Fatherland as their natural and spiritual birth-place, and take the most heartfelt interest in the struggles and victories of the mother-Church, hailed also with delight the rise of *the German Church Diet* in the year of 1848, as a bow of peace and promise, after the storms of the Revolution, and as the dawning light of a new day to German Christendom. They saw in it, the fruit of the free pastoral conferences, a beginning toward the concentration and consolidation of the noblest powers of the German Churches of the Reformation, a mighty engine for moral improvement, a living embodiment of "Inner Missions," a noble evangelist for the suggestion and furtherance of every good work. With the liveliest sympathy they followed its annual meetings from Wittemburg to Stuttgart, Elberfeld, Bremen and Berlin, were edified by the beautiful evidences of faith in the most sterling representatives of the Evangelical theology and worship from all parts of Germany, admired the remarkable unanimity and lofty enthusiasm, with which, in the year 1853, it replanted the standard of the venerable Augustana against infidelity and superstition in the city of Frederick, II, and Nicolai, and hoped for the most complete success in its great work of a thorough inward regeneration of German Protestantism. And even at this hour, when you are holding your seventh session in the old imperial city, so renowned in the history of the nation, innumerable prayers on your behalf are ascending on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, that the humiliating scenes of the Frankfort Parliament may not be repeated in the Frankfort Church Diet, but that a stream of blessing may issue thence, flow over all Germany, and even reach the far-off shores of the Mississippi, and that a deep foundation may be laid for spiritual *unity* and moral *freedom*, till the Lord himself, beyond our prayers and comprehension, shall crown our defective endeavors after union and confederation with the perfect exhibition of *one* flock, gathered out of all lands, nations and confessions under Him, the *one* Shepherd.

The Church Diet on its part, has not forgotten its kindred in foreign countries, and its large heart and true tact appear in this, that at Bremen it admitted into the compass of its transactions *the German emigration*, and at Berlin *the dispersions of Germans in Europe*, as an important department of Inner Missions. Hence, it was very natural to take into view the much greater *dispersions of Germans in America and the entire relation of the German Evangelical mother-Church to her American daughter.*

This is the theme, which the central committee of the "Congress of Inner Missions," handed over to me for an introductory report. Permit me, therefore, to direct your attention to the following three points:

1. The significance of America in general for the development of the kingdom of God.

2. The position and mission of the German Evangelical Church in America.

3. The duty of the mother-Church in Europe to her American-German daughter.

In carrying out this object, I will take up the German Church of America as a whole, and in the very order, which the reformatory confessional basis of the Church Diet marks out; and I can do this the rather, because I was ordained in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, and in January, 1848, the year in which the Diet took its rise, established a periodical as a "central organ for the common interests of the Lutheran, Reformed and United Confessions, and the Moravian brotherhood," the very same communions represented in this assembly.

1. The significance of America for the future development of the kingdom of God.

The United States of North America—whose citizens are called *Americans* in an emphatic sense, because they are the bearers of the historical life and progress of the whole Western Hemisphere—are a wonder in the annals of the human race. Their development, in its rapidity and gigantic proportions, far outstrips all former experience, and their significance for the future mocks the boldest calculation. Though not an hundred years old, they have already become, by a natural force

of expansion, one of the mightiest empires of the civilized world, with the control of one entire continent and two oceans, and spread, in the most peaceful manner, the meshes of their influence over Europe, Asia and Africa. And yet, their history up to this time is only a faint prelude of what is to come, and the Americans of the twentieth century will look upon the present age of this country, with feelings akin to those with which modern Europeans regard the exodus of the nations on the threshold of the Middle Ages. The "Young Giant" has not yet, so to speak, sown all his wild oats, and along with many heroic deeds, commits also some wanton and extravagant pranks, which prove, however, the vigor of his youthful powers. Providence, who creates nothing in vain, has there made physical preparations on the grandest scale, and formed an immeasurable territory, containing the most fruitful soil, the most valuable mineral treasures and the most favorable means of commercial intercourse, as an inviting asylum for all European nations, churches and sects, who, there freed from the fetters of antiquated institutions, amid circumstances and conditions altogether new, and with renovated energies, swarm, and jostle each other, and yet, in an incredibly short space of time, are moulded by the process into one powerful nationality. Whilst Europe had first to work her way up out of heathen-barbarism, America, without earning it, has appropriated the civilization and Church history of two thousand years, as an inheritance, and already put it out at the highest rate of interest for the benefit of after generations. For, these Americans have not the least desire to rest on the laurels of the past and comfortably enjoy the present; they are full of ambition and national pride, and firmly resolved to soar above the Old World. They are a people of the boldest enterprise and untiring progress—Restlessness and Agitation personified. Even when seated, they push themselves to and fro on their rocking chairs; they live in a state of perpetual excitement in their business, their politics and their religion, and remind one of the storm-lashed sea, which here

> "Seethes and bubbles and it hisses and roars,
> As when fire with water is commixed and contending"

and "—— it never will rest, nor from travail be free,
Like a sea that is laboring the birth of a sea."

They are excellently characterized by the expressions: "Help yourself" and "Go ahead," which are never out of their mouths. It is also a very significant fact, that they have invented the magnetic telegraph, or at least perfected it, and are far advanced in the useful arts. For there the car of the world's history moves swifter and swifter on the pinions of steam and electricity, and "the days become too short."

The grandest destiny is evidently reserved for such a people. We can and must, it is true, find fault with many things in them and their institutions—slavery, the lust of conquest, the worship of Mammon, the rage for speculation, political and religious fanaticism and party-spirit, boundless temerity, boasting, quackery, and—to use the American word for it—humbug, as well as other weaknesses and dangers, that are moreover wanting to no country in Europe. But we must not overlook the healthy, vital energies, that continually re-act against these diseases: the moral, yea Puritanical earnestness of the American character, its patriotism and noble love of liberty in connection with deep-rooted reverence for the law of God and authority, its clear, practical understanding, its talent for organization, its inclination for improvement in every sphere, its fresh enthusiasm for great plans and schemes of moral reform and its willingness to make sacrifices for the promotion of God's kingdom and every good work. The acquisition of riches is to them only a help toward higher spiritual and moral ends, the gain derived from the inexhaustible physical resources of their glorious country only the material ground-work toward the furtherance of civilization. They wrestle with the most colossal projects. The deepest meaning and aim of their political institutions are to actualize the idea of *universal* sovereignty, the education of every individual for intellectual and moral self-government and thus for true freedom. They wish to make culture, which in Europe is everywhere aristocratic and confined to a comparatively small portion of society, the common property of the people and train up every youth as a gentleman and every girl as a lady; and in the six States of

New England at least, they have attained this object in a higher degree than any country in the old world, not even England and Scotland excepted.

In short, if anywhere in the wide world a new page of universal history has been unfolded and a new fountain opened, fraught with incalculable curses or blessings for future generations, it is in the republic of the United States with her star-spangled banner. Either humanity has no earthly future and everything is tending to destruction, or this future lies—I say not exclusively, but mainly—in America, according to the victorious march of history, with the sun from east to west.

But America has likewise equally as great a prospective significance and mission for the internal and external development of *the kingdom of God.* The history of the world is indeed only the vestibule to the history of the Church, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, preparing the way for Him, who should come. All political events and revolutions, all discoveries and inventions, all advances in art and science; in fine, all that belongs to the kingdom of the Father and is under the guidance of his general providence, must serve the Son and spread abroad his name, until the whole world is filled with his glory, and all nations walk in the light of eternal truth and love. For the Father draws all men to the Son, and "they shall honor the Son, even as they honor the Father."

American Church-history is still in the storm-and-pressure-period. Its roots, with all their living fibres, are in Europe, especially in England. It draws its life from the past, most of all from the conquests of the Reformation of the XVI century, and the principles then established, exert there an enormous power, and find the freest scope of action and influence upon the entire national life. Meanwhile, it is all merely the labor of preparation, the heaping up of materials and plans, the chaotic fermentation that precedes the organizing creative activity. But the prolegomena are laid out on the most comprehensive scale; the cosmos lies in the chaos, as a man in embryo, and He, who in the beginning said: "Let there be light!" lives and rules with his Divine Spirit, brooding over the ecclesiastical *Thohuvavohu* ("without form and void") of the new world.

The history of the kingdom of God in America has already entered upon the dawn of a new era, and will unfold itself, under circumstances and conditions altogether peculiar, not indeed beyond Christ—for He is the Alpha and Omega of Church-history, and before Him the Americans bow with the deepest reverence as before the highest and holiest name in the universe—but beyond all that has hitherto existed in the ecclesiasticism of Europe. I can only touch briefly upon these new circumstances and conditions, which aid *the internal progress* of the Church. To these belong the Protestant, or rather Puritan starting-point of North American Christianity, its complete deliverance from Mediæval Catholic and feudal institutions, its independence of the State, the universal religious freedom and liberty of conscience, and the meeting of all European Confessions and sects on the basis of the voluntary system and political equality. In America the most interesting experiments in Church-history are now made. There the idea is, to found a Church, which, without any direct support from the government, and having for this reason a stronger hold on the sympathies of the people, shall be the expression of their untrammeled convictions, the bearer and guardian of their highest spiritual and moral interests. There the idea is, to actualize the genuine Protestant principle of a congregation, independent and yet bound to an organic whole, in a far greater degree than has heretofore been the case in the Old World: and to make each Christian a priest and a king in the service of the High Priest and King of Kings. There the idea is, to settle the conflict between the greatest diversity and essential unity, between freedom and authority in religion. There the whole controversy between Romanism and Protestantism has been taken up anew, and is rapidly drawing towards a most earnest, perhaps even a bloody issue. For North America is a land thoroughly Protestant, almost to an extreme; n Protestantism embraces not merely the large majority of the population, but is the source, at the same time, of all its social and political principles; in fine, is interwoven most intimately with the entire national life, and goes hand in hand with all the nobler struggles after freedom and ideas of progress. The

public opinion, formed under the influence of Puritanism, regards Romanism, whether justly or unjustly, as the veritable Anti-christ, Intolerance and Persecution personified, a system of the most terrible spiritual despotism, which, if successfully established, would also annihilate all political freedom and arrest the progress of history. Hence the more this Church grows—although its growth does not keep pace with the emigration from Ireland, Germany and France, so that in fact much more material is lost than gained by the transition to America—the more do national jealousy and hatred, which have already found vent in manifold riotous proceedings, increase also. Here it will be seen, whether the Papacy, under conditions and circumstances like these, can maintain herself unaltered, or whether she will rush to ruin, or undergo a fundamental change.

In North America, moreover, the fate of the Reformation is to be decided. There, Protestantism, along with its enormous vital energies, its devotion to liberty, its ability to make sacrifices and its bold and enterprising spirit, exhibits also its faults and weaknesses much more plainly than in Europe, where its free development is still checked by the fetters of ecclesiastical and civil forms and regulations, the growth of ages. There it will be seen, whether it, as its enemies prophecy, being left to its centrifugal and unchurchly tendencies, will at last break up into nothing but atoms, and prepare a greater triumph for Catholicism than the victory over the Old Roman and Germanic heathenism ; or whether, as we believe and hope, following its positive, Christian principles, with the Word of God in hand and heart, it will come together, consolidate, concentrate itself and out of the Phoenix-ashes of all Christian denominations and sects, rise glorified as the truly universal, Evangelical Catholic Bride of the Lord, adorned with the fairest flowers of the Church-history of all centuries.

Such a mighty misson appears to lie before the Church-history of the country, of which we speak; not indeed as isolated from the rest of the world, but in connection with the other Christian nations, who are brought nearer every year, the barriers of space and time being broken down. To such a misson

even the rude beginnings of their labor point, and thus much, according to human view, is at all events certain, that, North America, along with England and Germany, furnishes the most important contributions toward solving the vast problems touching Christ and his Church, which now press upon Christendom with gigantic weight; and will yet decide them to the honor of the God-man and Saviour of the world, and His Bride.

Not only upon the internal development of the Church, but also upon the *external spread* of the Gospel, in all heathen lands, America, from its geographical position and by its rapidly increasing commerce, must exert an incalculable influence. The Sandwich Islands, that halfway station upon the route over the Pacific Ocean, have, by Puritan missionaries of New England, been already won over to the Gospel, and will soon become an integral part of the great Anglo-Saxon Republic. The ports of Japan have been lately opened to American trade, and the various Missionary, Bible and Tract Societies, with their fresh, energetic powers, will certainly follow up this advantage at the earliest favorable opportunity. The railroad and canal, soon to be made over the Isthmus of Panama, indicate, that the whole commerce between Europe and Further Asia, as well as the Missionary operations, for which it has thus providentially furnished a path, will, in a short time, take up their march through America, as the real centre of the world. Already a line of steam ships has been established between San Francisco and Canton, and through this channel, christianizing and civilizing influences beyond number, will stream toward China; and already these Divine preparations, are met, without their knowledge or wish, by the inhabitants of the "Celestial Empire" crowding by thousands into California, who, lured thither by gold and the high wages of labor, will yet find there and carry back to their native land, where just now events occur that fill the whole world with astonishment, something infinitely better than all the treasures of Sacramento, the precious pearl of the Gospel. For the Colossus of three hundred and sixty millions, after a long stagnation amid dim forebodings of what should come, has at last set itself in motion, and rolls, like a tremendous avalanche of nations, to-

ward a speedy political revolution, which, in the end, must certainly pave the way for a much more important one, in the sphere of the Spirit.

Similar stars of hope for the approaching triumph of the peaceful kingdom of Christ have arisen above the African horizon. In the negro colony of Liberia, founded by American philanthropists, we not only see the first step toward the solution of the fearful riddle of negro-slavery, but the dawn also of a new day for the dark night of Africa, which will be yet conquered for the Gospel and civilization by her own sons and daughters, exported as rude heathen and now returning as Christian men and women.

But finally, North America will also take part in Inner Missions among the nominal Christians of the Old World, in order to restore the candlestick of the pure Word of God, where it has been obscured, or thrust aside, by various human ordinances and inventions. If Mexico, with its boundless sources of wealth, is ever to be delivered from the fetters of Romish ignorance and superstition, and raised out of the whirlpool of an eternal revolution to a state of rational freedom and order; if "the pearl of the Antilles" is yet to be transformed into a pearl in the diadem of the Evangelical Church and become an intellectual and spiritual paradise,—then it is evident, that this must be accomplished chiefly by the nationality and Protestantism of the United States. It is known, moreover, that the Americans have already established flourishing missions among the schismatical sects of the Greek Church; especially among the Armenians in European and Asiatic Turkey, and that they afford aid to the modern movements of the Waldenses in Piedmont, and to the Evangelical Societies of Geneva and Paris in the work of evangelizing France and Italy. Through their political and religious institutions and their new-born literature—I need only remind you of the fact, that the book, which has been most read, during the last few years, is a political novel, written by a New England lady, the daughter of a preacher and the wife of a professor—the United States exert already a very considerable influence, partly destructive, but partly regenerative also, on public opinion in England, Germany and

France; an influence, which must increase every year either as a curse or a blessing to old mother Europe.

I do not say all this in vain-glorious laudation of America, still less of the Americans, who, as men and Christians, are not one whit better than their European forefathers. Their vast mission and significance in the future history of the Church and the world can just as little be ascribed to any special merit of theirs, as the choice of the people of Israel, who, in spite of their stubbornness and ingratitude, were called to be the bearers of the Law and the Prophets, and the stock from whence the Saviour of the world should spring. There is the hidden purpose of God, alike in both cases, and each time bound to a corresponding measure of enormous responsibility.

And just as little do I wish to depreciate Europe and the Europeans by the above remarks. For America is indeed the daughter of Europe and operates with European forces, of which a fuller stream flows thither every year. And the signs of the times appear to indicate, that, as the powers of darkness deepen and concentrate, so likewise all the positive elements of Christendom, in all parts of the world, should come nearer, and become more closely joined together, so that they may achieve a more certain victory in the last decisive conflict. America and Europe ought to understand more clearly, prize more highly, and seek to know and love each other in the common service of the One Lord, to whom all the parts of the globe belong and must at last submit in free, blessed obedience.

2. The position and mission of the German Evangelical Church in America.

Into this American chaos of nations, creeds and sects, big with the destinies of the future, the German element was cast, more than a hundred years ago, like leaven into a process of formation, out of which will grow a universal church-cosmos. Next to the English, which is plainly the original stock of the North American nation, it is the strongest in numbers and much more important than the Spanish, Dutch, French, or even Irish element. The number of Germans in the United States, including their English descendants, is computed at four millions, constituting thus almost the sixth part of the collective

population. And in this we find nearly all the races and religious denominations of our tongue represented: the Lutheran, Reformed and United Confessions, the Moravian fraternity, the older sects of German Protestantism, along with several new ones, which have sprung up there, mostly of a Methodistical order; and, at the same time also, the very worst forces of irreligion and infidelity, which, as far as their influence extends, cover the German name in the New World with shame and disgrace, and, next to the Roman Catholic Irish, give the most nourishment to that bitter hatred of foreigners, which characterizes a strong American party, the Native Americans, or as they now call themselves, the Know-Nothings.

This German-American population will become stronger every year, by an *emigration*, which has almost swollen to a national exodus. I will refer to but one fact, that in the year 1852, in the single port of New York, one hundred and eighteen thousand six hundred and seventy-four Germans landed; the next year, one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and forty-eight, and that this year the number will probably be doubled; for the German Society of that city mentions the arrival of thirty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-nine for the month of May alone. Like a contagious fever, the rage for emigration spreads through all parts of Germany and all the Cantons of Switzerland. Agencies for emigrants are to be met with in every city, works, in every book-store, and advertisements, in every newspaper; and the name of America has now become as familiar to every German peasant and laborer, yea to every child in the street, as that of the nearest neighboring country, whilst to thousands and hundreds of thousands, it is the goal of their warmest wishes and boldest hopes. In all probability, this movement from the East to the West will rather increase than slacken for many years to come, as long indeed as its causes and incentives continue, which are the diminishing prospect of obtaining a livelihood or wealth in Germany with its super-abundant population, and, on the other hand, the brightening promise of material prosperity in America, together with the fact that the passage thither and settlement there, are becoming easier from year to year. No power on earth is able

to check this movement, because *a law of historical development and the will of Providence are thereby fulfilled.*

This emigration has two sides. For Germany, under present circumstances, it is an absolute necessity, and in general a blessing, a relief from an excess of population with whose growth the products of the earth and the means of living cannot keep pace; a beneficial letting of blood and a drain for poverty as well as political and religious disaffection. At the same time, it opens new markets for German industry, so that the loss from money carried out of the country is amply repaired by the amounts, which are ultimately returned. But for America, this phenomenon has the same significance, as the emigration of the Celtic, Germanic and Sclavonic races from Asia to Europe, the Greeks into the West, and the dispersion of the Jews into all parts of the world. Emigrants, in general, are the pioneers of profane and ecclesiastical history, the scions of civilization, grafted upon a wild stock in its luxuriant vigor.

Since then Providence has imparted to the German people so great an impulse toward emigration and directed it principally to the United States, he must have designed for them a mission in the New World answering to their cosmopolitan character. That the Germans, by their industry, perseverance and skill, can aid and have aided very largely in rendering the inexhaustible natural resources of that country available, and furthering its material prosperity, is clearly visible. But this must serve only as means for the solution of a *spiritual and moral religious problem*, which is incomparably higher and more important.

This higher problem consists in preserving, applying, independently unfolding and elaborating the peculiar gifts of the German mind and spirit as well as German theology and piety, partly for their own wants and partly for the advancement and modification of the entire process of development in Anglo-American Christianity and its Churches. The design is, to transplant the treasures of German literature, the results of thorough investigation in the departments of exegesis, Church-history, dogmatics and ethics, which the most distinguished Eng-

lish scholars are learning to prize more and more, into the fruitful soil of the Western Hemisphere; the design is, to impart to the Anglo Saxon race and thereby complete it, a spirit of depth and inwardness, a tendency toward the ideal and eternal, a disposition to dig and burrow into principles, an enthusiastic love for truth and knowledge for their own sake, a will to rank the spiritual far above the material interests; in short, that which makes up the peculiar *Charisma* (gifts of grace) of the German nation and Church in their noblest representatives; finally, the design is, to deliver the German mind itself from its own one-sidedness, to enlarge and enrich it by a living appropriation of the great excellencies of the English character and to fit it for new achievements in the sphere of science and of life.

The German nationality, in its pure form, bears a similar relation to the English, as the Old Greek to the Old Roman. The former is predominantly idealistic and speculative, the latter realistic and practical; the former has the deepest mind, the latter the strongest character; the former rules the world in that it fathoms and comprehends it in thought, the latter, in that it subjects it to its own will and makes it serve its own ends; the former labors in the quarry and brings the rough material to light, the latter builds it up into a stately dwelling-house. Whilst the Germans, perhaps more than any nation ever did, prepare thoughts and ideas, which are the real life-blood of profane and ecclesiastical history—look only at the Reformation of the sixteenth century, substantially the work of the German mind!—the English and Americans immediately convert thoughts into resolutions, and resolutions into deeds. With the one, everything runs into theory, and indeed so radically, that they are oftentimes in danger thereby of losing all they aim at: with the other, everything runs into practice, and it is quite possible, that many of the profoundest German ideas will yet attain in practical America a much greater importance than in the land of their birth, and first become flesh and blood on the other side of the ocean, like certain plants, which need transplanting to a foreign soil, in order to bear flowers and fruit.

If America, as many suppose, is to become the theatre of the last decisive conflict between faith and infidelity, between Christ and Antichrist; of the greatest collision between the various Christian nations and confessions and also of their final reconciliation; then surely the earnest and deep thinking of the German mind, especially through the medium of the English language, which is there generally understood, has no insignificant part therein to play.

At all events, if German science, the German Church and German piety, have yet a future anywhere in the world beyond Germany, that future lies in America, a new, vast, yea, immeasurable field of action; but it does not consist—for I must protest against a shallow over-rating of our language and nationality—in self-sufficient exclusiveness, or in hostile opposition to, but in friendly intercourse and union with the sterling and earnest English nationality, so nearly allied to ours; for surely God has brought together these two nations, branches of the same original Teutonic stock, upon American soil, not for hatred, but mutual completion and gradual intermingling, so that as *one* people, they should promote the kingdom of God and Christian civilization. And since America is spreading her net further and further over the globe and exerts upon public opinion, especially in Great Britain and Germany, a growing influence, the American-German Church, as soon as it lives to see its blooming-period, as we hope it will, and produces an Anglo-German literature of its own, can adapt the treasures of the German mind to the wants and tastes of the entire English nation, since indeed all important Anglo-American works are re-printed in England. Thus, to cite only one example, the fifth edition of Torrey's translation of Neander's Church History has already appeared in Boston and a double re-print of it in Edinburg and London, whilst the German original has only reached the second. On the other hand, such an Anglo-German literature would bring the peculiar excellencies of the English and American mind nearer to Germany, and thereby arouse even her to renewed activity.

O amiable enthusiast! So perhaps many will inwardly exclaim at this statement of the mission of the German nation

and Church for America and the whole Anglo-Saxon world. But I know as well as any one, that the *present condition* of the Germans in the United States is still very far removed from this aim; yea, partly in flat contradiction to it. I know it, and would here utter in sharp tones, that in general it is not at all calculated to give the least nourishment to the pride of culture of our old German Adam, but much rather, to cover it with deep shame and humility. The great mass of the German emigrants have from the beginning belonged to the lower and uneducated classes, and, therefore, they are still far behind the Anglo-American population. But the so-called educated emigrants, many of whom were floated over by the unsuccessful revolutions of the years 1848 and 1849, are, alas! for the most part, not only estranged, in a painful degree, from all Christianity and the Church, but even from all higher morality, and deserve rather to be called the pioneers of heathenism and a new barbarism than of civilization. Such persons naturally bring only reproach and shame upon the German race in the congress of nations of the New World, and expose it to indignation and horror, or to the pity and contempt of all sober and respectable Americans.

Excuse me from the unpleasant task of giving a minute description of this godless German-American pest, as it shows itself daily in the rudest and most insolent fashion, especially in so many scurrilous political newspapers and tippling-houses in all the larger cities of the Union. Only allow me never to forget, that the guilt of it rests on Germany herself, who sends over, or permits to go, to America, as though it were merely a general house-of-correction for all European scamps and vagabonds, thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands, and among them a large portion of its very worst and most incorrigible population, without caring for their spiritual and moral wants, although they are flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone. In the dark aspect of German-American affairs are seen the fearful consequences of German rationalism and infidelity, of political and religious error, and of that modern education, or rather mis-education, which makes fallen man, instead of the living God, the centre and end of all things; which exchanges

the Bible-doctrine that man was created in the image of God, for the blasphemous notion that God is no more than the likeness of man, and, from the dizzy height of self-deification, sinks down into the abyss of brutality and devilishness. Yes, these swarms of emigrants, in their sad and dreary state of spiritual decay, constitute a powerful call on the German governments and German nation to tremble and repent. Would that this misery were recognized as a common sin and a common guilt! O that it would penetrate our very bones and marrow! O that the entire German Church, along with abhorrence of the sin, would, at the same time, feel a Saviour's love, which led him to seek and to save the sinner, and neither slumber nor sleep till her lost sons and daughters, with penitent hearts, return again into their Father's house, from the beggarly husks of vice and impiety.

Notwithstanding all this, thanks be to God! there is no reason to despair. Paul was not cast down, when solitary and alone he wandered amid the numberless temples of the gods in Athens and Corinth, and preached the Divine foolishness of the cross to light-minded Epicureans, self-righteous Stoics and immoral worldlings; and God blessed his word with the most abundant success. The Jews were certainly, in the time of Christ, a degenerate race, and yet the Saviour came out of their midst, and his Apostles, the teachers of all centuries—and the synagogues of the dispersion in the cities of the Roman empire formed green oases in the wilderness of Heathenism and nuclei for Christian congregations. The Greeks had long sunk down from their eminence under the iron arm of the imperial Romans, and yet their literature educated the latter in humane studies and the conquered gave laws to the conquerors.

But not this alone! The circumstances mentioned present only one aspect of the picture. Besides the many unworthy representatives of the German race, there are also in America thousands of our countrymen, who, as workmen, farmers and merchants, as clergymen and scholars, belong to the most useful and esteemed citizens of the United States, and also a sufficient host of believing souls as salt to preserve the mass from corruption. The German Churches of the Reformation with

the Augsburg Confession, the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms, and the rich treasures of the German hymns and liturgies, have been in existence there for a hundred years, and everywhere offer to the new emigrant a spiritual home.

It is, of course, impossible to give here a detailed description of the state of the *German-American Churches*, and I can the rather pass on, because I have attempted to do so in a book of mine, just about leaving the press. I will only say thus much: The German Evangelical Churches of the United States are yet in the first chaotic stages of development, and have to contend with innumerable troubles and difficulties, inasmuch as they are deprived of the support of religious institutions and traditions, which are the growth of ages, and are obliged to create new regulations, and govern and administer their own affairs; because there everything rests on the voluntary principle, to which the Germans, spoiled by the habit of receiving maintenance and protection from an established Church, can only become reconciled by degrees. Notwithstanding all this, their advance is steady and even very rapid. Out of their long continued lethargy and ignorance, they have awakened at last to self-consciousness and activity. They have not only doubled their numbers within the last twenty years, but have also grown in knowledge, piety and zeal, and assume already no mean position beside their English neighbors, although certainly in many things still behind the leading denominations. They possess independent scientific institutions of their own, and can thus multiply their intellectual and ecclesiastical powers every year. Indeed, they can already point to the beginnings, even if they be small, of an independent theological literature and earnest ecclesiastical movements. In spite of countless discouragements and difficulties, they present one of the most promising fields of labor, and have as much prospect of external and internal growth, as any Anglo-American denomination, or any established Church in Europe. The more they expand and are built up in piety and true culture, the more will they exert a determining influence upon the course of development in the whole American Church, work in it like a beneficial leaven, bring honor to the German name and become a real blessing to the New World.

But just in proportion to this advancement, the consciousness of the greatness and responsibility of their work and their distance from that, which they should and might be, increases also; especially in view of the immense immigration, which every year only enlarges their material and missionary field, without, at the same time, supplying the necessary spiritual force for its cultivation. They, therefore, still louder and louder cause to resound over the waves of the Atlantic, the Macedonian cry:—"Come over and help us."

3. The duty of the German Evangelical mother-Church toward her daughter in America.

In this great and difficult mission of German Christianity in the New World of freedom and the future, it is clear that the German mother-Church ought to take an active and joyful part, prompted, if not by the higher motives of duty, at least by a certain Christian ambition and her own prospective advantage. I do not speak here of the native American-German population; for these the Churches there ought themselves to provide; but of the new emigrants, who, like flocks without shepherds, have left their fatherland, and cannot possibly be cared for by them; hence the Church in which they were born, baptized and confirmed, must lose a large portion of them, unless a corresponding number of ministers emigrate along with the people.

We Protestants, and especially we Germans, are lacking in *esprit de corps*, and a conscious feeling of unity. The interests of the Church, the Body of Christ, and thus of Protestantism also, are fundamentally the same everywhere, and become more and more so in an age, when the most distant regions of the globe are brought so near together by means of communication that mock at time and space. If one member suffers, the others suffer with it; if one member rejoices, the others rejoice with it. England will continue to live in America and Australia, and from thence rule the world, when St. Paul's Cathedral has long crumbled into ruins and but a single pier of Westminster Bridge is left standing as a witness to the departed glory of the city of Two Millions. And shall German Christianity not be concerned to have itself worthily and honorably represented on the chief theatre of future history in the world

and the Church; to have its peculiar charisms, its profound ideas, its glorious hymns, its inwardness and genial spirit maintained and made a blessing to the whole Anglo-American people?

Here, if anywhere, a rich missionary field is opened up and a favorable opportunity afforded for the erection of enduring monuments of honor and victory. And then, do we not know, that the giving of aid in the kingdom of the spirit is reciprocal, and that every gift, sooner or later, comes back, directly or indirectly, to the giver, laden with blessings? It is known, that the most flourishing Anglo-American Churches begin already to pay back the debt of gratitude which they owe to Europe; that during the terrible famine of the year 1846, they sent large supplies to Roman Catholic Ireland, even in spite of religious differences. Such a time of thankful repayment will also come for the German Church in America. Remember, that what you do for her, is done, if not directly for yourselves, perchance for your own, or your children's children. For the emigration continues and will go on, and who knows if it may not yet become a necessity, yea, a Divine command to the faithful, like the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt. No one, who has the interests of Germany at heart, can wish for such a result; but Europe rests upon a volcano, which can at any moment break out into a new eruption, and no bayonets, no political wisdom is able to stand security for the present order of things for the space of two years.

It is true, indeed, that matters are not so desperate in America, as is sometimes represented, that the German emigrants, if they fail to carry their own ministers with them, necessarily fall back into heathenism. On the contrary, America has become to many the birth-place of the new life. The Bible, Tract and Home Missionary Societies stretch over the Germans also an arm of love and several Anglo-American Churches, especially the Methodists, have for some years labored among them with considerable success, and established a fair number of missionary congregations. We rejoice with the Apostle, if only Christ is preached. Of course this does not do away with our own duty; it ought rather to spur us on to renewed

efforts, so that the material, that justly belongs to us, may be, if possible, retained, and contribute its part to the accomplishment of the great mission, which directly belongs to the German Evangelical Church and can be performed adequately by her alone. Yet, why should I bring further proofs for what is as clear as the light of the sun, the duty of a faithful mother, who can never forget her own child, but follows it everywhere with a heart full of love, sends up to heaven prayers and supplications for its welfare at all seasons, and beholds in it the continuation of her own life, her joy and her crown!

The sense of duty in this matter needs not to be awakened for the first time. Philanthropic societies in Germany, actuated by motives purely humane, have already taken care to provide moral regulations for the emigrants and safe-guards against extortion and cheatery of every kind, especially in the sea-ports of both countries. The need also of ecclesiastical and religious regulations in behalf of the emigrants, so that they may become a blessing to Germany and America, has long been felt, and for supplying this need, several societies have reared up ministers and school-teachers for sending out to America, and thus effected much good. It is, therefore, only required to render this sense of duty already existing, and the religious interest felt in the affairs of German emigration, more intense, deep and universal, and provide ways and means, by which this want may be best met and profitable results attained in the surest way.

We see little to hope from grand schemes for founding colonies of German Churches; for their success is more than doubtful, because of the divisions that reign both in Europe and America. Meanwhile we must be content with doing good to individuals and multiplying the amount of intellectual and spiritual resources, by which the cause of the Gospel may be best aided to a final triumph among the Germans in America. Organization in mass, the formation of a Church-cosmos out of the American chaos of sense, we must leave to the creative activity of God and the progress of events. But the following can, and ought, to be done by Germany, in order that the emigration to America, which actually exists and continually goes

on, may be made an honor to our Church and a blessing to the Old and New World.

1. *The introduction of a farewell service for emigrants*, in which, in the presence of the interceding congregation, they will be warned by their pastor of the dangers and temptations of the journey, exhorted to remain true to the faith of their fathers and their own vows of baptism and confirmation, and provided with bibles and other good books and tracts. Such a service has already been introduced in several places in the kingdom of Würtemberg and with good effect both for those remaining behind and those departing, since the heart is peculiarly sensible to religious impressions in moments of separation.

2. *The appointment of missionaries for emigrants in places of embarkation*, especially Bremen, Hamburg, Havre and Antwerp. There are indeed in all these places agents for their material interests. Why should there not also be agents of the Church, whose special duty it shall be to keep a moral guard over the swarms of emigrants, and labor among them by all lawful means,—by private conversation, by public preaching in the church, on the streets and on shipboard, and by the distribution of Bibles, hymn-books, works on practical religion, and useful directions for new settlers? The beginnings of such an enterprise already exist.

3. *The sending out of well qualified ministers to those who have emigrated*, and especially, if possible, such as possess, along with the necessary theological culture, sound evangelical and churchly principles, energetic faith, a talent for popular speaking, practical wisdom, a tact for ruling well and organizing congregations, but above all a self-denying missionary zeal. The notion, that what is no longer fit for Europe may be good enough for America, is radically wrong. He who is not able to help himself here will fail completely yonder, where every man is measured by his powers as an individual; and if the German Church would assume an honorable position over against the Anglo-American Churches and do credit to her mother, she must be represented by a faithful ministry, well qualified, theoretically and practically, for their work.

The venerable Orphan House of Halle has won great credit

by having sent out the Fathers of the Lutheran Church, and that for the most part, worthy, able men of blessed memory, such as *Muehlenberg*, *Kunze* and *Helmuth;* and, in our times, special unions have been formed for this purpose at Langenberg, Bremen, Stade and Berlin. I am personally acquainted with several, who have gone from the Langenberg Union, the Basel Mission-House and the Swiss Pastoral Aid Society, and here cheerfuly bear testimony to the fact, that they labor, amid manifold difficulties, with great success, and have founded many flourishing congregations. How much even one man may do for America is seen in the examples of Pastor *Lœhe*, who, in a certain measure, can be called the founder of the Old Lutheran Synod of Missouri, and Pastor *Spittler*, from whose misssionary Institute at the Crischona near Basel a Synod has gone forth for the Germans in Texas. These Unions might be revived, strengthened and enlarged, and, if possible, other similar ones besides established, say in Frankfort, Stuttgart, Hamburg and Bremen.

The chief difficulty appears to lie in the lack of means, since enough can scarcely be obtained for the growing practical wants of Germany herself. But every new want, if only felt aright, creates also its supply, and the sending out of missionaries to the heathen-world has done no injury to our list of candidates; nay rather, the zeal for Foreign Missions has awakened new zeal for Inner Missions, and *vice versa.* Perhaps, by negotiation with the German Church Governments, there might be brought about a *temporary transfer of candidates*, who, enriched by an experience of five or ten years in America, could afterwards return home, and thus, at the same time, form so many personal links of union between the German Churches in both hemispheres.

4. *The special training of pious and gifted young men for the service of the German Church in America*, with full regard to her peculiar circumstances and wants. This can be done, either by the establishment of a particular theological school in some seaport, like Bremen or Hamburg; or in connection with institutions for foreign missions, like those of Basel and Barmen; or finally—what is the most simple and practi-

cable—by founding and supporting professorships and scholarships in the American-German Colleges and Theological Seminaries already existing, which are obliged, for want of funds, to turn away many indigent applicants. By assistance of this kind, permanent fountains of life and blessing would be opened up in these institutions and infinitely more done for the great mass, than by the contributions of single congregations toward the building of a church or similar local ends, which should rest altogether on local sympathies and be supported by them.

5. The easiest method to obtain the necessary means for the various undertakings, especially the latter, would be by raising a *voluntary collection in all the churches*, which, of course, would not exclude particular efforts in certain cases. Such a collection should, however, be repeated, from time to time, especially in countries where the emigration is the greatest. The money received might be distributed by a responsible central committee, partly to American societies of this kind, and partly to the Education Boards of the Lutheran, German Reformed and United Evangelical Churches, in proportion to the numbers of their students, for the purpose of training up preachers for the German emigrants in the Eastern sea-ports and in the Western States. If a Church diet similar to the German, is formed among these American Churches—a thing not at all impossible—the whole business can be carried on by the central committees of these two bodies. But as matters now stand, it can be accomplished with no great difficulty, through the trustees of the seminaries and the presidents of the Synods.

This proposition is not altogether new. The Established Church of Mecklenburg, by the efforts of *Dr. Kliefoth*, sent out some years ago a general collection to the rigid Lutheran Concord College in St. Louis, and the Evangelical Church of Prussia has done the same this very month, for the United Evangelical Seminary of Marthasville in the State of Missouri. These are noble deeds of love, which will hold an honorable place in the annals of church history and bring down the blessing of God on both parties. O that the entire Evangelical Church of Germany would imitate these beautiful examples,

rear for herself a glorious monument of helping love, exhibit to the world a proof of the unity of the German Evangelical Churches of the German tongue, and lay her numberless emigrants, with their children and children's children, under a perpetual debt of gratitude!

I leave it altogether to the Diet, whether to adopt these or similar propositions, whose practicability is partly at least guaranteed by experience, or to hand them over to the Central Committee for closer consideration and carrying out in due time.

6. But finally, it is a matter of great importance, to bring about *a more intimate connection between the German mother-Church of Europe with her German and Anglo German daughter in America*, for their mutual strengthening and encouragement in every good work. This can be best done by an occasional correspondence, introduced by a letter of fraternal salutation from the Church Diet to the German Evangelical Churches of America, as well as by an occasional exchange of delegates; and in regard to the latter, I can promise any representative of the German Church a most cordial reception from all our American German Synods.

The greatest misery and the deepest wound of the Protestant Church, next to the wide-spread apostacy from living faith, is her dismemberment into so many confessions, sects and parties. It is the devil, who sows the seeds of discord and employs against us so successfully the cunning policy of *divide et impera*. These divisions, it is true, must, in the hand of God, who knows how to bring good out of evil, contribute to the great increase of Christian powers and activities, and will at last, as negative conditions, lead to the highest unity, just as the fall of Adam was the occasion of the resurrection of Christ. But in spite of this, we must condemn them in principle, and bewail them as a common sin. Melancthon, the teacher of Germany esteemed the water of the Elbe insufficient, as a stream of tears, to give a complete expression to his grief over the dismemberment of the Evangelical Church. Now, it is very questionable, whether Protestantism as such, has the capacity and the mission, to produce an external Church organism,

possessed of complete unity; or whether the Lord himself has not rather reserved this till his second advent. At all events, however, it is the sacred duty of the Evangelical Church, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, as a Church bearing witness by the pure word and sacraments, as the representative and guardian of personal Christianity, of direct living intercourse between the individual soul and its Saviour, to pave the way for this glorious second coming, and promote, in the most zealous manner, the free inward communion of faith and love, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace according to the earnest exhortation of the Apostle, till the Lord, by a new reformation, or by his personal appearing in the clouds of heaven, gather his people from all the ends of the earth and create a body of such inward unity, that the colossal theocratic organism of Church and State in the Middle Ages—that fleshly anticipation of the *regnum gloriae*—and all our boldest ideals of union and confederation will be thrown far into the shade. Thus much stands immovably firm, as sure as Christ is the truth: The day will come, when there will be but one Shepherd and one flock, when all believers will be perfectly one, as He and the Father are one.

Do not the signs of the times, the present discoveries and means of communication, point out typically and prophetically the approaching fulfillment of the precious promise and intercessory prayer of our Great High Priest? Europe and America are brought nearer together every year in the way of commerce and multifarious intercourse, and the Atlantic ocean forms now a barrier of separation scarcely greater than the Alps did formerly between Germany and Italy. The more pressing, therefore, does the exhortation of the Apostle come to us, to cherish and promote the communion of faith and love in the Lord, who is the fountain and centre of life to all believers; the exhortation, which a most noble and pious German has so beautifully clothed in poetic language:

> Let us so united be,
> As Thou with the Father art,
> Till no more on earth we see
> Sundered members dwell apart,

And alone from thy bright glow
Drink our glory like a star;
Thus the world shall see and know
That we thy disciples are.

With this wish and prayer, I turn back again, from the dear land of my birth and home of my spirit, to severe labors for the upbuilding of the German Church in America; and indeed in great sadness of heart, but, at the same time, in the certain expectation of a reunion, if not at a European or an American Church diet, yet in the general assembly and Church of the first-born, amid an innumerable company of angels, at the grand festival of reconciliation, for all nations and confessions in the holy city of God on high, the heavenly Jerusalem, our mother and the goal of all our hopes, I bid you an affectionate, brotherly farewell!

Lancaster, Pa. T. C. P.

THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1855.

ART. I.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

IV. THE HARBORS AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE ANCIENT ATHENIANS—THE MODERN PEIRÆEUS.

Earlier erroneous views on the subject—Important discoveries made—Description of the Munychian Peninsula—The three Athenian Galley ports: The Peiræeus—Zea—Munychia—The true site of Phaleros—Ancient History of the Peiræeus—The Peiraic and Phaleric Long Walls—The third wall of Perikles—Inscriptions of the walls; of the fleet—Kantharos—Hippodamean Market-place—Emporium—Deigma—Arsenal of Pheilon—Castle of Munychia—Solon—Stadium—Theatre—Temples—Serangeion—Thieves and Swindlers—Pikrokrene near the Phreattys—Sepulchre of Themistokles—Of Admiral Miaulis—Burial grounds—Excavations—Athenian Widow—Sarcophagi—Modern History of the Peiræeus—Karaiskakis—His death—Defeat of the Greeks—Churches—Military College of the Euelpides—American Mission School—Quarantine—Wharfs—Scenery—Commerce—Prosperity of the ancient Republic—Departure of the Sicilian fleet—Its destruction and decline of Athens.

HAVING given a sketch of the Akropolis and its Sanctuaries in the preceding number of the Review, we shall, in the present, invite the attention of the readers to another subject—not of art and ornament—but of practical utility, and of the highest importance with regard to the rapid and gigantic development of the ancient Athenian Republic—the harbors, naval and commercial establishments at the Peiræeus and the other subjacent ports on the coast of Attica.

On no other part of Athenian antiquities have so many disquisitions been written, so many doubts and difficulties been started, so many mistakes and blunders been committed, and —of late—so many interesting discoveries been made.

From the time of the revival of classical literature when the Dutch philologians, Meursius, Gronovius, Graevius and others, in the seventeenth century, published their learned compilations on the Peiræeus, down to the beginning of the present century, the antiquarians of western Europe wrote their heavy folios, from their closet, without the desirable knowledge of the topography of Greece; they freely awarded the classical names of antiquity to harbors, coasts and mountains according to their idea of that distant and almost entirely unknown country, and their imaginary maps, had taken such a hold on the mind of the scholars of that age, that though in plain contradiction with the clear and elegant text of the classical authors, their delineations were regarded as founded on incontrovertible facts. Even the apparent contradictions in the ancient writers were explained away with ridiculous sophistical arguments, and the great historians, Thukydides, Xenophon and Plutarch, were openly taxed with unpardonable inaccuracies and slips of the pen.

Even the practical and otherwise profound antiquarian, Colonel Martin Leake, who travelled in Greece between the years 1802 and 1808, arrived, so pre-possessed by his earlier studies, that while riding through the plain of the Kephissos and discovering only here and there some few ruins of the *two* parallel Long-Walls, leading from Athens down to the Peiræeus, he accused Thukydides, Aristophanes, Harpokration and others, of neglect and inaccuracy, for having in divers places mentioned *three* walls between the capital and the port. And when arrived in the port of the Peiræeus itself, with its numerous fortifications and moles, the British Colonel boldly laid down a plan—the most absurd in the world—according to which the harbor of the Peiræeus is supposed to have inclosed within its basin both the commercial and military harbors of ancient Athens, quite contrary to the natural conformation of the coast.

The small swamps formed in the interior of that harbor by

the frequent inundations of the winter torrents and the neglected state of the plain during the Turkish dominion in Greece, were now dignified as separate fortified galley ports independent of the Peiræeus itself, just as if the glorious Athenian fleets had consisted, not of large and many oared galleys, but of mere nut shells. Nay, Colonel Leake himself depreciates this interesting subject entirely by stating quite seriously that the Peiræcus is a harbor just large and deep enough to receive a British frigate—while many an American traveler, during the revolutionary movements in the year 1844, may have observed no less than four French and English line-of-battle-ships moored side by side, as closely as the cordial and good understanding of King Louis Philippe and Queen Victoria would then have permitted—and being surrounded by quite a squadron of war-steamers, Austrian, Russian and Hellenic corvettes, brigs and smaller craft—all at the same time at anchor in the interior basin of the Peiræeus.

When the haughty and cruel Sylla, the Roman, in 86 B. C., with ruthless hand destroyed the Peiræeus and the other harbors on the Munychian peninsula, the Athenian Republic lost its remaining commerce and the few colonies which recognized its dominion. The ruinous town and the open dreary coast then became more and more abandoned; the lower plain of Athens again formed those unhealthy swamps and marshes, which, during the Middle Ages, rendered that tract of country almost uninhabitable.

The glorious name of the Peiræeus had been forgotten, and the Italian mariner only now and then steered his light caravel into the bleak and solitary Drako-Limin or Porto Leono (the Dragon or Líon-Port,) as the Peiræeus then was called, to embark a cargo of oil, wine, honey or goat-skins for Leghorn and Trieste. The only habitations in one of the largest and most secure ports of the Mediterranean, at that period of despotism and misery, consisted only in a small Turkish Custom-house and the fortified Greek Convent of Saint Spiridon, which were both burned down and destroyed during the war of independence.

But on the establishment of the new Capital of King Otho

at Athens in 1834, a new busy, healthy, and at present, even wealthy city, of more than six thousand active and intelligent citizens from the mainland and islands of Greece and western Europe, sprung up as if by magic. It is true, however, that this sudden occupation of the ancient soil, proved detrimental to the antiquities. Some ancient structures here and there were built up into the modern dwellings. The beautiful square blocks of the Themistoklean walls were, during night, broken away and carried off by the Greeks themselves, and many a beautiful bass-relief, statue and sepulchral monument was secreted by the Maltese workmen and smugglers on board the British men-of-war, where the English navy officers paid higher prices than King Otho's pennyless antiquarians. Yet, the entire ancient city of Peiræeus with its streets, squares, gates, and walls now became excavated, and the Museums at Athens were continually enriched with inscriptions, statuary, vases, and sepulchral monuments from the excavations within the city and the numerous tombs of the *nekropolis* or burial-ground in the environs. Having ourselves resided there for nearly ten years, after the removal of the Royal Military College of the Euelpides from the island of Ægina to the Peiræeus—1836—1844—and having followed up those successive discoveries, step by step, we shall now attempt to bring the results of our investigations into a correct and faithful picture, without daring to touch upon details, which, however interesting in themselves, might carry us too far away among the grand and venerable visions of antiquity.

The particular advantages of the site of Athens did not *only* consist in the strong and almost impregnable Rock of her Akropolis, but much more in the highly remarkable character of her rocky coast, where nature had formed another *still loftier*, still stronger fortress, with beautiful subjacent ports, the excellent position of which mainly contributed to the extensive traffic and great naval powers of Athens.

The perfect security of these harbors, so conveniently distributed for the divisions of the Athenian fleet, nay, the Peninsular form of Attica herself, the ruler of the Archipelagus, and proud mediator between Asia and Europe—and even her stony

and barren soil—all this combined to call forth the activity, courage and spirit of enterprize of this admirable people, the Americans of antiquity.

From the Akropolis let us descend to the Market-place, mentioned in our preceding number; and then crossing the hill of the Pnyx westward, a pleasant ride of three quarters of an hour will carry us through the evergreen and fragrant olive wood and the vine-yards to the low, marshy level of the sea-coast, where following the ruins of the ancient Long walls—*makra skele*—we arrive at the Peiræeus. There rises a steep hill ascending in two offsets or terraces, to a height of five hundred feet above the level of the sea, from the summit of which we enjoy a most delightful view to the Munychian Peninsula with its three harbors: the Peiræeus, Zea and Munychia below, the promontory of Alkimos and the large southern bay of Phaleron, and farther west, in the distance, the islands of Salamis and Ægina and the whole panorama of the high mountains in Peloponnesus and Phokis. This high hill is, by the present Greeks, called *Ta Kastella*, or the Castle, and was in antiquity crowned by the celebrated fortress of Munychia, a name taken from one of the mythical kings of Attica.

The largest harbor on the west, a beautiful basin, three miles in circumference, is the ancient PEIRÆEUS—which, during the Middle Ages, was called the Dragon Port—on account of the colossal marble statue of a Lion, which for many centuries remained lying on the shore, until General Moronini, in 1687, transported it to Venice and placed it before the gate of the Arsenal, where it is still seen*.

East of the Peiræeus, and divided from it by a low isthmus or tongue of land, lies another beautiful, but smaller harbor, having, like the Peiræeus, a fortified entrance and all around ruins of lime-stone blocks and immense excavations, deeply cut in the rock, indicating the wharfs of the ancient Galleys. From important inscriptions lately found, we now know that this

* Another marble lion, placed opposite to the above mentioned, they brought from Eleusis. The Venetians were fond of adorning their city with trophies from their wars. In 1204 they had already brought the celebrated four bronze-guilt horses from Constantinople, and many of the palaces of the nobility on the grand canal contain precious antiquities.

second harbor was called ZEA, and that it was the principal galley port of the Athenians. Eastward of the Zea, just below the lowering, almost precipitous castle-hill, on the summit of which we are now standing, is a third smaller basin, locked in by rugged craggs—this is of course, the ancient port of MUNYCHIA, with the celebrated Temple of Artemis, or Diana, a place of great sanctity, to which the banished, or ostrakised citizens of Athens fled for protection from the fury of the turbulent democracy. The ruins of the sanctuary are still seen outside the walls, with stairs cut in the rock descending to the water's edge. It was here, on the altar of Artemis, that the bilious Æschines, after his defeat in the controversy with Demosthenes, awaited the vessel which was to carry him into banishment. It was a dark night, and a howling storm, but the disgraced orator steering boldly through the foaming waves landed next day safely on Keos.

These three harbors, the Peiræeus, Zea and Munychia, all commanded by the towering Castle, were land-locked ports—*kleistoi limenes*—or harbors, the entrances of which were secured by solid walls and towers and closed by heavy chains. They were fortified by Themistokles, immediately after the great Persian war in 477 B. C.*

But the reader may perhaps ask: Where then was situated the most ancient harbor of Athens—the celebrated Phalcros, or Phaleron, from which Theseus departed for Crete, and the Athenian King, Menestheus, with his small fleet set sail for Aulis to join Agamemnon and the immense armada of the united Greeks going to war against Troy?

This open port, according to our latest discoveries, did not, as was formerly supposed, lie on the Munychian Peninsula, but three miles southward on the large Phaleric Gulf, nearly half the distance nearer to Athens than the more remote Peiræeus. After the devastations of the Persians in 480–479 and the

* The ancients called the harbors, formed by nature, αυτοφυλεις λιμενες—and those excavated in the rocky bed of the coast, like our docks, ὀρυκτοι, excavated, or χειροποιητοι—made by human labor. Sparta had no port in the time of Lykurgus, and later, she, by the immense labor of her miserable Helotes, excavated the harbor of Gythion on the Lakonic gulph, the ruins of which, are still seen in the vine-yards of the modern town of Marathonist.

building of the fortified ports on the Peninsula, it became abandoned and is never mentioned by later writers, as belonging to the land-locked galley-ports of the Republic. Pausanias in the second century, describes its ruins as still existing, among which were the altars of the *Unknown gods*—*Βωμοι 'ανωνυμοι* —of the Attic heroes and the sons of Theseus.

Between the hills of the Peiræeus (the Munychian Peninsula) and the distant rising ground of the olive-wood, extends a large swamp, or marshy plain, partly overflowed by the waves of the Phaleric Bay. This swamp was, according to Strabo and Pliny, in the remotest times of antiquity, entirely covered by the sea, which then separated the Peiræeus from the mainland of Attica, and they, therefore, explain the etymology of the name *Peiræeus*, by the *περαν νησος*, or the island *beyond* or *far off*, from the coast. The sand, which the south wind threw up on the open beach of Phaleron, and the lime brought down by the river Kephissos, and other torrents, formed, in the course of time, the salt-plain, in Greek "*το 'αλιωεβον*" or the swampy and saltish level, now called "*το λαβαδι*," the plain of Athens.

The difference of the soil, and the whole character of this plain show, that such a revolution has taken place here. Similar formations of alluvial lands, we find in different parts of Greece, as for instance at Thermopylæ and at the mouth of the river Acheloos in Akarnania, where the islands called Echinades have been united with the main-land, and the celebrated fortress Messolunghi, was formerly a mere shoal, lying far off from the coast.

The marshes have now been drained; different canals lead off the waters of the river Kephissos into the gulph of Phaleron. These ditches and the artificial embankments near the Peiræeus, mainly contribute to render the atmosphere more salubrious and to lessen the chills and fevers formerly prevailing throughout the plain.

In the Pieræeus, there existed a village, or *deinos*, of high antiquity; but the marshy nature of its environs and the difficulty of communication between the coast and Athens seem to have been the principal causes, why the Athenians made use

of Phaleros as their seaport. The Phaleros, though an open harbor, was well protected by its cape from the south-western winds, the *Lips* of the Greeks, and from the still more violent Skyron, or north-west wind, by the far projecting promontory of the Munychian peninsula. The direct road leading from the city of Kekrops to the coast of Phaleros, was dry and easy throughout the year, and half the distance nearer than the now circuitous route through the marshes to the Peiræeus, because it must be remembered, that the most ancient settlement at Athens, according to Thukydides, was situated on the south and west of the Akropolis, on the banks of the Ilissos. Moreover, the old Athenian Kings, in the remote times, before the stirring and warlike democracy arose, were opposed to all navigation and commerce with foreign countries. Nay, it is a curious circumstance, that Plutarch gives as a reason for their protection of agriculture and the training of the Olive, their superstitious fears of Neptune, after their having accepted Minerva as the protectress of their city. That superstition in a remarkable manner pervades the whole political and literary history of Athens.

It was not until the Persian wars in the fifth century before our era, that Themistokles first started the idea of forming a large naval establishment in the three natural harbors. This immense undertaking began 477 B. C., two years after the destruction of the Persians at Platæa. But although the new ports became fortified, it was at that time impossible to abandon the old Phaleros, where the Athenians for so many centuries had fixed their commercial establishments. They moreover knew from experience, how easily the enemy could land in the gulph of the Phaleros, and through the plain march straightway up to the city.*

* Such an attack from the gulf of Phaleron through the open plain, had been undertaken by the Spartans about 512 B. C. It has the most astonishing resemblance to the disastrous defeat of the Greeks in May 1827. Herodotos says, V, 63, that the Spartans sent an army under their general Anchimolias, by sea, to Attica, in order to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. Anchimolias, like General Church, landed his troops at Phaleron and marched through the plain toward Athens. But the Pisistratidæ, having had notice of this beforehand, called in assistance from Thessaly and the Thessalians having sent them their king Kineas with a thousand horse, these, by an

In order, therefore, to unite the city with the Peiræeus and Phaleros, they built two long walls in the year 457, the northern or Peiraic, forty stadia, or five miles in length, uniting with the Peiræeus, and the southern or Phaleric wall, thirty-five stadia long, enclosing the old port on the gulf. The northern wall was constructed across the swamp or salt plain, where it sank, and remained unfinished at the time of the exile of Themistokles. Kimon, the son of Miltiades, afterwards made extensive reparations and brought the gigantic work to its termination. Both walls stood in their perfection, the wonder of the age, in the year 449, when Kimon died during the expedition to Cypros. Their height was forty feet; their breadth twelve feet; their foundations were blocks of squared lime-stones; the upper part of the wall was built with bricks; they had a battlemented roof and large windows—*thyrides*—for the watchmen. An aqueduct ran along the northern wall and kept the subterranean cisterns of the Peiræeus constantly filled with water.

Some years afterwards, the young, ambitious Perikles, the leader of the democratic party, represented to the assembled people, the urgent necessity of still more strongly fortifying the long walls, with the addition of a third or middle wall, running parallel with the Peiræic wall, and Sokrates, the philosopher, often told his friends that he, as a boy ten years of age, had heard the eloquent and powerful speech of Perikles, proposing the erection of the middle wall, and that it had left an indelible impression on his youthful mind. When, in the year 431, the Peloponnesian war broke out between Athens and Sparta, and their numerous allies, the city of Athens, the Phaleros, and the three land-locked harbors were completely fortified by walls and towers all along the coast and by the three *long lines* of walls, securing the continual communication between the city and the harbors. Seventeen thousand Athenian citizens, guarded this immense circumference, embracing one hundred and ninety-five stadia, or thirty English miles. From

impetuous attack, surprised and routed the Spartans in the plain. Anchimolias and many of the Lacedœmonians were slain, and the survivors driven to their ships. The sepulchre of the Spartan invaders was afterwards shown at the temple of Hercules in Kynosarges, near Athens.

his inexpugnable towers the proud Athenian mocked at all the vain efforts of the less civilized, slow and superstitious Spartans, who, though they destroyed his splendid country-houses, his vineyards, fields, and flocks, in the open country, dared not approach his *adamantine ramparts.*

Nay, we shall even go farther, and here make a highly important historical remark, characterizing that period of Athenian supremacy in Hellas, and it is: that that the construction of *long walls*, uniting the cities in the interior with their harbors, became, at that time, as it were, the true type of democracy. All the Hellenic republics, which either voluntarily joined the great Ionian or Athenian confederacy, or by force of arms, were occupied by the Athenians, and obliged to adopt democratic forms of government—now followed the example of their powerful leader, and the Megara, Korinth, Argos, Patræ, Knidos in Asia Minor, the cities in Thrace and others, were all fortified with walls, reaching down to the sea coast. Hundreds of Athenian engineers and thousands of workmen were no doubt actively engaged in rearing the immense fortifications of their allies, who thus paid doubly, while the Athenian fleets were better enabled to support the popular governments against all the vain exertions of the Dorian or Spartan alliance of the aristocracy on the mainland. But alas, in the course of this destructive war, Athens lost her fleets, her colonies, her riches and her virtues! After the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, victories on victories and then one defeat following the other, her last fleet was totally destroyed on the Hellespont. She surrendered, and the proud Lysander with his victorious Spartans, at the clangor of their trumpets, now broke down and demolished the long walls and all the fortifications of the harbors. Yet they did not for a long time remain in ruins. The brave Thrasybalus, with his exiled friends from the mountain castle of Phyle, surprised the open port of the Peiræeus and fortified himself on the castle hill of Munychia. From there he attacked and overturned the thirty tyrants, and restored the democracy of Athens, while the victorious Konon, a few years later, in 394, after his victory over the Spartan fleet of Knidos in Asia Minor, *with Persian money*, rebuilt

the parallel long walls and the towers of the harbors. The southern or Phaleric wall was never rebuilt, and henceforth we find no mention of it in history. These long legs or arms, —Σχελη, *brachia*—as they were called, remained in a more or less ruinous state during the Macedonian conquest, until the time of Lucius Cornelius Sylla. The terrible Roman, after the carnage at Athens, beseiged the army of Mithridates in the Peiræeus. The Romans now destroyed the long walls and used their materials for the common works they raised in order to attack the castle of Munychia and the Peiræeus from the plain. Tremendous battles were fought—*victory* for a long time remained undecided; at last Roman prowess bore down all opposition; the Barbarians fled on board their ships and the victors with fire and sword destroyed the noblest works of antiquity; the Peiræeus, Munychia; the fortresses, porticoes, arsenals and wharfs—all were burnt, all were levelled to the ground, according to that systematic, truly Roman principle of extermination. Eighty years later, when Strabo visited that celebrated place, he found nothing but ruins and an open coast.

Such is the accurate history of the Peiræeus. In the year 1829, some highly interesting inscriptions, relating to repairs of the long walls, were discovered on the pavement of a Greek church at Athens. They belong to the 110th Olympiad, that is, 339 B. C., the year preceding the fatal battle of Chæroneia, in which the Athenians and their allies, lost their army and their independence against the crafty old Philipp of Macedon. The marble slabs contain a decree or ψηφισμα of the people for the repairs of the city walls, those of the Peiræeus, and the long walls, giving the direction of the undertaking to Habron, the son of of Lycurgus, the famous Athenian orator, who flourished in that period. Though the marbles have suffered and a great part of the inscription is now illegible, yet many important illustrations with regard to the construction of the walls, the materials employed, and their ornaments, are given, which enrich the Greek dictionary with a number of hitherto unknown architectural terms. We likewise learn the ten military divisions of the Athenian walls, the number of

their towers, the vaulted canals of the Kephissos, which passed beneath them, and many other important details.

Many traces of the two parallel walls are still extant. Their lines, with an interval of only five hundred and sixty paces, descend from the western fortifications of Athens and join the walls of the Munychia at the base of the hill. The northern wall was the best preserved, and presented great masses of square blocks in regular courses, at the arrival of King Otho in 1834. But when the new macadamized high-road was laid out across the marshy plain, the Bavarian engineer officers employed those beautiful relics of antiquity to strengthen the foundations of the cause-way, which, for nearly three miles, rested on the ancient wall. Thus the ruins of Themistokles soon disappeared and only a few large free stones were walled up on the foot-path of the road to indicate the direction and the breadth of the ancient structure.

The middle wall, running through vineyards and the less frequented part of the Olive-grove, is at present in a better state of preservation. It was for several years one of our most pleasant occupations to follow its more or less, distinct traces from the hill of Munychia to the western spur of the Muscion. In many places it still forms a mound or dike, on which a by-road runs along the vineyards, and numerous square blocks are either lying about in that direction, or have been built up into the enclosures of the gardens. Once we quite unexpectedly, on the western offset of the Muscion, found a solid part of the middle wall, just where it forms a right angle with the fortifications of the Muscion hill.

The space between the walls was in antiquity occupied by temples, sepulchral monuments and numerous buildings, of which still, here and there, ruins are seen. Several artificial tumuli have been opened by the Consul General of Denmark, Mr. Gropius, and vases with ashes and human bones, bronze ornaments, arms, and coins, were found. The most southern or Phaleric wall, starting from the south-western slope of the Muscion, formed a diverging radius and ran along the more elevated part of the plain, to the town of Phaleros, on the present promontory of the three towers or *Τρεις Πυργοι*. Some

traces of it may still be seen, but they are mere foundations. The stones, no doubt, were employed by Konon at the rebuilding of the more important parallel walls of the Peiræeus. Near the ruins of Phaleros, consisting in fragments of columns, substructions, mosaics and reservoirs, the present Athenians have much frequented sea-baths. During the warm summer months the charming Queen Amelia of Greece, with her suite of court-ladies, may often be seen, on her snow-white palfrey, cantering along the old foundations to her bathing-house on the promontory.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the inhabitants from the open country of Attica were fleeing to the city with their flocks, their cattle and moveables, they for the most part found refuge in the towers of the long walls. Afterwards the whole plain between the Phaleros and Peiræeus was divided among them. They then erected temporary huts and barracks and suffered the greatest distress during the terrible pestilence which decimated the population of Athens in the second year of the war.

The still stronger and more solid walls and towers enclosing the three land-locked ports, are in a better state of preservation than the long arms. The most interesting discoveries have been made, proving for instance, that the more modern square towers of Konon were built on the circular bases erected at an earlier period by Themistokles. In other parts we still behold the mines—*cuniculi*—which the Romans ran beneath the walls, in order to make them give way,—and some towers are still standing in their jutting position.

The ancient town of the Peiræeus was built in the time of Themistokles by the celebrated architect, Hippodamus, from Miletos, in Asia Minor. The central part of the town, the large Hippodamean market-place, was situated on the slope between the castle of Munychia, the stadion, the theatre and the harbor of the Peiræeus. A long avenue, lined with ruins of ancient houses, extends along the port to the splendid arsenal of Pheilon, where, in 1843, a curious *cippus* or column was found with the inscription: "This is the street and the limit of the emporium." The houses have beautiful mosaic pave-

ments, inlaid with black, white and variegated marble. Innumerable cisterns are cut in the rocky soil. Their opening or mouth is very narrow; but the descent easy, by steps, forming a ladder; the interior is regularly cut out into rooms, which served as stores for wine, oil, grain and other provisions.

The great Athenian *Emporium* was situated in the innermost part of the harbor, and consisted of five extensive Porticoes or Stoæ, in the middle of which was the *Deigma*, or exhibition hall, for the grains and provisions of the Capital, sent in from her numerous colonies and tributary allies. In these splendid halls the Athenian bankers had their tables—τραπεζας—around which thousands of Greeks and foreigners from all parts of the world, were trafficing. Adjacent on the south lay the great temple of Venus, the Aphrodesion, built by Konon, in commemoration of his naval victory on the coast off Knidos.

The *only* part of the harbor of the Peiræeus used as a galley-port, was the bay, called Kantharos, on the south west, where the noble-minded Lycurgos, the orator and treasurer of Athens, erected the splendid arsenal, which contained weapons, stores and material for a thousand ships. It was built by Pheilon, in the time of Demosthenes, a few years before the battle of Chæroneia. The ancients speak with wonder and admiration of its beauty and magnificence. It was destroyed by Sylla. A considerable part of its foundations, bases of columns, several triglyphs and lion heads, used as ewes, are still to be seen on the shore, where in 1835 the royal Custom-house and quarantine were built. During the excavations, some highly important inscriptions from the arsenal of Pheilon were found, containing registers of the Athenian fleet, the names of the galleys, such as, for instance, the *Syren*, the *Sea-Nymph*, the *Dolphin*, the *Swallow*, the *Hellas*, the *Swiftsailing*, and the like; then the armament of the ships, in shields, arrows, javelins, those which were completely armed and those which were not, and finally the highly interesting distribution of the galleys in the three land-locked harbors of the Munychian Peninsula. In the 112th Olympiad, or 330 B. C., the same year in which Alexander the Great built Alexandria in Egypt and fought the Persians on the Tigris, Athens possessed three

hundred and seventy-two wharfs, or ship-houses—νεωσ οικοι—as they are called—of which one hundred and ninety-six were situated in the largest military harbor, the Zea; eighty-two in the smaller port, the Munychia, beneath the towers of the fortress, and ninety-four in the Kantharos of the Peiræeus, where a division of the fleet was posted to protect the arsenal, the traders, and the commercial establishments. This position seems admirably chosen; the galleys lying near the fortified locks of the harbor, without disturbing the commerce in the interior. And yet was the Peiræeus exposed to sudden surprises, and the daring Spartans, more than once, succeeded in entering the port and cutting away the transports and merchantmen and capturing even the rich Athenian bankers themselves, with their heavy bags of glittering owls,—γλαυκης*—before the Athenians, galloping down from the city, could arrive on the coast and cut off their retreat.

The most interesting spot in the Peiræeus, is no doubt, the high steep hill of Munychia, the ancient castle or Akropolis, where so many battles were fought. We can still follow the direction of the old walls, and everywhere see fragments of Venetian balls and cannon lying scattered about.

Centuries before the fortification of the harbors, Solon, the great law-giver, ascending one day this hill and admiring its extensive view over sea and land, turned round to his friends, and said in a prophetical tone: "Oh! how blind are all of us, to the future; for if the Athenians knew all the disasters which this Mount *will* give them, they would rather swallow it!" And Solon was perfectly right—the Munychia became, during the decline of the Republic, a most dangerous stronghold in the hands of the Macedonians, nay, almost inexpugnable even to such a general as Sylla himself.

On the north-west side, lies the hollow of the theatre, of the stadium, and the ruins of several temples; there too the rock has been cut away perpendicularly and a most curious passage opened into the interior of the mount. The descent is rapid,

* The owl, the watchful bird, was, as is well known, sacred to Minerva and its image was struck, together with the helmed portrait of the goddess on the Attic gold and silver drachms.

the stairs having been destroyed, yet one can advance nearly one hundred feet, until heaps of stones and rubbish, thrown down from above, impede the farther progress. It seemed to us, as if at that depth, the subterranean gallary continued horizontally into the bowels of the mountain.

The geographer, Strabo, mentions this curious passage, when he says in his description of this hill of Munychia, that it is hollow and has many subterranean grottoes, so large that buildings have been erected in them, but that the entrance to the caverns is very narrow. This place was, by the ancient Greeks, called the *Serangeion*, or the subterraneous Vault, where thieves and swindlers met and formed dangerous conventicles of malefactors.

Such obnoxious personages we find in every great modern city, and we may easily suppose, that, during the brilliant age of Athens, when thousands of foreigners, and scamps from every part of the Mediterranean and Pontus Euxinos, thronged her ports, such corrupt persons might have composed some gangs of thieves and counterfeiters, who found refuge in the intricate passages and dwellings beneath the Munychian hill.

We repeatedly proposed to Signor Homerides, the Demarch or Governor of the Peiræeus, to order the rubbish to be cleared away from the mouth of the cavern, but the expense being considerable, by the necessity of carrying the stones up the steep ascent, the undertaking was delayed, and we left Greece without having investigated the mysteries of Munychia.

Another very interesting place is the small cove lying westward of the harbor of Zea, on the peninsula, from which we enjoy a charming view to the distant coast of Phaleron, the towering Mount Hymettus and the open sea, with the islands.

Here, just beneath the line of the ancient walls, on the rocky bank, is situated an ancient quay or mole, projecting into the sea, which there is of fathomless depth. On the rocky beach lies a small circular well, cut out of the stone, filled with a strong chalybiate water, and some few bathing tubs, sunk neatly into the rock. They were formerly filled with stones and sand, but during our residence in the Peiræeus, we ordered the servant and some workmen to clean them, by throwing out the

stones and rubbish, and we presently discovered the artificial bathing tubs, which in a few minutes became filled with chalybeate water. The Greeks call this precious spring the Bitter Source—*Pikrokrene*—from the strong taste of its water, having an infusion of hydrochloric, and sulphuric soda and magnesia. Every morning at sun-rise, during the months of May and June, we found crowds of Greeks, men and women, not only from the town of the Peiræeus, but even from distant Athens, and the mountain villages around, gathering around this health-giving spring, and drinking plentifully of its medicinal waters, which, in connection with the delightful morning walk along the shore and the laugh and lively conversation of that spirited and jovial people, contributed to our health and strength throughout the oppressive heat of summer.

Greece possesses a vast number of such chalybeate springs, which are visited by the people for a month or two during summer. Some of these waters are hot, such as the celebrated warm springs of Thermopylæ. The Greeks there fill their pitchers after sun-set and leaving the water to cool during night in the open air, drink it in large quantities at sun-rise.

But there is a higher interest attached to the *Pikrokrene* at the Peiræeus, and to its antiquities. Here, on the beautiful coast, it was the custom in early times, to assemble that singular tribunal called *Phreattys*, or the Court of the Well, which was instituted to judge those unhappy men, who, by involuntary murder, had been forced to flee from their native land. What an interesting scene! Suppose the august Athenian judges seated here on these rocky benches, while the poor exile approaches in his vessel and standing on its prow, without touching the land, defends his cause in the presence of the assembly. If acquitted, he is permitted to land, and is carried in triumph to the sacred spring, purified in its waters and received with open arms by his friends and relations—but if condemned, he is obliged to pull off and to return into banishment, without having touched his native soil. Several mythical trials before the august tribunal of the Phreattys took place here on the rocks. Teukros, the hero of Salamis, was here acquitted of the death of Ajax, and the unhappy Orestes, son of

Agamemnon, of the unwilling murder of his guilty mother Klytemnestra.

A place of thrilling interest which is visited by every traveler, and lover of antiquity, is the western promontory of the peninsula, called Alkimos, forming the mouth of the harbor of the Peirœeus. On the rocky coast, outside of the ancient wall, running along the height, stands the tomb of Themistokles, the victor of Salamis, the founder of the naval glory of Athens! No site in the world could be better chosen for the sepulchre of that hero; for here he reposes beneath the gigantic walls, the monuments of his creative genius—and in front of his tomb, beyond the blue waters, lies Salamis, the scene of his far-seeing politics and brilliant naval triumphs. Every Greek, approaching the rocky head-land, has for centuries saluted this beacon of liberty, with exultation as the sacred resting-place of the rescuer of Greece.

On the promontory itfelf, on the very edge of the water, you see at this day, to your astonishment, a large marble sarcophagus placed in a tomb, deeply excavated in the rock. The breakers are chafing and foaming around it; on stormy days we have often found it filled with water and bathed in it. An immense column of white marble lying near, seems to have been overturned by an earthquake. Is this then really the sepulchre of Themistokles? No body can answer that question; but our great poet, Lord Byron, believes that it is; for he says in his beautiful verses:

> No breath of air to break the wave
> That rolls below the Athenian's grave,
> That tomb, which gleaming o'er the cliff,
> First greets the homeward-veering skiff,
> High o'er the land he saved in vain,
> When shall such a hero live again.

Lord Byron, though filled with love and admiration for Greece, did not, at that time of servitude and oppression, prognosticate that the venerable sepulchre of another, a modern Greek hero, so soon should arise in the presence of the old! Brave, honest Miaulis, the Admiral, one of the most *disinterested* and virtuous men of modern Hellas, now slumbers at the side of his great ancestor!

The one submerged the Mede with his terrible rostrum—the other burnt the Turk with his exploding fire-ship!

And why should we not boldly and sincerely pronounce the comparison between Themistokles, the Athenian, and Andreas Miaulis, the Hydriote, who devoted his noble and disinterested exertions for that down-trodden, despised nation, whom Lord Byron in his early visit, calls the slaves, nay, the bondsmen of other slaves, the crouching and fawning Turks, trembling at the wink of their Sultan and his Eunuchs—a nation, who so suddenly rose in arms against their powerful, implacable enemies, and by their Christian faith; by their valor, and what is more, by their unremitting perseverance in misfortune, showed themselves worthy of forming an independent State among their Christian brethren in Europe.

So large a city as the Peiræeus, receiving thousands of travelers from east and west, may be supposed to have had extensive burial grounds or cities of the dead—Nekropoleis—as the Greeks called them, and this proves true. In order to drain the plain during the spring of 1835, a number of workmen with their carts and teams were in activity on the stony hills north of the Peiræeus, to remove the earth, covering the rocks and fill up the pestilential swamps of the plains—when on a sudden they came upon the ancient burial grounds, and many sepulchres were found and opened. The whole ground, though rocky, is covered with cedar, lentiscus and other shrubs. The plain rises northward toward Mount Korydallos, and the coast is precipitous. The tombs themselves are placed in rows, side by side, many cut out in the living rock and covered with slabs exactly fitting in the openings. The ancient Greeks generally buried their dead in their nekropoleis or their gardens; often on the road leading to their towns, or before the gates. This pious feeling of affection and reverence for the dead, is a touching feature in the character of the modern Greeks.

During the excavations on the Akropolis, we were once, on a balmy morning, sitting with the architects enjoying the delightful view over the plain and the distant sea, when we were startled by a mournful song, from among the ruins. We list-

ened for a while to the melancholy dirge, and on entering the temple, we found on the base of the column a Greek lady dressed in mourning. She told us that she had come in search of the bones of her husband and son, who had perished by the same cannon ball, during the defence of the Castle in the last war, and she pointed to the place of the graves. It was on the eastern side of the platform. Our workmen began to dig and soon two skeletons made their appearance, which the widow and her servants enveloped in their veils, and carried along with them; one of the many singular scenes we have witnessed in that land of romance.

All around the platform and in the cisterns we found large heaps of human bones, or entire skeletons; nay, we were even able to distinguish the Turks from the Greeks, the former having been buried on their faces. All the relics of the Christians were collected with reverence, by the Greek workmen, and deposited in a vault, until a National Monument for the brave men who perished, can be erected on the Akropolis.

We had become so accustomed to open the tombs at the Peiræeus, that we with great facility lifted up the covers; they are all filled with a fine loose earth, wherein the human remains are found, together with vases, bronze ornaments, terracottaidols, oil flasks of alabaster, colored glass-beads, and sometimes coins and weapons, such as sword-blades, belts, spear points, and brass utensils. The large collections which the architects were continually making, were of course regularly sent to the museums at Athens.

Many tomb monuments, sculptured or painted in lively colors, are beautifully preserved. They generally represent the husband and wife taking leave of each other in the presence of weeping children, and all have the simple inscription of the names and the words, "Farewell thou beloved one." *Χριστε χαιρε!*

Here on the northern eminence, near the still existing ruins of the temple of Jupiter the Preserver, now a Christian cemetery, we found some immense sarcophagi of marble, richly ornamented, which were carried to Athens and placed before the temple of Theseus.

King Otho and his lovely Queen came often galloplng to the Peiræeus and ordered excavations to be undertaken by the Danish architect in the presence of their royal guests of Bavaria. Queen Amelia was then all happiness, when, on the opening of some splendid sarcophagus, marble-vases, armor or coins were found on the skeleton, indicating a man of rank; yet none of the coins were older than the year 250 B. C., from the period of the Macedonian rule in Greece. The plain immediately east of the Peiræeus has been the theatre of one of the most tragical scenes of modern times, which in an extraordinary degree resembles that event which we related above, from the old historian Herodotus.

During the war of independence, in 1826, the Greeks had been victorious in Rumelia, or north-eastern Greece; but the heroical city of Missolunghi, after unheard of sufferings, fell in April, 1826, and the Turkish Seraskier, Reshid Pasha,* at the head of twenty thousand Turks and mercenary Albanians, then marched across the mountains to Athens, and though he was severely repelled in several skirmishes, he, nevertheless, succeeded in utterly destroying the city, and closely besieging the Akropolis, then bravely defended by a small, but devoted garrison.

At that time of the deepest despair and misery in Greece, two British officers, of eminent talent, Lord Cochrane and Sir Richard Church, united their exertions with those of the hardy and honest General Karaiskakis, and assembling an army of ten thousand mountaineers, they boldly resolved to advance across the hills and attempt the deliverance of Athens. A great number of European officers and young enthusiastic students, from the Universities of Germany and Denmark, had joined the Greek banners, among whom were the excellent Dr. How of Boston, and a young Dane, Mr. Frelsen, well known to the public of the United States, as Danish Consul, and as a distinguished and wealthy merchant in New Orleans. Karaiskakis, descending with his troops from Eleusis, defeated the

* Reshid Pasha, the Kutahi, is again Prime Minister in Constantinople, and the right hand man of Sultan Abdul-Meshid in the present Russo-Turkish war.

Turks in the brilliant battle near Chaidari, while Lord Cochrane with his fleet, occupied the port of the Peirœeus and fortified the hill of the Munychia. Thus the two wings of the Greek army had united in a strong and excellent position, and a concentrated advance upon Athens was now to decide the fate of northern Greece.

A French squadron was then lying at anchor in the bay of Salamis, and by a singular coincidence, it happened that both the hostile commanders, the Turkish Pasha and the Greek General, at the same time arrived on board the French frigate, in order to pay a visit to the Admiral. The haughty Turk, on seeing his enemy, instantly drew his scimitar, but suddenly feeling the impropriety of his conduct on neutral ground, he frankly saluted the Greek warrior, and said: "Thou hast fought well, Karaiske, I honor thy courage. Come, return to thy allegiance and the Padishaw, the Sultan, will reward thee with rank and riches." But Karaiskakis answered with dignity: "*Affendi mou.* The Greek nation made *me* commander-in-chief on the mainland—the Sultan in Stambul gave *thee* that same command—we cannot divide it amongst us—let the sword then decide who is to be *Rumeli-Valessi* (governor of Rumelia.") A few days after this meeting, the prudent and honest Karaiskakis fell, most unhappily, in a small skirmish near the Peirœeus, while he was preparing for the general battle, which was to deliver Athens. The command now devolved on General Church, the Englishman, who entirely mistook the Greek character, and in his British vanity, supposed that he could advance, unprotected by regular troops, through the open plain with the undisciplined mountaineers, who were altogether unable to resist the terrible charges of the Turkish cavalry. Contrary, therefore, to the advice of the Greek officers, this inconsiderate movement took place on the 6th of May, 1827, a day still remembered with sorrow and tears all over Greece. The army advances boldly through the plain along the outskirts of the olive wood, and arriving at some distance from Athens, the Greeks gallantly drive in the Turkish skirmishers, and attack with shouts of victory the lines of Turkish infantry in front, while the brave French Colonel Fab-

vier, at the head of the Greek garrison in the Akropolis, makes a dashing sortie in their rear. But at this moment of decision, when victory seems to smile on the Greeks, three thousand Turkish horsemen, beautifully armed, and mounted on powerful Thessalian horses, suddenly advancing along the slope of Mount Hymettos, pass, unperceived, the right flank of the Greeks, and wheel in full gallop upon their rear. The Turks come on with such a velocity, that before the second discharge of the Greeks, their whole army is ridden down, cut to pieces, or dispersed in the wildest flight over the field. The most tremendous carnage now begins. The Christians flee towards the distant coast of Phaleros, hotly pursued by the Turkish horse and the nimble footed Albanians, who give no quarter to the fugitives. Two thousand Greeks perish beneath the yatagan in this disgraceful rout, which a single regular battalion, formed in square, might easily have averted. But it is a melancholy fact, that all the exertions of the European officers in Greece, to persuade the wild mountaineers, the klephts, to adopt the modern tactics, were in vain, and the Grecks, in spite of their many disastrous defeats, still continued to carry on their warfare in the style of old Homer.

Nearly all the Europeans, both officers and men, who remained firm on the battle-field, bravely defending their cannon, were surrounded by thousands of maddened Turks and cut down to a man. Only Lord Cochrane and General Church scampered away to the sea, and swimming across the bay of Phaleros, got safely on board the ships. The poor prisoners, six hundred in number, were brought bound and bleeding to the camp of Reshid Pasha, where they were marshalled in line and beheaded in cold blood, amidst the yells of the infuriated Moslemin. The handsome young cavalry-officer, Demitrios Kalergis, a Kretan by birth, was among the prisoners. The Pasha, learning that the youth was rich, ordered his ears to be slit off and sent to General Church, who immediately accepted this truly Turkish draught, and paying down five thousand dollars in ready money, saved the life of his adjutant.*

* This Demitrios Kalergis, active and endowed with brilliant talents, became afterwards the leader of the Constitutional party, in the revolution of

While the right wing of the Greek army was thus entirely defeated, the centre and left wing, forming a body of seven thousand foot and horse, commanded by General Kizzos Tzavellas, instead of hurrying to the rescue of their perishing vanguard, remained spell-bound, without making the least demonstration. But when the routed troops and pursuing Turkish cavalry approached, they likewise fell into disorder, and sought refuge on the hill of Munychia, in the most disgraceful flight. Here again the presence of mind of the French officers saved the camp of the Peiræeus. The guns were mounted on the Munychian hill, to sweep the plain beyond, and order somewhat restored, when immediately after sunset a rushing sound was heard, and the Turkish cavalry were discovered on the out skirts of the olive-wood, forming rapidly in a crescent and with loud *Allahs*, attempting a swarm-attack against the hill. It was a magnificent sight to behold the thousands of horsemen at full career charging through the plain; but now the masked batteries opened their fire with grape and shell, and with such effect, that the dense masses wheeled around and galloped back to the woods. Thus evening closed on the dreadful scenes of the day. More than fifteen hundred Greeks and Philhellenes, the flower of the army, lay slain on the battle-field, nine pieces of cannon, numerous standards, and all the fruits of a four month's campaign, were lost. This was the most bloody and disastrous defeat which the Greeks had suffered in the whole course of the war, and the more discouraging, because it proved how little those wild bands had profitted by the unceasing exertions of the European officers and Philhellenes, in introducing a severer discipline and a more regular tactical warfare.*

September, 1843. See our article on *Modern Greece*, July No., 1854, page 460, et seqq. He was lately Prime Minister of King Otho, but was forced to resign, on account of the active part he had taken in the insurrectionary movement in Epirus and Thessaly against the Turks.

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* The bones of the slain warriors, which had been secretly buried in different parts of the battle-field, by their friends, were collected in April, 1835, when a beautiful and touching funeral cermony took place near the Peiræeus, on the spot where Karaiskakis fell in the skirmish, *two days* before the total defeat of the Greek forces. Young King Otho in the presence of the court, army and assembled Athenians, deposited the body of the brave General in

The Peiræeus was abandoned by the disheartened Greeks on the night of the 27th May, under brisk skirmishes with the Turkish van-guard, and on the next morning Reshid Pasha rode to the summit of Munychia, whence he contemplated with inward satisfaction and pride the distant sails of his departing enemies. On June 5th following, the garrison of the Akropolis surrendered, and was safely marched to the sea-coast under the protection of the French Admiral, Mons. de Rigny, and the officers of his squadron. All the Greek troops on Mount Kythaeron fell back; the Greek and Albanian inhabitants of Attica abandoned the desolated country and sought refuge in the islands of Salamis and Ægina, and mount and dale presented again the melancholy sight of the ruins and devastation of the Persian war twenty-three hundred years before!

But this did not last. Prosperity returned to Greece at the close of the war in 1829. The Peiræcus was rebuilt in 1834, and soon became a pretty, flourishing town, with three hundred and fifty neat dwelling houses, stores, and public buildings. The old church of the Convent of Sanct Spyridon was repaired, and although it is a very small and dark Byzantine chapel, still the Greeks throng to divine service there, in preference to the large modern church built by the Danish architect, Mr. Christian Hansen. The Roman Catholic church of Saint Paul the Apostle, erected by the Austrian government, is an elegant Gothic Cathedral, with stained glasses and a good Italian altar piece, representing the great Apostle on the sea-shore of the Peiræeus, taking leave of his converts, Dionysios, the Areopagite, and Damaris, the first Christian lady of Athens, on his departure for Corinth.

On the spur of the Munychian hill, fronting the new high road to Athens, and commanding a delightful view across the harbor and the distant gulf of Salamis, stands the royal military College of the Euelpides,* and in the low isthmus between

the sepulchral monument, erected to his memory, while a large subterranean vault, or polyandrion, received the earthly rests of his unfortunate companions. The greatest part of the relics have now been carried away by the antiquarian Midshipmen from the British men-of-war in the Pieræeus.

* This College, the oldest and best regulated literary institution in Greece, was established by the National Convention during the war of independence

the port of the Peiræeus and that of the ancient Zea, a fine row of elegant dwelling houses, in English style, built by the rich and benevolent Chiote Bankers, the Rhallys in London, now the summer residence of the foreign ambassadors in Athens.

The Peiræeus possesses an excellent Hellenic College, then under the direction of Signor Patakis, with nearly one hundred students, several grammar schools, and an American Mission school for girls, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Buel and his lady, Mrs. Eliza Buel, from Providence, R. I.

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and directed by the able French Colonel Bossier. It was liberally supported by Count Capodistrias, and so strict was the discipline of the cadets, and so excellent its general organization that during the violent civil war in 1832, between the Capodistrian party in Nauplion and that of the Rumeliotes under Kolettis, the military College declared and maintained its neutrality in the midst of bloodshed and devastation. Colonel Bossier had succeeded in provisioning and fortifying the College, situated in a strong position at Nauplion; with cannon mounted and the officers, professors and pupils under arms, that energetic commander kept aloof from the warring parties who brought Greece on the brink of a precipice and did not throw open the gates of his fortress in miniature until the arrival of the Royal Regency and Bavarian army in 1833. The College thus obtained the favor of the young monarch who liberally opened its ranks to the sons of the brave chiefs—προμαχοι—who had fought and conquered for the independence of Hellas. It became reorganized on a larger scale on the model of the *Ecole polytechnique* of France, as a practical school for artillery officers, engineers, architects and geometers, while only a comparatively small number of cadets entered the ranks of the regular army. Officers and pupils wore the uniform of the staff, and the public examinations were held with sufficient pomp in the presence of the King, the functionaries of the war department and the general staff of the army. At the time we became connected with the College, it consisted of a military staff, twenty-five professors and teachers, several of whom were foreign officers, and one hundred and fifty cadets, and was situated in the island of Ægina. The sons of all the celebrated names of the time, Miaulis, Sakturis, Karaiskakis, Soutzas, Mauromichalis, Petimezas, Pepinos, Rizos, and others, received their complete education and boarding at the expense of government. Yet the destructive earthquake in 1837, having in part, destroyed the College buildings in Ægina, the College was removed to the Peiræeus, where Count Armansperg had built a large palace, for the enormous sum of three hundred thousand drachms, (of which, however, he was said to have appropriated one third to his own pocket.) In the course of time, the Camarilla of the court, looking with distrust on this nursery of military spirit of the Greeks, withdrew its favor, and reduced the number of the students, though public opinion forced it to place a native warrior, Colonel Spiro Milios, at the head of the institution. Hence it happened, that in the summer of 1843, during the vacations, our College became the rendesvouz of the Constitutional party, and that its young officers took so active a part in the insurrectionary scenes of the 15th September. This, however, did not produce the slightest ill-will against the foreign professors and officers attached to the College. Spiro Milios, frank and generous, protected us as long as possible, and when at last, he was forced to send us our dismissal, Prof. Toman, (the Chemist,) and myself (the Historian,) were the very last among the hundreds, who, in consequence of the revolution, were obliged to leave the royal service, in which we for ten years had enjoyed the friendship and regard of our superiors and equals.

The Peiræeus is well provided with water by an aqueduct from the upper plain. A strongly built quay—'αμασια—with projecting moles—χηλαι—and a fine marble pavement and parapet—χρηπις—runs all along the harbor to the royal Custom-house—το τελωνειον—and the quarantine—λοιμοκαθαρτηριον—on the south of the city, situated on the ruins of the ancient arsenal of Pheilon. Thus the former galley port of Kantharos is at present used as quarantine-harbor, where the ominous yellow flag prohibits the approach of the shipping. Brigs, felukes, and small coasting vessels—*kaiques*—lie close to the quay and discharge there their cargoes. On the height of the rocky promontory of Alkimos is placed a telegraph, and near the tomb of Themistokles on the head-land, a high beacon throws its light far away over the sea, showing the direction of the coast, while at the entrance of the Peiræeus the frowning towers and chains of the ancient Athenians have yielded their place to two humble light-houses—φαναρια—the revolving lights of which indicate to the approaching ships, the narrow mouth of the harbor between the promontories.†

Every traveler in the East, who happens to pass the quarantine at the Peiræeus, will acknowledge the polite attention of Signor Boudouris, the director of that establishment, and remember with pleasure the delightful scenery at sun-set, when in the boat of that officer, and accompanied by the old guardians with their red scul-caps and white staves, he rowed over the glassy mirror of the harbor and lost himself in wonder and admiration at the animated scenes of eastern life around, the distant music from the men-of-war, the golden light illuminating the shipping, town and hills around, while the far off Akropolis and the towering Mount Hymettos became tinged in hues of richer purple and violet than any artist can paint or poet describe.

† Ship-docks and wharfs have been established in the Peiræeus, since our departure in 1844, and a number of fine vessels, brigs, and kaiques, have been built, to the great advantage of the city. In September, 1846, a brig of one hundred tons was launched under the thunder of the artillery and the joyful shouts of the enthusiastic people. King Otho, with the lovely Queen Amelia, and the court, graced with their presence a spectacle which promises a new development of activity and wealth for the city. The fine ship received of course the name AMAAIA. The Peiræeus has French glass-works and several other manufactories.

High and rocky are the cliffs of the Munychian peninsula; no forests, no luxuriant vegetation gladdens the eye. Only during winter the hills are covered with grass, shrubs and cultivated patches of wheat and barley. In spring the Munychian castle hill is feathered with the beautiful yellow *crocus* and the white *asphodilos*. A venomous shrub is the *phlomos* or hemlock. The Turks believed that its exhalations impregnated the atmosphere with pestiferous miasms, and became dangerous to the flocks of sheep and goats at that season, browzing by thousands on the hills. They, therefore, on a certain day in April, ordered out the whole Greek population of Athens and the villages of the plain, to uproot and burn the *phlomos*.

The Peiræeus, without gardens and trees, presents during summer a parched landscape. Yet the serene, deep blue sky of Attica, more violet tinged than that of Pennsylvania—and the charming hues and colors it diffuses over sea and land, together with its rich historical recollections and monuments, renders it one of the most agreeable residences on the lovely shores of the Mediterranean.‡

Greatly as the Peiræeus has improved as the port of the neighboring Capital, yet it seems not likely that it ever will become of any importance as a *central emporium* of commerce. Syra, by its excellent situation between Malta, Constantinople, Smyrna and Alexandria, is now the emporium of Greece, and Patras and Calamæ are both rapidly rising, the former by its position at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, in the very centre of the precious currant plantations, the most profitable export of the Morea,—and the latter on the Messenian Gulf, as a general depot for the rich wine and oil productions of Messenia. The exportation of the natural produce of Attica, consisting mostly in wine, oil, honey, wax, goat-skins and salt, is insignificant, and the imports from Trieste, Malta, Leg-

‡ Some gardens have been laid out a mile from the town in the *Alipedon* or salt-plain. The wealthy Chiote merchants, such as Alexander Koṇdastavlos, Lukas Rhally, and others, have expended great sums of money in digging out the soil and leading off the brackish water. In the beginning of that arduous undertaking they almost despaired of success, but by their assiduous exertions a great amelioratlon of the clayey soil has already taken place, and the swamps of a thousand years, will, we earnestly hope, soon become transformed into vine-yards and fragrant orange-groves.

horn, Marseilles, and the ports of the Levant, is nearly confined to the supply of the Capital. The receipt of the custom-house duties were, in 1844, thirty thousand drachms, or five thousand dollars per month. Several captains from the Baltic and Hamburg, who, on their return from the Levant, intended to freight their ships at the Peiræeus, were unable to obtain a single barrel of wine or oil, and thus found themselves brought to the necessity of ballasting their vessels with the very inferior dark and unclean salt from the royal salt works near cape Sunion.

The Peiræeus was the great emporium of the ancient Republic. Its flourishing commerce began with the sudden and astonishing development of Athens during the Persian war. The Athenian democracy, with its characteristic activity and acuteness, soon combined the most careful organization of its commercial institutions with the progressive formation of its gigantic navy and its political dominion over its numerous colonies and tributary allies. The whole commercial system of Athens, her maritime laws and rights of trade—the equitable distribution of her customs, of her import and export duties, the precise definitions of her weights and measures—the solid standard of her pure Attic silver coin, and the rigorous control of her custom-house officers—distinguished her most favorably from all other Grecian Republics of that period and all of them adopted the commercial institutions of Athens. The mighty Ægina, one century earlier, the first naval power in Greece, the Ionian colonies, Samos, Miletos—even wealthy Corinth herself yielded, and sank before the rising star of Athens.

But, alas! that great political and commercial system of hers had no *sound* foundation in the *territory* and *productiveness* of Attica herself. It rested solely on naval victories—on ephemeral conquests, and was, therefore, of short duration. The Peloponnesian war, at one blow, destroyed forever the great emporium of Athenian commerce. The islands of Rhodes, and Delos, Byzantium on the Bosphorus, and afterward in the Roman Period, Patras and New Corinth, rebuilt and restored by Julius Cæsar, usurped the place of Athens in the annals of the history of commerce.

And now before we close this picture, let us dwell for a few

moments longer here on the height of the Munychian Akropolis, and let us recall to our recollections the Peiræeus, its warlike, intelligent inhabitants, its fleets and its monuments, such as they presented themselves in the brightest days of the ancient democracy.

Eastward, we overlook the beautiful plain, with its sacred olive-grove, embosoming the distant city of Athens and her glittering Akropolis. Through the plain and its groves and vineyards, we discover the gigantic arms of the long walls, with their huge foundations, their solid fronts, their embattled roof and high turretted gates and the vaulted canals of the river Kephissos—and still farther East, the old Phaleric wall, like a diverging radius, descending from the city along the sloping plain toward the more distant port of Phaleros. Between the long arms, we plainly distinguish through the transparent vibrations of an Attic atmosphere, the sepulchral monuments of Euripides and Menandros, the Poets, and farther off the ruined temples, burnt by the Persians, the altars raised to the unknown god, and the soaring tumulus of the Queen of the Amazons, the fair and loving Antiope. All together forming a scenery grand, striking and picturesque! And then, what a crowd, what a press of passengers,—what a driving and riding,—what a shouting of the multitudes, hurrying up to the city and down to the ports—what a movement and life around the hundreds of stores and taverns, and the medley intercourse of Greeks and foreigners, of mariners and warriors, in their showy dresses and glittering armor.

And if we now turn westward, to the sea, then we behold spread out before us the harbors and the ships, surrounded by admirable walls and towers, with their guards and battering engines. Below at our feet we have the Dionysian theatre, the stadium, the market-place, the long circle of the porticoes, the temples of Venus, Diana and Jupiter the Preserver, the covered wharves and the highly ornamented front of the immense arsenal of Phikion.

On a morning in the middle of summer in the year 415 before our era, there is an extraordinary movement here in the Peiræeus. One hundred and forty galleys and transports, with their complete armament and fluttering purple flags are

ready for departure. From Athens descends a brilliant army of brass-clad Athenians and their allies, led on by the ablest Generals of the republic, Nikias, Lamachos and the splendid young Alkibiades, who, inflamed with ambition and pride, had persuaded his vain and rapacious countrymen to send an expedition to Sicily, hoping by the conquest of Syracuse to subdue the Italian colonies, to disarm the haughty Dorian Sparta, and to extend the banner of the Athenian democracy to the distant shores of Carthage! They are accompanied, says Thukydides, the historian, in his masterly description, by a great crowd, nay, by the whole, immense population of Athens, both citizens and strangers. The former attend in order to take an affectionate leave of their departing relations and friends; the latter, to witness the splendid spectacle of the proudest fleet victorious Athens had yet sent forth. The whole crowd moved along the plain with a mixture of hope and fear, shouts of joy and tears of tender solicitude. To how great a distance from their native shores are they going to be sent! Exposed to how many dangers on sea and land! And now that the hour of departure is at hand—now that war and bloodshed soon will close around them—the *ominous* impression of terror is felt with a far keener sensation, than on that boisterous day in the Assembly, when that unjust war was decreed! Yet, when arrived here on the brow of the Peiræeus, the Athenians behold their gallant fleet and the ready outfit of a prosperous enterprize, their spirits are again elated, and they dream of nothing but victory and conquest.

"And indeed," says the ancient historian, "never did any one State of Hellas before this time, equip by its own strength, such a powerful armament. It was indeed the finest and the most glorious fleet that to this day the world had ever seen!"† These words of Thukydides, repeated two thousand two hundred and fifty years later, to American readers, at once show us the wonderful extension and progress of human society.

The equipment of the armada is magnificent, and the splendid galleys for battle are the finest ships in the ports, while a numerous fleet of transports carry six thousand heavy armed

† Thukydides Historia Lib. VI. Capt. 31.

Athenian citizens with their beautiful cavalry and large bodies of auxiliaries from every part of the Athenian empire. The greatest emulation prevails among the captains to have their own ships excel the rest in swiftness and splendor—while the army counting the proudest names in its ranks, presents a most glittering and well appointed array. The whole force now goes on board the fleet, and the stores, arms and baggage being completely adjusted, silence is proclaimed by the sound of trumpets. Solemn prayers for the successful expedition are then offered up to the immortal gods. The golden goblets filled with wine, run through the circle of the whole armament, and every crew, officers, and men, pour out their libations to the deities of the deep, and drink happiness and success out of their sparkling cups. The whole Athenian people fill the coast all around the Peiræeus, join with the army in the public prayers, and shout their wishes of prosperity, triumph and a happy return. And now the solemn hymns, being sung by thousands of voices, and the libations being finished, the blood-red flag of Athens is hoisted as a signal, and ship after ship puts to sea. On clearing the promontories, the fleet forms in line and then with emulation and the greatest velocity pulls across the Gulf to Ægina, whence the whole armament makes all possible haste to join the great fleet of their Ionian allies, assembled at Corcyra, and carry the Athenian arms to the distant coasts of Italy.

This was the last day of happiness and glory in the ancient Peiræeus. The bloody process against the wild and sacrilegious youths, the Hermakopidæ—who, in their orgies in Athens had mutilated the sacred statues of Mercury, and the exile and condemnation of Alkibiades, the most talented and reckless of the Athenians—soon followed. A Spartan army occupied the passes of the mountains and ravaged the plain. Untoward rumors arrived from Sicily. A new fleet, another brilliant army was, with the utmost exertions, sent off—and shortly afterward did the dreadful news spread over the Peiræeus of the awful destruction of the whole fleet, and the slaughter or captivity of its thirty thousand warriors.

Sic transit gloria mundi!

Lancaster, Pa. A. L, K.

ART. II.—CONYBEARE AND HOWSON'S LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. *W. J. Conybeare, M. A.*, late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. *J. S. Howson, M. A.*, Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. In two volumes, octavo. New York: Charles Scribner, 145, Nassau Street. 1854.

THE present age is producing an exegetical literature of a character in some measure peculiarly its own. Exegesis, as we find it, especially in the English theological literature of the last two hundred years, is little more than an anatomical dissection of a lifeless body. Perhaps the expression is too strong; for we are the farthest from intending any disrespect to the Divine word, and far even from denying the living power of this word upon the hearts of men under this exegesis; but we mean that in the older commentaries the inspired word is sundered too much from the living relations which it once held to men and things; these living relations were in a great measure ignored, little effort was made to trace them out and reproduce them in the mind of the reader; the text was treated as an abstract entity or fact, which had suddenly made its appearance in our world, and which could be made, according to the laws of language, to yield certain results; its specific origin, the law of its accretion, and the human elements which assisted in its production, were left almost entirely out of sight. From this it resulted that the Divine word, being dragged out of its special relations, and treated only under general relations,—which general relations can be properly understood and appreciated only in the light of the special relations—was made to bear all sorts of freightage which the piety or the prejudice of men might lay upon it. Often its most beautiful allusions and metaphors were entirely lost, and something else substituted in their place, and not unfrequently the point and pith of a doctrine were entirely missed. This habit of exegesis

is still exceedingly prevalent in the ordinary preaching of the times, much of which is not an exposition and application of Scripture at all, but a loose declamation of the preacher's own pious or heretical notions, as the case may be. A more close scrutiny, on the part of King James' translators, into the living relations to men and things which the Scriptures once held, would doubtles have saved us not a few blunders and obscurities in the authorized version.

But the biblical scholar must be glad to see that an exegetical current of a different tendency is growing stronger every day, and that it is assuming such a form as to make itself felt ultimately upon the general mass of readers. The beginnings of this tendency, it is true, are not of recent date, and a lasting debt of obligation is owing to the memory of Dr. George Campbell of Aberdeen, whose powerful and independent mind —monuments to which remain in the Answer to Hume's Dissertation on Miracles, and in the Philosophy of Rhetoric—made a vigorous effort to reproduce the Gospels in living freshness. The result is his "Gospels and Notes," published towards the close of the last century. But much of the strength of the modern tendency towards a correct exegesis we owe to the efforts of rationalistic infidelity. German unbelief of the present century has expended its main force in criticism upon the inspired writings. This it conducted with consummate ability. Like the giants who would fain have scaled the heavens, it has exhibited the utmost strength of limb to be attributed to mortals. And it has not been without results. It forced the evangelical mind of Germany to perceive that many of its common traditional notions, and interpretations of Scripture were untenable, and compelled it to look round for new help and better canons of exposition. It necessitated historical research, stimulated thought, and started new ideas. And consequently, as a shock upon the vital energies, though causing them to stagger for a moment, usually rouses them to healthier tone and more vigorous action, the pulsations of German evangelical life have been growing healthier and more vigorous since the tide of rationalistic infidelity has begun to retire. The effects of this re-adjustment of the Christian evidences

have been communicating themselves now for some years to English literature and theology and have given, as we think, an improved tone to much of the thinking and exposition of even our most rigidly orthodox schools. There is scarcely a leading periodical in England or America that does not bear traces of a new element, a new Christian power, derived from the soil lately trodden by the vandals of rationalism. The same is true of many of the ablest theological works of the day.

The main feature of the new type of exegesis to which we have referred, might with propriety be called *reproduction;* not of course in the strict sense, but in the sense that it endeavors to realize and bring with artistic skill before the mind of the reader the actual life of the times which produced the several parts of Scripture, the idiosyncracies of its several writers, and the circumstances, motives, occasions, purposes, results which attended the production of the several books. Thus only, it is believed, can we understand fully the mind of the Spirit. In the case of no portion of Scripture is this procedure more necessary than in that of the Epistles; for the reason that they were written for specific, well defined purposes existing in the minds of the writers, and often under the pressure of local emergencies. They were once living Letters, and only by reproducing them in their living freshness of allusion and illustration, can we understand them. By comprehending fully what the Spirit, by his inspired penman, designed to say at the time and in the circumstances, we may legitimately interpret what he designs to say to the Church at large and in all ages. To complete this exegesis, as will at once be seen, must be had a knowledge of the relations both personal and ecclesiastical, existing between the writers and those to whom they wrote; a knowledge of the life, labors and mental peculiarities of the writers, of the manners, customs and ideas of the several bodies of Christians addressed, and of the history of the planting of Christianity among them; a knowledge even of the physical geography of the country, its ancient roads, bridges, rivers, mountains, cities, and harbors, and a knowledge of the heresies, philosophies, superstitions, doctrines, prejudices,

vices and sensualities which early Christianity had to encounter and overcome. All these things give coloring to the New Testament Epistles, and must assist in securing their complete elucidation.*

Our readers will have already anticipated that much of what has been said is to have an application to the book named at the head of this article. It is one of the latest and best results of that improved method of studying the sacred writings to which we have referred, and it bears the most healthful traces of that new element of thought derived from the mighty Saxon mind of Germany, whose entrance into English literature we have already noticed. Though it is in the most comprehensive sense a life-history of the Apostle Paul, embracing everything pertaining to him that could be known, thus possessing all the interest and romance which pertains to any historic monograph, and though it luxuriates very largely in descriptions of the physical geography of the Apostle's missionary journeys, and of the cities and people in which and among which he labored, thus possessing all the freshness of the sketch-book of an oriental traveller, yet, after all, the main character of the book, and the main service which it renders, are exegetical. The life of Paul is a commentary on his writings, and there is scarcely a step of his progress as an Apostolic missionary, that does not throw light upon some passage in his Epistles. And, besides the life-history, the book contains a very careful and ingenious translation of all that Paul spoke and wrote as given in the New Testament, accompanied with explanatory and illustrative notes. It is the object of this article to employ itself principally with the life-history and labors of Paul. In a future article, providence permitting, we hope to call attention to the translation of the Epistles and Speeches.

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* Of course we are not to be understood as intimating that all this is necessary for the pious uses which the ordinary unlearned reader is required to make of the Scriptures. The staple commodities of spiritual food are easily obtained without a critical exegesis of any kind; but this exegesis is necessary to those who would obtain the more delicate viands of divine truth, and discern even the richest flavor of the most substantial nutritives. Certainly, as a general rule, the highest type of spiritual life is that which is fed upon *all* that God gives us for our soul's health.

The work is the joint product of two pens. To Mr. Conybeare we are indebted for the translation of the Speeches and Epistles, the Introduction and Appendix, and some portion of the narrative. To Mr. Howson we owe the greater part of the narrative, all that part especially in which geographical investigation and description were required.

Concerning Mr. Conybeare we are fortunately in possession of a clue to determine his religious affinities. He is known to be the author of an article on "Church Parties," published in the Edinburgh Review for October, 1853, in which he analyzes the present condition of the Church of England, and deals heavy blows all round, upon High Church petrifaction on the one hand, and upon Low Church or rather unchurchly fanaticism on the other—an article which has occasioned not a little fluttering in the ecclesiastical ranks. In it he defines what he calls the Broad Church party in England, and with which he clearly identifies himself. This Broad Church party are members of the Establishment, but hold views which would very much modify it, and probably are destined to modify it in the course of time. It stands between the High and the Low Church parties, having affinities and antagonisms with both. Its watchwords are Charity and Toleration. It extends the hand of fellowship to Dissenters. It believes that the superficial differences among Christians are as nothing in comparison with their essential agreement; and it is willing that the portals of the Church should be flung as widely open as the gates of heaven. All fundamental doctrines it holds in common with High and Low Church; but it differs from its brethren in believing that these doctrines have virtually been held by all Christians in every age. It teaches with the Low Church party, that the Scripture is the only rule of faith, and it agrees with the High Church party in giving great prominence to the idea of the visible Church, but is not for restricting it to any single form of outward government. This Broad Church party enrols many admirable names. The earliest as well as the most earnest advocacy of its distinctive features belongs to Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby memory, though it dates an earlier parentage, in its seminal principles, to the great Coleridge.

It embraces now such men as Archbishop Whately, Archdeacon Hare, Trench, Maurice, Kingsley, &c. It leads the van of literature in the Church of England—its contributions to Classical Philosophy, to the Mathematical Sciences, to the Physical Sciences, to Secular History, to Ecclesiastical History, to Poetry, and even to Theology proper, being far greater than its proportional quota. To this ecclesiastical segment of the Church of England, Mr. Conybeare belongs. Of Mr. Howson we know nothing from other sources, but we infer confidently from some traces in the book before us that his affinities are the same. It is satisfactory to the reader of so important a book to be able thus to identify the churchly stand-point of its authors; as otherwise the special point of some of its passages might not be fully seen. It contains very little that is polemical, but there are occasional "croppings out" of significant hints.

Having thus disposed of certain preliminary matters which suggested themselves in connection with the volumes before us, we have reached the great theme of the work itself, viz: Paul the Apostle, or, as he first comes upon the scene, Saul of Tarsus,—a character which must appropriately be classed among those "colossal figures of history, which stamp with the impress of their personal greatness the centuries in which they lived." We cannot of course pretend to thread our way minutely through two bulky octavos;—we shall not even confine ourselves to the thread of the narrative at all, but shall endeavor to present a summary of such matters pertaining to the life and work of Paul, as we shall deem to be of special moment.

Every epoch in the world's history has its own preparation, and every "colossal figure" has a work previously made ready for it. Christianity was *the* epoch of all time, and even the work of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles had the same historic preparation which we find operative in other cases. In this respect he was "found in fashion as a man," having conformed to the foreordained laws of the world's life. Every Church historian who enters understandingly upon his task must needs devote an initial chapter to the prepartion for Christianity in the previous confluent streams of history; and there is little room for diversity in the adjustment of these elements of prep-

aration. Three great varieties of national life only offer themselves as presenting special contact with Christianity. The Jew, the Greek and the Roman divide the world between them. In the suggestive language of Dr. Arnold, these were "the three peoples of God's election; two for things temporal, and one for things eternal. Yet even in the things eternal they were allowed to minister. Greek cultivation and Roman polity prepared men for Christianity, as Mahomedanism can bear witness; for the East, when it abandoned Greece and Rome, could only reproduce Judaism. Mahomedanism, six hundred years after Christ, proving that the Eastern man could bear nothing perfect, justifies the wisdom of God in Judaism." These three peoples stand in the closest relation both to Christianity and to the whole human race. From the Jew Christianity derived the element of *religion*, especially in the form of knowledge of the true God and his law, previously communicated by special revelation; from the Greek it derived the elements of culture, science, art, providing for it among other things the indispensable medium of a theological language; from the Roman it derived the elements of organization and law, and the idea of universality. To repeat the beautiful illustration of Neander, the religion of the Jew, the culture of the Greek, and the polity of the Roman were the three threads which, by the power of the Divine Spirit, were brought together in the fulness of time and interwoven in the web of Christian development. These three nations all trod the soil of Judea. They all stood round the cross. The "superscription of the accusation" of Him who hung thereon "was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin!"

These three forms of national life also meet in a singular manner in the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He was by birth a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," he was trained in the culture of the Greeks, and he was a Roman citizen. He could argue with the Pharisee on his own ground, and could boast of his birthright in the line of Abraham; he wrote his Epistles in Greek; and he could often succor himself in the most imminent perils, by uttering the magic words, "*Romanus sum.*" To quote our authors, "On a critical occasion of St. Paul's

life, when he was standing upon the stair between the Temple and the fortress, he first spoke to the commander of the garrison in Greek, and then turned round and addressed his countrymen in Hebrew; while the letter of Claudius Lysias was written, and the oration of Tertullus spoken, in Latin." It is worth noting the concentring of these three nationalities in the person of Paul, as showing the large measure in which the preparation for Christianity made itself felt in him, and his eminent fitness for operating upon the wide field thrown open to the energies and conquests of the Church.

The birth-place of Saul, under the name of Tersoos, still holds an almost metropolitan rank among the hamlets and decaying villages of the Turkish province of Karamania. But scarcely a shadow of its ancient magnificence remains. Situated near the western border of the Cilician plain, where the river Cydnus flows in a cold and rapid stream from the snows of Taurus to the sea, it was the capital of the whole province, and "no mean city" in the history of the ancient world. A deep channel two hundred feet wide was formed by the river in its passage through the city. Its harbor in which fleets used to ride at anchor, was capacious and secure. Its commerce was extensive with all parts of the East. In its streets mingled men of every nation, and its resident population was an epitome of the then civilized world. Its three preponderating elements, moreover, were Jewish, Greek and Roman. As a seat of learning it was no less renowned than as a port of trade. Strabo says that in all that pertained to philosophy and general education it was held to rival Athens and Alexandria. It was the chosen residence of several eminent luminaries of the Stoic school. A generous culture could thus be enjoyed by its youth, Jewish as well as Grecian, previous to their transfer, as was not unfrequently the case with the Jewish youth, to the schools of the law at Jerusalem.

At this ancient Tarsus, and in the midst of such influences the infancy and boyhood of Saul were spent. No reliable means are left for determining accurately the date of his birth. The probability is that it was not more than two or three years subsequent to the birth of Christ. The precise date is not important. The case is well stated by our authors:

"We have a better chronology than that which reckons by years and months. We know that he was a young man at the time of Stephen's martyrdom, and therefore we know what were the features of the period, and what the circumstances of the world, at the beginning of his eventful life. He must have been born in the later years of Herod, or the earlier of his son Archelaus. It was the strongest and most flourishing time of the reign of Augustus. The world was at peace, the pirates of the Levant were dispersed; and Cilicia was lying at rest, or in stupor, with other provinces, under the shadow of the Roman power. Many governors had ruled there since the days of Cicero. Athenodorus, the emperor's tutor had been one of them. It was about the time when Horace and Mæcenas died, with others whose names will never be forgotten; and it was about the time when Caligula was born, with others who were destined to make the world miserable. Thus is the epoch fixed in the manner in which the imagination most easily apprehends it. During this pause in the world's history St. Paul was born."

It is easy for the imagination to throw an attractive interest around the boyhood of so remarkable a character as that of Paul. It is natural for us to desire to know something of his father, and especially of his mother; for the roots of such a character are always to be traced in the paternal soil. But from these the veil may not be lifted. We know he was soon sent to Jerusalem, to enter upon the study of the law, not later probably, than his thirteenth year, according to an educational maxim of the Jews, subsequently embodied in the Mishna: "At five years of age, let children begin the Scripture; at thirteen, let them be subjects of the law." His youthful imagination was fired and his pious emotions stirred by the sight of the Holy city, and under the inspiring lead of Gamaliel, the "Beauty of the Law," his ardent mind was doubtless soon absorbed in the profundities and labyrinthine mazes of the Jewish law. Over the whole period of his student life we leave the imagination to weave its own adornments. He breaks suddenly into the Christian narrative in connection with the martyrdom of St. Stephen.

A tender and thrilling interest has always, to Christian minds, hung around the death-scene of the first Christian martyr; and not a little of this interest is derived from the brief part which the young man Saul took in it. The sacred narrative concerning this latter part, is remarkably concise, but as suggestive as it is concise; and the imagination, having as its data the known character of Paul and his subsequent confessions, may fill out a large picture. In some striking respects Stephen was the fore-runner of Paul; and there is nothing to require us to sunder, but every thing to induce us to connect, more or less intimately, the conversion of the latter and the martyrdom of the former. This point is beautifully brought out by Mr. Howson. Stephen was the fore-runner of Paul in carrying the aggressive power of Christianity into the camp of the Hellenists, or foreign Jews, of whom there were several synagogues at Jerusalem, among which was the *Cilician* synagogue, of which Paul was doubtless a prominent member, and was in all probability one of those who "disputed" with Stephen. The speech of Stephen before the Sanhedrim,* in the use of the historical argument, was also remarkably anticipative of many a discourse of Paul for the same general purpose, and must have recurred vividly to his memory as he bore the brunt of a like furious assault in many a synagogue, as for instance at Antioch in Pisidia, surrounded by Jews filled with envy, who "spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming." The precise influence of the death of Stephen, with its exhibition of holy heroism and meekness and love, upon the mind of Saul, it is of course impossible to estimate. A barbed arrow even then may have pierced his heart; and it is not irreconcilable with the laws of human experience to suppose that the subsequent havoc which he made of the Church, his furious and intolerant spirit as a persecutor, may have been the desperate effort of his unsanctified nature to shake itself of the burden of a wounded conscience. At all events the fond supposition was early cherished in the Church, and found utterance in the saying of Augustine, "*Si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Paulum non haberet.*"

* Our authors habitually spell this word Sanhedrin.

At this point the historian reaches a great crisis in the history of Christianity. Several elements of future power here present themselves in marked combination. First, the development of such a character as Stephen's under such circumstances, was a powerful testimony in behalf of the new religion, and a prophecy of its final victory. Second, it was the period of the first dispersion of the Church. Driven by the explosive force of persecution, from the centre of their local attachments, the bearers of the seed of the gospel scattered it over all parts of Judea, and into various quarters of Asia Minor. Thus the wrath of man was helping to lay deep and broad the foundations of the Church. Finally, it was the period of the conversion of Saul of Tarsus. In his person a new and great power is enlisted in the service of Christianity—a power destined to exert upon it and for it a mighty and far-reaching influence,—and hence the period of the entrance of this power into its service may justly be signalized as an epoch. The importance of the conversion of Saul can scarcely be overrated, either as an evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, or as bearing historically upon its spread and progress. Feeling this, our authors have devoted to it much attention and care. All the bearings in which it must present itself to the earnest student of the sacred narrative, are forcibly presented, and all the surroundings with which the data given impel the imagination to invest it, are vividly portrayed. Even the route of that memorable journey from Jerusalem, the centre of the young Pharisee's ardent attachment and self-righteous zeal, to the Syrian city of the north, is ascertained as accurately as possible, by tracing the principal roads of that period, and its scenery described with all the graphic freshness of an eye-witness. And Damascus itself, "the oldest city of the world," the "eye of the east," surrounded by its "wilderness of gardens," and refreshed by the murmuring streams and thousand fountains of its "golden flowing river," is made to rise before us in all the picturesqueness of its ancient and incomparable beauty. This part of the book is but a sample of what its geographical descriptions are, wherever there is the proper occasion for them. They are a perfect luxury: and so strong is Mr. Howson's

passion for this kind of investigation and writing, that he often turns aside to indulge in it, even when the understanding of the narrative would be complete without it. It is always, however, a welcome superfluity.

The authors attempt no rationalistic explanation of the circumstances attending the conversion of the persecuting zealot. They simply rehearse the narrative of Scripture.* Nothing is said about "thunder storms," or "meteorological phenomena," a style of talk which after all explains nothing, but which certain English writers, Dean Milman for instance,† are disposed to indulge after the fashion of the German rationalists. The circumstances of his conversion were such as to enable him afterwards to recognize in them his full call to the Apostleship; and the means employed for restoring him to sight and clearing before him finally the path of duty, were in accordance with that economy of visions, which attended the planting of the Church, and which had shown itself in a manner singularly parallel in the steps which led to the conversion of Cornelius.

At this point begins the narrative of the personal history and labors of Paul the Christian Apostle, which, as a narrative, occupies the greater part of the two volumes before us. For this, in its ample detail, we must refer our readers to the work itself, assuring them that after perusing it they will read the New Testament with new delight and satisfaction. His footsteps are traced as accurately as they can be in the Acts and Epistles, first into Arabia Petraea, in probable retirement; thence back to Damascus; thence, escaping a plot of assassination, to Jerusalem, where his conversion and Apostleship are recognized by the leading Apostles; thence to his native "Syria and Cilicia;" thence to Antioch, where he labors long and successfully with Barnabas; thence to Jerusalem with relief money in the time of the famine, and back to Antioch; thence with Barnabas upon his first great missionary tour, first to Seleucia, thence to Cyprus, preaching at Salamis and Paphos,

* We are gratified to remark in passing that the same mode is adopted by Dr. Schaff, in his admirable History of the Apostolic Church.

† We cite Milman not because of his account of this particular passage of the Apostolic history, but because of a semi-rationalistic tendency which breaks out every now and then in his "History of Christianity."

where he encounters Elymas Barjesus and is instrumental in the conversion of Sergius Paulus; thence to Perga in Pamphylia, and to the table land of Asia Minor; preaching at Antioch in Pisidia, with memorable effect, at Iconium in Lycaonia, at Lystra, where he is first deified then stoned, and at Derbe, from whence he retraces his steps by way of Lystra, Iconium, Antioch in Pisidia, and Perga to Antioch (in Syria,) whence he goes up to Jerusalem to the great Council to have settled a momentous question for the interests of Christianity; thence again to Antioch and thence with Silas upon his second missionary tour first to Cilicia, where Timotheus joins them; thence to Iconium and through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, where he takes sick; thence to Troas on the Ægean, where Luke joins them; thence sailing from the ancient seats of Priam, he bears the gospel to Europe, preaching at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, whence he departs for Ephesus, Cesarea and Jerusalem; thence to Antioch for the last time, thence to Ephesus, where he excites against him the worshippers of Diana; thence he sails again from Troas to Macedonia, visiting Philippi and passing over Macedonia in order; thence by way of Troas, Assos, Miletus, Tyre, and Cesarea he goes up, forewarned, to Jerusalem; thence, seized by the mob at Pentecost, rescued by Lysias, conveyed to Cesarea, judged by Felix, and Festus, he is sent on appeal to Rome; this remarkable voyage is traced with all the nautical accuracy of a modern survey, and constitutes one of the most remarkable chapters of the book; arriving at Puteoli, after all the dangers of the sea, he journeys thence towards Rome, where he arrives, and where after being held in durance two years, preaching in the mean time the Gospel and writing epistles, he is tried before Nero, and *acquitted;* thence he departs to various parts of Asia Minor, and probably visits Spain; spends three or four years in missionary labor, is again arrested and brought a second time a prisoner to Rome,† where, in

† We indicate here the side which our authors take in the much disputed question of a second imprisonment at Rome. They follow in the main the suggestions of Neander, and present the theory with no little plausibility. Dr. Schaff in his History, after a very full discussion of both sides of the question, and citation of authorities, decides *against* the theory of a second imprisonment.

the last year of Nero, A. D. 68, the curtain falls upon his earthly history, and whence his strong spirit, "ready to be offered," takes its flight to the imperishable glories of the heavenly Jerusalem.

We have thus mapped out the line of the narrative, that the reader may have a bird's eye view of what is to be gathered from the Scripture on this subject. With the intimations we have already given of Mr. Howson's peculiar talent, and with the line of this route, and its memorable names before him, the reader may easily imagine what the filling up of this narrative is like. It is a thrilling and even gorgeous panorama, with frequent pauses for pious and lofty contemplation. The eye and the memory are assisted by frequent maps; and the provinces and districts of Asia Minor, a knowledge of which is necessary to the intelligent reading of the Scriptures, accurately marked. Of course many doubtful and disputed points are met, and infallibility must not be expected; but they are usually examined and disposed of with much fairness and scholarship.

Though prevented from amplifying the details of this life history, we cannot refrain from pausing upon a few of those striking points upon which the imagination fixes itself strongly, and citing a few of those nice touches with which, artist-like, the narrator has adorned his picture.

Of the latter class, the following refers to the meeting of Paul and John at Jerusalem, during the Synod or Council, held to determine the case referred from Antioch. The incidental allusion is in Gal. 2: 9.

"One of those who gave the right hand of fellowship to St. Paul, was the "beloved disciple" of the Saviour. This is the only meeting of St. Paul and St. John recorded in Scripture. It is, moreover, the last notice which we find there of the life of St. John, until the time of the apocalyptic vision in the island of Patmos. For both these reasons the mind eagerly seizes on the incident though it is only casually mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians. Like other incidental notices contained in Scripture, it is very suggestive of religious thoughts. St. John had been silent during the discussion in the public

assembly but at the close of it he expressed his cordial union with St. Paul in the "truth of the Gospel." That union has been made visible to all ages by the juxtaposition of their Epistles in the same sacred volume. They stand together among the pillars of the Holy Temple; and the Church of God is thankful to learn how Contemplation may be united with Action, and Faith with Love, in the spiritual life." (Vol. I, pp. 219–20.)

Of the following some of its beauty, but not all, will be lost in extracting it from its place in the narrative. It is based upon Acts 20: 13, where, after Paul's long night sermon at Troas, during which the fall and restoration to life of Eutychus occurred, we are informed that his companions sailed before to Assos, round cape Lectum, there intending to meet Paul, "minding himself to go afoot," a walk of about twenty miles.

"But the time came when St. Paul too must depart. The vessel might arrive at Assos before him; and, whatever influence he might have with the seamen, he could not count on any long delay. He hastened, therefore, through the southern gate, past the hot springs, and through the oak woods—then in full foliage—which cover all that shore with greenness and shade, across the wild water courses on the western side of Ida.† Such is the scenery which now surrounds the traveller on his way from Troas to Assos. The great difference then was, that there was a good Roman road, which made St. Paul's solitary journey both more safe and more rapid than it could have been now. We have seldom had occasion to think of the Apostle in the hours of his solitude. But such hours must have been sought and cherished by one whose whole strength was drawn

† Tho noting of points of contact, in locality and scenery, between the progress of the Glad Tiding with which the Christian Apostle was commissioned, and the old historic and poetic mythology of the two great "elect nations in things temporal," is one of the æsthetically pleasing features of these volumes, and it is always very handsomely done. The reader of Virgil will remember his description of an evening and of a sunrise on this coast, before and after an eventful night. The "morning star" would not rise over Ida on this afternoon journey of the Apostle, but probably it had risen, as upon the dispirited Æneas, when on a previous occasion the hopeful missionary left the harbor of Troy to "go over to Macedonia."

"Jamque jugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae,
Ducebatque diem." Æn. II. 801.

from communion with God, and especially at a time, when, as on this present journey, he was deeply conscious of his weakness, and filled with foreboding fears. There may have been other reasons why he lingered at Troas after his companions; but the desire for solitude was doubtless one reason among others. The discomfort of a crowded ship is unfavorable for devotion; and prayer and meditation are necessary for maintaining the religious life even of an Apostle. The Saviour, to whose service he was devoted, had often prayed in solitude on the mountain, and crossed the brook Kedron to kneel under the olives of Gethsemane. And strength and peace were surely sought and obtained by the Apostle from the Redeemer, as he pursued his lonely road that Sunday afternoon in spring, among the oak woods and the streams of Ida." (Vol. II, pp. 208–9.)

But we must refrain quoting any more of the many artistic decorations with which the pages before us abound, and we have space to dwell upon only one of those striking points in the narrative of the Apostle's missionary labors, many of which we are reluctantly compelled to pass by. Let us contemplate the entrance of Paul into the literary metropolis of Greece,—the renowned city of Athena.

As our authors justly remark, there is no point in the annals of the first planting of Christianity, which seizes so powerfully on the imagination of those who are familiar with the history of the ancient world. When the Apostle, driven from Berea by the unbelieving Jews, took ship at some point on the eastern coast of the southern part of Macedonia, probably near the base of Mt. Olympus,—its broad summit, glittering with snow, the home of the Homeric gods—and the ship bent her course out into the waters of the Thermaic gulf, her white sail probably watched by the shepherds from the heights above the vale of Tempe, he was being carried towards the centre of all the interest of classical Greece. And as he advanced, Mt. Athos and the snowy Olympus slowly receding into the distance, all the land and water in sight became more and more eloquent; the lights and shadows both of poetry and history are on every side; every rock is a monument, every current is animated

with some memory of the past. And when he had passed the long island of Euboea, and rounded Sunium's high promontory, and the light craft turned her prow across the waters of the Saronic Gulph the moment must have been one of interest and excitement when the glittering summit of the Acropolis first broke upon the view, proudly rising over Athens, the "eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence." The Gospel of the Nazarene was soon to grapple with the highest "wisdom of the world." And as the educated Tarsian passed up between the "long walls" which connected by a great thoroughfare the Peiræus with the city; as he passed under the arched gateways, and through the streets, wandered over the Agora, or public square, and ascended the rocky height of the Acropolis, what a multitude of objects might be supposed to elicit his attention and claim his admiration. Magnificent piles of architecture everywhere met his eye. Under the plane trees and in the temples were statues not only of gods and goddesses, but of the heroes, the lawgivers, the deliverers of Greece, wrought by the magic chisels of Phidias and Praxiteles. There was Solon the Lawgiver, and Conon the Admiral, and Demosthenes the Orator, and Pericles the Statesman and Warrior. And how, amid such scenes and objects as these, was he affected? What invests him, as he stands here, with an enduring and thrilling interest? "His path had been among the forms of great men, and deified heroes, among the temples, the statues, the altars, of the gods of Greece. He had seen the creations of Mythology represented to the eye in every form of beauty and grandeur by the sculptor and the architect. And the one over-powering result was this,—"*His spirit was stirred within him when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.*" We have accounts of two visits to Athens by distinguished Romans, Pausanius and the orator Cicero, the one a little before, the other not long after the visit of the Apostle Paul. But how striking the contrast! Pausanius traversed those memorable places, and scrutinized everything he saw with the air of a curious and rather superstitious antiquarian. Cicero trod the accustomed haunts of Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle with the filial affection and admiration of a pupil for his teach-

ers. But the thoughts and feelings in the mind of Paul were very different from those of criticism or admiration. He felt the pressure of a mighty commission, higher far in its import than anything mythology or worldly greatness could offer. He was melted with pity for those who notwithstanding their intellectual greatness, "were wholly given to idolatry." His eye was not blinded to the reality of things by the appearance either of art or philosophy. Forms of beauty and words of human wisdom, were valueless in his judgment, and far worse than valueless, if they deified vice and made falsehood attractive. He thought of a sufferer upon Calvary, crowned with thorns, who was far more to him and to the world, than the fabled Theseus, or the wise Solon, and he stood upon Mar's hill and preached to the Athenians the unknown God and the resurrection of Christ.

"Whether we contrast the intense earnestness of the man who spoke, with the frivolous character of those who surrounded him,—or compare the certain truth and awful meaning of the Gospel he revealed, with the worthless polytheism which had made Athens a proverb in the earth,—or even think of the mere words uttered that day in the clear atmosphere on the summit of Mar's hill, in connection with the objects of art, temples, statues, and altars, which stood round on every side, —we feel that the moment was, and was intended to be, full of the most impressive teaching for every age of the world. Close to the spot where he stood was the Temple of Mars. The sanctuary of the Eumenides was immediately below him; the Parthenon of Minerva facing him above. Their presence seemed to challenge the assertion in which he declared here, that *in temples made with hands the Deity does not dwell.* In front of him, towering from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis,—as the Borromean Colossus, which at this day, with outstretched hand, gives its benediction to the low village of Arona—or as the brazen statue of the armed angel, which from the summit of the castle St. Angelo, spreads its wings over the city of Rome,—was the bronze Colossus of Minerva, armed with spear, shield and helmet, as the champion of Athens. Standing almost beneath its shade, he pronounced that the

Deity was *not to be likened* either to that, the work of Phidias, or to other forms *in gold, silver, or stone, graven* by art, or *man's device*, which peopled the scene before him."† Amid such surroundings the great Apostle spoke out of the fulness of his heart, and with a prudence, faithfulness and power always characteristic of himself.

And yet Athens did not receive the Gospel. This is a significant and instructive fact. Dionysius, a member of the court of Areopagus, a woman named Damaris, and some others. became converts to Christianity, but we have no evidence of the formation of a church by the Apostle, we possess no Epistle to the Athenians, and we do not read that he was ever in Athens again. When a church was at length founded there it appears to have been long in a very weak state. In the time of the Antonines, paganism was almost as flourishing there as ever. The Christian community seems at one time to have been entirely dispersed, and to have been collected again about A. D. 165. We have here an impressive commentary upon the Apostle's language to the Corinthians, "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence." Athens was the "eye of Greece," the organ of the world's clearest intellectual perception. It was the representative of the world's highest intellectuality, developed at the expense of the spiritual nature, which, unassisted by Revelation, necessarily ran into the lowest superstition. Greece, in her philosophy and art, as has already been said, was a preparation for Christianity; and in subsequent ages Christianity and civilization reaped largely from the labors of the Academy and the Lyceum. And yet when Christianity was brought into immediate contact with its own forerunner, there was a repulsion. Worldly wisdom did not recognize Him "whose shoes' latchet it was not worthy to unloose." The two reigning schools of philosophy in Athens, when Paul

† Vol I, p. 376, partly from Wordsworth's Athens and Attica.

visited it, were those of the Stoics and the Epicureans, and in them Christianity encountered its two oldest and most deadly enemies *Pride* and *Pleasure*,—unsanctified self-will and unsubdued lust. As the Jewish nation, God's elect people in things spiritual, failed to recognise their own Messiah, so Athens, the eye of Greece, an elect people in things temporal, failed, through worldly pride and haughty wisdom, to recognise the highest truth and goodness,—and in both cases the sorrowful sentence fell, "*joined to their idols!*" True, the purest and best days of Greek philosophy were past; and the fond conceit has been cherished that had the Apostle presented himself before Socrates or Plato, and preached the "wisdom of God," it would have been immediately recognised and joyfully embraced. But so different are the highest ideals of human wisdom from the "mystery of godliness," which Paul would have proclaimed, that the supposition can only be entertained as a fond imagination. The "truth as it is in Jesus," might readily be repelled by that which was of it an "*unconscious* prophecy."

We leave now the line of the narrative and historical to consider in a comprehensive way the *mission*, or predestinated work of St. Paul. That work was well defined and of most momentous importance. The well established truth that every historic emergency brings with it the great men which it needs, was eminently exemplified in the appearance of Paul in the emergency towards which Christianity was tending when he entered its arena. Two powerful and venomous foes threatened to entwine themselves round the infant Church in its very cradle. One of these was bastard Judaism, the other was heathen licentiousness. From the very circumstances of its birth, and, we might say, from the laws of the world's historic life, the Church must necessarily encounter a great peril, and pass a great crisis, by which it vanquished and secured itself against these two destroying foes. Two forces must operate upon it, each struggling for the mastery, the one, the centripetal, laboring to precipitate it upon the bosom of exclusive and worn out Judaism, the other, the centrifugal, threatening to dash it off, perhaps in a thousand fragments, into the wild trackless waste of oriental superstition and pagan voluptuous-

ness. The fact that she escaped both these perils is one of the greatest miracles of her history; and humanly speaking, we see not how, without the agency of the converted Tarsian, the ship of the Church could have safely passed between the devouring Scylla and the boiling Charybdis. The nucleus of every primitive congregation consisted of Jews and Jewish proselytes; and when we remember the intensely national and exclusive feeling of the Jew,—a feeling most necessary for the accomplishment of the predestined results in their previous history—it is not difficult to conceive the intensity of the struggle by which this integument of ages was broken, and the germ of Christianity made to expand its boughs over the whole earth; and the strength of the arm by which "the middle wall of partition" was broken down, and the Church, instead of being subordinated to the Synagogue, made to throw wide its portals to all the sin-weary sons of Adam. And on the other hand, when we remember the fearful power of Gnosticism in the succeeding centuries, and the almost ungovernable centrifugal tendency of Christianity at two or three points in her history, indicated by the numerous fragments thrown off into the chaotic region of Oriental theosophy, and all this with the powerful and ever-energizing influence of the great Apostle of the Gentiles beating in her bosom, we gain a tolerably adequate conception of the perilous crisis through which the Church passed in the latter part of the Apostolic age, and the indispensable necessity there was for a work like that which St. Paul accomplished.

As before intimated, he was by birth, education, and citizenship admirably fitted to act as a mediator between the two hostile forces; and he had by special revelation from Christ, grounding itself doubtless upon the natural basis of his education and the cast of his mind, that spiritual instruction which so eminently fitted him to stand both before Jew and Greek as an interpreter of what Christianity, as left to the world by its divine Founder, was, and was intended to be and to do. Until St. Paul appeared before the Church in his true character as the Apostle of the uncircumcision, few understood that "the law of commandments contained in ordinances," had been

abolished by the cross of Christ; and that the "other sheep," not of the Jewish fold, should be freely admitted into the "one fold," by the "One Shepherd." And perhaps many may have been perplexed by the words and conduct of our Lord himself; for had He not said that He was not sent, "save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and that it was "not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs?" The other Apostles understood the injunction to "begin at Jerusalem;" to Paul it belonged to inaugurate the Church into her great missionary work, as the teacher of all nations,—a conception so sublime that in that age it could scarcely have found its primary entrance into a mind not specially prepared† to receive it.

The first marked collision between Paul, as the representative and expounder of the freedom and universality of the Gospel, and the enemy which beset it on the side of Judaism, occurred at Antioch. Soon after the return of Paul and Barnabas from their first great missionary tour,—a tour concerning which, no doubt, vague rumors had reached the ears of certain of the Jewish brethren at Jerusalem, rumors of such proceedings, for instance, as those at Antioch in Pisidia, where Paul with heroic boldness, and a noble contempt for the shackles of bigotry, declared to his Jewish brethren, "It was necessary that the Word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles,"—some of the "false brethren," as Paul calls the Judaizers, went down from Judea to Antioch. They came not as open antagonists but as "spies" creeping in "unawares," that they might ascertain how far the Jewish Law had been relaxed by the Christians at Antioch, under the teaching of Paul, and the truth of the rumors concerning the general tenor of his teaching. Their purpose was to bring the whole Church, if possible, under the "bondage" of the Jewish yoke. They not only commended their Jewish brethren for preferring to continue the ancient rite of their

† Peter also, the "Apostle of the circumcision," had this special preparation, in the matter of Cornelius, and was thus prepared to second the more positive and aggressive efforts of Paul.

fathers, but they alarmed the Gentile converts by teaching that circumcision was *necessary to salvation*. The doctrine thus stated, revealing the insidious but fatal foe of the Gospel, found in Paul a formidable and uncompromising antagonist. He could go to the extreme verge of charitable concession, where the question was one of peace and mutual understanding, but when the very foundations of Christianity were being undermined, when the very continuance of the "truth of the Gospel" was in jeopardy, he could "give place by subjection, no, not for an hour."

After "no small discussion and disputation," between Paul and Barnabas and their Judaizing opponents, it was determined that the case should be referred to a Council of the "Apostles and elders" at Jerusalem. Before this Council the issue between Paul and the "false brethren" was fairly made. They confronted each other in open debate, and the occasion is one of vast significance in the history of the Church. Two antagonistic principles are each striving for the mastery, and the decision is to be given by a judicatory, composed entirely of Jews. The result was the triumph of Paul and his principles, which was at the same time the triumph of the vital principle of Christianity, as a religion for man, over opposing influences which would crush down its free-born spirit within the petrified integument of a local economy. Paul was thus actively and powerfully instrumental in bringing the first important announcement of Church *authority* to clear and distinct utterance. It was an utterance made to coming ages. Backed by its strong sanction the fearless Apostle of the Gentiles went forth with renewed energy upon his great work, and combatted with great advantage, and with ultimate success the perilous tendency which thus met its first great discomfiture. From this time it gradually sank, though not without fierce struggles, into the whirlpool of heresy. Furthermore, that Council contained in it the germ of the truest and best ecclesiasticism for any age. It seems to have combined in itself in admirable proportions the principles of authority and freedom, of autocracy and democracy, of concentrated power and popular co-operation. Its utterance was thus the utterance of the Church,

given forth from her own deepest bosom, and gave signal that under the illumination of her Divine head, she saw the path of destiny before her.

The most noted collision between Paul, as the vindicator of the *purity* and *moral healthfulness* of the Gospel, and the enemy which endangered it on the side of a licentious heathenism, occurred in the Church at Corinth. No more likely field could be found for such a collision. Corinth was the most magnificent and the most voluptuous city in the history of Greece. Venus was her tutelar deity, and courtesans were her priestesses. In the common language of the Apostle's time, "to Corinthanize" meant to play the wanton. There in the representative centre of the world's luxury and the world's lust, Christianity must vindicate itself as a system of pure morals, and resent the contamination of earthly defilement. This too would require a severe and critical ordeal, and in bringing the Church through it, the agency of Paul, though not so marked as in the deliverance from the other danger, was still prominent and effectual.

Christianity had not long found a lodgment at Corinth, until some of its professed trophies yielded to that licentious tendency, which constituted the most vulnerable point of Corinthian morals, and they brought to their aid a characteristic philosophy which threw a specious and palliating garb over the foulness of their sins. To meet this new emergency St. Paul was prompt and decided. By his three letters† and the force of his personal presence he succeeded in crushing the evil in the bud; although at other times and in other periods it frequently reappeared in the history of the Church; but always under increasing disadvantage. He rectified the moral sense of the entire Corinthian Church, which was rapidly becoming vitiated by the foul leaven, and begat in them a godly sorrow, a clearing of themselves, an indignation, a fear, a vehement desire, a zeal, a revenge, (2 Cor. 7 : 11,) which testify strikingly to the power of Christianity when brought to bear fairly upon the

† Our authors show pretty conclusively that *three* epistles must have been written to the Corinthians, one (which has been lost) most probably prior to the two which we have.

human conscience. His "staying of the plague," in its incipient stages, sent a stream of healthful influence down through the coming ages; and in all the Church's contests with the same enemy under various forms, "he being dead yet spake."

Such, in its two main phases, was the ordained work of Paul the Apostle, and nobly did he fulfil it. Of course incidental to these two main lines of effort, his powerful and logical mind has accomplished much for the Church in various departments. He is the great pioneer of Systematic Theology. He has ever been the leader of that branch of "the sacramental host of God's elect," which takes the Divine sovereignty as its starting point in expounding the scheme of Redemption; and it is undeniable that this branch has always carried with it the main current of the Church's life. And whenever the slumbering life of the Church has roused itself to burst off the shackles of a Pharisaic formalism, Paul has always furnished the watchwords of hope and of victory. To quote the words of our authors, after dwelling touchingly upon his death: "Thus died the Apostle, the Prophet, and the Martyr; bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his Apostolic labors; leaving his Prophetic words to be the living oracles, pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the Apostles, among the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, among the holy army of Martyrs, his name has stood prominent. And wheresoever the holy Church, throughout all the world, doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus, is named as the great teacher of a universal redemption and a catholic religion,—the herald of glad tidings to all mankind."

It only remains, in conclusion, briefly to note a few points of doctrine, of some importance, presented in the volumes before us. It is not the professed office of the historian to propound and advocate certain forms of doctrine; nevertheless in reproducing the historic life of the Apostolic age in any of its prominent features, it is impossible to avoid the presentation, directly or impliedly, of the writer's views of certain matters belonging to the development of that life. From what we have intimated in the former part of this article, respecting the ec-

clesiastical stand-point of the authors, the general *animus* of the book, particularly in its churchly bearings, may readily be anticipated. We propose to touch but upon a few salient points.

In regard to the constitution and functions of the primitive Church our authors are very far from being *High* Church, in the strict sense of the term; and we should think they would come far short, (as we learn they have) of pleasing that party in the Anglican Church, which thinks that prelacy as it there exists, is the only true and divinely appointed constitution of the Church of Christ. In the age, and the language of Paul, they find the terms *episcopos* and *presbuteros* entirely equivalent, the former designating the *duties*, the latter the *rank* of the same officer. The Apostolic office they find to be strictly extraordinary and temporary,—having no "succession" in any strict sense of the term. The hiatus which exists between the Apostolic age and that which followed it, is described in very suggestive terms. "The wall of separation was built by the hand of God. That age of miracles was not to be revealed to us as passing by any gradual transition into the common life of the Church; it was intentionally isolated from all succeeding time, that we might learn to appreciate more fully its extraordinary character, and see by the sharpness of the abruptest contrast, the difference between the human and the divine." The only orders which they find of permanent significance in the Church, are Presbyters and Deacons. After the withdrawal of Apostolic labor from any particular Church, the bench of presbyters elected one of their number to preside over them, who was still only *primus inter pares*, and only officially, and in a very diluted sense, a successor of the Apostles. Out of this subsequently grew a wider form of episcopacy. They find the primitive *ordination* to have been strictly presbyterian,—being conferred by the "College of Presbyters" in conjunction with their president, whether that president were an Apostle or one of their own number. Thus was Timothy ordained.

The *supernatural gifts* of the Apostolic age, like the Apostolate itself, they suppose to have been extraordinary and temporary, seeming "to have vanished with the disappearance of

the Apostles themselves." Respecting the *gift of tongues*, three things are propounded: *first*, that it was not a *knowledge* of foreign languages, as is often supposed: *secondly*, that it was the result of a sudden influx of supernatural inspiration which came upon the new believer immediately after his baptism, and recurred afterwards at uncertain intervals: *thirdly*, that while under its influence the exercise of the *understanding* was suspended, while the spirit was rapt into a state of ecstacy by the immediate communication of the Spirit of God. In this ecstatic trance the believer was constrained by an irresistable power to pour forth his feelings of thanksgiving and rapture in words; yet the words which issued from his mouth were not his own; he was even usually ignorant of their meaning; they were the words of some foreign language, and not intelligible to the bystanders, unless some of these chanced to be natives of the country where the language was spoken.† The gift of *miracles* was not always at hand to the Apostles, or to others at their option. An influx of supernatural power was given to them, at the time, and according to the circumstances that required it. And the character of the miracles was not always the same. They were accommodated to the peculiar forms of sin, superstition, and ignorance they were required to oppose.

Upon the difficult subject of *demoniacal possession*, the writers do not enter at length; but they strongly reiterate the view which has already been strikingly presented by Trench, that in the demoniacs of the New Testament, allusion is really made to personal spirits who exercised power for evil purposes on the human will. The unregenerate world is represented to us in Scripture as a realm of darkness, in which the invisible agents of wickedness are permitted to hold sway under conditions and limitations which we are not able to define. In the time of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles, the "works of the devil" were peculiarly manifest. The whole period was the hour and power of darkness; of a darkness which then, imme-

† The readers of Dr. Schaff's work will be struck with the coincidence of view in several main points. We have not yet seen a charge of "unsoundness" brought against our authors on this score.

diately before the dawn of a new day, was the thickest. It was exactly the crisis for such soul-maladies as these, in which the spiritual and the bodily should be thus strangely interlinked; and it is nothing wonderful that they should have abounded at the time.†

But we are forbidden by our limits to go further in this recapitulation of the *credenda* thrown out or suggested by the work in hand. Our readers will perceive from some of them that it can be read without mortal offence by a member of almost any "non-episcopal" branch of the "broad" Church of Christ.

We take leave of these volumes, for the present, with the profound conviction that they will be fruitful of good to many minds. They will stimulate the dull, enlarge the contracted, and confirm the wavering. To any candid mind which gives to the life, inward and outward, of St. Paul, a thorough study, such as will be secured by a careful perusal of this work, the theory will appear exceedingly unreasonable which assigns to Christianity a mythical origin. And equally unreasonable will it appear that such a life could have been the product of imposture, or blind enthusiam. And strikingly will it be forced home upon the mind that the doctrine which Paul preached was a new life to the world. To all would we heartily commend it, who are in any danger of being led away by the inane tendency referred to in the following eloquent paragraph.

"There are some amongst us now who think that the doctrine which Paul preached was a retrograde movement in the course of humanity; there are others who, with greater plausibility, acknowledge that it was useful in its season, but tell us that it is now worn out and obsolete. The former are far more consistent than the latter; for both schools of infidelity agree in virtually advising us to return to that effete philosophy which has been already tried and found wanting, when Christianity was winning the first triumphs of its immortal youth. This might well surprise us, did we not know that the progress of human reason in the paths of ethical discovery is merely the

† Trench, in his work on the Miracles.

progress of a man in a tread-mill, doomed forever to retrace his own steps. Had it been otherwise, we might have hoped that mankind could not again be duped by an old and useless remedy, which was compounded and re-compounded in every possible shape and combination, two thousand years ago, and at last utterly rejected by a nauseated world. Yet for this antiquated anodyne, disguised under a new label, many are once more bartering the only true medicine that can heal the diseases of the soul."

Chambersburg, Pa. J. C.

ART. III.—UNENDED CONTROVERSY.

LOGIC reduced to practice often begets extremes. The laws of life frequently form at least apparent exceptions to the laws of logic. The rigidly mathematical, the formal, and the mechanical are not always one and the same with the living operations of an organism, conditioned at every turn by the vital force, gushing warmly, spontaneously and freely in an active individuality, which manifests itself under a proper form of self-determination. Disregarding this important, though patent fact, or leaving out of view this well known and fundamental distinction, which holds between Life and Logic, begets the multitudinous phases of one-sidedness in real practice, and all the disproportionate forms of history, that now fill the wide range of human vision, and seem to mar the symmetrical whole of ideal speculation. The point of contact and harmonious union, where these two correlative factors come together, where the two forces come into equilibrium, is so indefinitely small, in comparison with those which do not impinge legitimately, that it need call forth no surprise, if practically we do not often bring these two sets of laws together at the right place. When

they do touch each other at all, as they are often found doing, to our mind, at least, the relation is for the most part abnormal. Hence the many mistakes when we would undertake to interpret life-facts by logic-laws only.

Human imperfections must of course be excused, when we consider that the right relation of these two factors, as form and contents, is found to hold in an infinite ratio: as one to infinity. How many are the chances against any human and finite solution, may thus be approximately estimated when it is considered: that mathematics or logic is rigid, formal and fixed in the category of its laws; while life, though holding a relation to these laws also, but only at one point in contact with them, is ever varying in the evolution of its contents. It is at no two points in the same formula, nor at any one corresponding point in two separate formulas, in all respects alike; though it be nevertheless the same life and under the same general laws. So we find no two men absolutely alike; the similarity may approach to likeness, but it never becomes identical.

Greater mistake, therefore, could not well be made, than that which men are prone continually to make in this very way, namely, attempting to solve the complicated problems of life by the fixed rules of logic or the laws of mathematics. These are all important in their own proper sphere; but they must not bind down free life to their dead formulas. Earnest minded men are the most liable to commit this blunder. Those, to whose consciousness, the profound mysteries that reveal themselves in history, the unsolved problems involved in intricate propositions, and the grand universal riddle of the world's life have presented themselves and challenged respectful consideration, may be so at fault in the application of logic alone, as to be driven to an attempt at opening the Gordian knot in some violent and unnatural way. Few, however, we apprehend, of those, on the other hand, in whose minds all these things are but "trifles light as air," will be likely to conform so strictly to the forms of law as to do violence to the multiform exceptions required to be made at every turn in favor of life-facts. To minds of such habitual thoughtlessness, the danger is in the

opposite direction ; and hence every single example is allowed to be that exception to the general law in so wide a latitude, until the hap-hazard form of life in the world's history and in themselves comes with them to mean the normal mode of existence. Rightly considered, both these classes occupy equally dangerous extremes.

Here then we find a broad ground for the practical conflicts between Politics and Religion. As co-ordinates in the same system, practice has not combined here properly, proportionate to the wants of the case, life and logic. Those, who are too logical for practical life, involve themselves in all the unpleasantness of their hide-bound position; and they are, therefore, almost continually toiling in tribulation to free themselves and their nicely framed theories from the inevitable contradictions to be met with at every practical turn. Theory and practice are not always the same, and because experience teaches us so, they should not be expected to coincide with invariable certainty. What may look well enough as an ideal form, the product of theoretic law, may be found to work well, or even not to work at all, when realized in practical life. Machinery working well in small models, we know, is often found to miserably deceive the inventor's hopes when he comes to project it extensively in practice. This has been, time and again, the experience of those who have theorized in Philosophy and Science too, as well as those who have projected model systems of Politics and Religion. Any theory that is made up of fixed quantities entirely, to the exclusion of the self-adjusting law of organic life, must always remain, for all practical purposes, a sheer abstraction. It never merges into the concrete reality.

Equally at fault, however, are those also, who stand in the extreme utilitarian school, and make every life-fact differing from any one law, an exception. No higher law than mere individual and personal adjustment will effectually destroy morality in its higher sense, and thus make all life an unmeaning jumble, without co-ordinates to determine its formulas and still less its organic freedom. The true idea of history is thus lost; the present becomes a trackless and bewildering maze, and the future shadows forth only darkness and gloom. For

our own part, we confess, we would rather make or allow to be made a hundred thousand exceptions required by finite minds, to the laws of logic, in order to accept the true principle of life; than to find ourselves continually at fault and unable to reconcile the producing power of life with those laws rigid in that exception.

Principles like these, we conceive, are absolutely necessary, if we would rightly adjust and reconcile the conflicting claims arrayed on opposite sides of any great and truly philosophic controversy. Eclectic systems may, therefore, in a proper form be the truest philosophy for practical purposes; but on this very account they are the more exposed to the dangers of embodying error in its subtlest forms. Because it is so difficult to combine in due proportion, the simple elementary truths into a complete whole, corresponding with the vital force of the organic law in life, is no reason certainly why this means of reading the truth should be undervalued. In all such controversies, as that for instance, which has divided the Christian world on the Doctrines of Divine Decrees and Free Grace, which are plainly taught in the Bible, this principle offers itself as the one best able to reconcile the apparent contradictions. Then, that other problem in Moral Philosophy, which demands a solution of the right relation between Authority and Human Freedom, can be more satisfactorily harmonized too in this way, than by any other. The right relation, holding in the controversy of Politics with Religion and Religion with Politics, we apprehend, if ever settled, must be found in this free and living principle rather than in either dead extreme of expressed formulas.

This controversy, ending in the one extreme, lands us in the most absolute despotism of the ultra-montane party; or, in the other, ends in the arbitrary licentiousness of self-use and universal exception. It comes thus to a practical issue as an important feature of the great Church question, which is calling for a more satisfactory settlement in our times. The parties, in the main may be said to be divided by the line separating between Romanism and Protestantism. We have not chosen this division from mere fancy. Both parties seem well satisfi-

ed with the sides they have reciprocally appropriated to each other. Politics and Religion, and Religion and Politics is not a mere saw.

The controversy presents itself under several aspects, according to the stand-point from which it is contemplated, or the relative proportion in which the several factors are combined. In order to treat it impartially, as far as we know, we propose, therefore, to present these separately, for consideration.

I. Antagonism is the most obvious form in which this relation reveals itself. No argument is needed to evince the plain fact, that war actually has existed and does yet rage between legality and morality, as well as in a higher sphere, between Politics and Religion. All History reveals it more or less. The Christian era especially, has witnessed the fiercest fights, and steadily have these been kept up till our day. The only times apparently, when there has been momentary cessations in the stubborn strife, were when the one or the other so preponderated, as, like an oscillating beam, to assume a somewhat vertical position. Under the heathen Emperors, the Church was subject to the State. Not, however, from the start, as it would seem, without a most determined protest.† The inherent rights of the spiritual order were stubbornly defended; at first only negatively or in the way of self-defence, and petition for toleration. Afterwards, not satisfied with this alone, it grew bolder as it grew stronger; until it became the assaulting party, and the strong pillars of Roman power gave way before the mightier tide that overflowed the seven hilled throne and the Emperor saved himself, by yielding to the subduing power and becoming the champion of the cross. The Religious element now formally swallowed up the Political.

In the continuation of the controversy, which did not end at any time that one element seemed to become master of the other, the Religious began more and more to exhibit externally the effects of having absorbed into itself the Political, by revealing much of this last in its life. Whatever may be thought

† The Apologists were the first Protestants, if the Romanist stoutly continues to force that definition of the term upon us.

or said of this fact by the different parties, the fact itself must at least be admitted. Whether by a historical necessity or not, the Church was required to assume and maintain through all the Mediæval period the mastery of the State, the contest at all events was not given up, and the fight of a thousand years has not killed either party. It is not assumed here, that all Church government, though necessarily requiring a polity, is on any account only political. We can conceive of the Church in her own appropriate sphere, as we shall hereafter show, maintaining a polity, in form and contents purely Religious, which would have been abundantly competent for its own native purposes.

Great stress has been wont to be laid, by sections of both main parties throughout this whole controversy, on the form of this polity as exhibited in Church government. Papal, Episcopal, and Presbyterian, each alike has its sticklers, who religiously (?) maintain the divine appointment of their own form. To establish this, recourse is had for aid to Politics; thus we are pointed to the Republican, as holding in the times of the Apostles and their immediate successors, then follows the fuller grown Aristocracy of the Episcopal order, and finally it develops a gigantic Monarchy in the Papal hierarchy. It would be foreign to our purpose to follow out these historically; and we shall, therefore, leave them for the present, with the bare mention of them, hoping they may readily suggest important thought bearing on this part of the subject.

Various causes have been assigned, in accounting for the sharp conflict between these two interests. All may be summed up in the one clashing din of strife engendered always when the ecclesiastical attempts to usurp dominion over the civil power, or when Politics encroaches on the domains of Religion. *Hinc illa bella.* An example of this is found particularly in the contests between the Popes and the German Emperors. So also the Church and the State policy of England, and more especially the efforts to introduce the same into Scotland and the determined, successful, though long continued resistance, all afford the clearest evidence on this point. As it is thus apparent that this has been general ground for mutual complaint in past times, so it will also appear that at the present

stage of history it is no less potent as a cause in creating the jarring between the Political and Religious departments of life. As the Papacy in redeeming the world from barbarism and bringing in a more glorious civilization than was known before, encroached too much upon the civil rights of mankind ; so the States-system of Europe, in breaking the bonds of hierarchical tyranny, begetting civil and religious liberty, has transgressed its own proper boundaries. If one department violates reciprocal laws and falls into one extreme position, it only elicits a corresponding extreme in the other. Any excuse for the one, only gives the other the benefit of the same apology. Law and Gospel, Church and State, Politics and Religion are equally of divine authority. In form, they may be in their own several departments, of purely one or the other of the primitive forms indicated above, or they may be variously combined.

Which then shall predominate? In the stages and cycles of history, various practical answers have been given to the question. The ancient heathen nations, almost universally allowed the religious to rule the political interest. In some of their systems they were so grossly jumbled together, that no attempt was made to reconcile the different interests; or if there was, it was always violently done, without settling any fundamental principle. Priestly castes generally held superior power, and the warrior and other castes seldom called this state of things into question. For proof of this we need only refer to ancient Egypt, Babylon and other nations of antiquity. The heathen nations were comparatively satisfied with this, because they knew not what liberty was. He only is a freeman, whom the truth makes free, and as they had not the truth upon which to base their systems, no other state of things could be expected.

Governments failed and fell into hopeless decay and ruin, in the hands of the ancient heathen, not so much because they were based on false political principles, as on account of the fact that they were hostile to the only true system of religion, or were at least ignorant of its salt savoring power. Opposed to the true, they yet cherished the false, as a useful subordinate means, in the hands of the knowing few, of upholding the

tottering fabric of order and society.* With this kind of religion their politics willingly combined, because it was a vanquished rival, a vision fast vanishing from the sight. The philosophy of the learned had discovered the untruths and weaknesses of this, and hence they tolerated its form, whilst its unreal contents troubled not the spirit of their politics. The truce here, as well as elsewhere, was only obtained at the sacrifice of one of the contesting elements in its own legitimate sphere of relative independence. So in the old Roman Empire, before the eruption of the barbarians, that finally overthrew it—so too, in the middle ages, where the Emperor and the Pope alternately triumphed, and so it is now in every case where one or the other of these elements preponderates, as exhibited in our own country or abroad. Ultra-montanism and the Gallican party have not yet sheathed swords; and though the modern triumphs of the one have comparatively silenced the other, yet a whim of the French monarch, so recently lauded to the skies for his favors at first shown to the Jesuits, and then as suddenly dropped and abused when he acts otherwise, may light again the fires of strife and call out the slumbering force of opposition. England is now vexed with the Politico-Religious questions: for this too Russia pretends to fight; and the Jesuits are check-mated in America by the counter movements of the Know Nothing party.

This last effort at settling the difficulties of the case, by mixing up in a still more complicated way the two elements in

* "The foundations of religion and morality were everywhere undermined. Even the great historian Polybius, looked upon the popular religion as a mere bugbear, a political institution to serve the purposes of the statesmen, to keep the masses in check; and the geographer, Strabo, in the time of Cæsar Augustus, regarded superstition, myths, and marvellous legends as the only means of infusing piety and virtue into women and common people." Lucian, we are told, "fell with biting sarcasm upon the popular religion, as a jumble of absurd stories."

What was thus true of the Greeks, was also substantially the same, in regard to the Romans: "The rulers indeed still clung outwardly to religion; for it was the foundation of the whole civil edifice. But they regarded it merely as a political institution, a means of restraining the ignorant masses by superstitious fear." Hist. Ap. Ch.

The piety of Cicero and the skepticism of Horace amounted after all to nearly the same thing. The one was ever ready for popular effect sake, to call upon the *Dii immortales*, and the other could say: *Credat Judaeus Appella, non Ego*, with reference to popular stories of the same gods. The infidelity that begets superstition was everywhere amazingly rife.

controversy, is only an additional evidence that the war has not ceased. Short-sighted individuals may hail it as something promising in the auspices of our country ; but if they are not too old already, they may live to see the day when their opinions will be cast over another mould. This half-fledged humbug may boast of its principles as eminently American, by which is meant true and free ; but with all due deference to the momentary excitement, amounting to almost a furor, in what seems to be a majority of our fellow-citizens, a dispassionate examination will prove it more of a falsehood and counterfeit than may to many at first sight appear. It must assume another shape than any in which it has appeared, if it is to accomplish finally a permanent good. The true part of its principle must be eliminated from the false rubbish with which it has hitherto been mixed up. The suggestion may be made, whether there cannot be as little genuine Republicanism, with respect both to the religious and the political sense, in such extreme selfish American doctrine, as we understand that of Know Nothingism to be, as in that other false Politico-Religious policy of the Roman Catholic Jesuit Bishop, who seizes all church property in his diocese and holds it in fief to the See of Rome.

The attempts of Roman Jesuits, who seem to be constitutionally fond of dabbling in politics, by mingling their religious life with political intrigues in whatever country they may be found, whether they have snake-like wormed their way into the body politic, or have been openly recognized, in any case, we say, their attempts are not worse in principle than the counter movements of the Know Nothings. The best attempted defense of the order we ever heard would suit the one as well as the other. If the one be dangerous to civil and religious liberty, it is very hard for us to see why the other must not be also. The mode of operations, with strongly organized secret power, may be as detrimental in the hands of Ned Buntline of New York, or some other demagogue of as little respectability and moral guarantee, at whose beck the rank and file must obediently move by virtue of their "great oath," as in those of the general-in-chief of the Jesuits of Rome. If one set of politico-religious

intriguers is wrong, and acknowledgedly a moral, religious and political evil, how shall the matter be made better by creating another set acting on the same false principle, however good may be their intention? Men of true hearts may not always be in the order, to keep its practice better than its principle. It is a doubtful principle to become a thief to catch a thief. We remember once of a politician, who made high pretensions to temperance, justifying himself in buying votes on the election day at the rate of three cent drinks of whiskey apiece, saying that it was necessary to fight the devil with fire, and as the opposition party did the same, he must do it, or fall behind.

Morally, it is always better to allow the false principles of a party to triumph for a while if it must be, rather than resort to any wrong means to uphold the truth. This we conceive to be the proper course in the present case; for truth is mighty and must prevail; hence it can well afford to see false principles enjoying a short-lived triumph. We do not propose to enter into an extended argument on this particular point. It was only introduced as bearing directly on the main controversy with which we are now concerned. To double the wrong, we conceive, will not help to reach the right, except that negatively it may show what is really wanted. Mountebanks and empirics make but poor figures, when the world needs a truly historical personage. The antagonism, therefore, of these two factors in the controversy before us, is to be harmonized in a real living way, by the self-adjusting power of a living organism of an historical vitality.

II. The second form in which the controversy presents itself, is the aspect of independency, or violent separation of the two main factors. Politics acting in this one-sided way in attempting to find the true sphere of its operations, runs at this point into the open arms of infidelity. Religion, seeking to be equally independent in the sense of absolutely separate, so as to make no account of the other at all, falls into a gross error and forgets that it is its province to sanctify all departments of life.

Life in all its departments is from God, and is, therefore, equally divine with the principles of eternal law. Where these conflict, it is not the only or best solution always to divorce

them, and let each set up an independent sphere for itself. In their right relation they admit of a free and perfect reconciliation. God can bring the one into glorious harmony with the other, as has been revealed in history where conflicts long kept up seemed to declare the impossibility of a fair and real settlement. Where we cannot see the exact point of reconciliation, it is for us to receive it on faith; for as we are short-sighted, our vision may not be as complete as his who seeth the end from the beginning. Could our finite and fallible minds see absolutely right, thus comprehending fully the infinite combinations which these laws of life make with each other in their different spheres, civilly and religiously, brought into different degrees of activity, producing the varied modifications in actual practice, as developed in history,—could we at once see all this, we say, we might be saved from many puzzling efforts at reconciling apparent contradictions in the extremes of logic combining with the self-adjusting life of harmony.

No real settlement is, therefore, effected, when the parties in contest, partially worn out by their stubborn efforts, draw off with a mutual declaration of independence. Some are disposed to think this a most glorious achievement. Especially in our country is this thought the most happy way of opening the Gordian knot. In asserting, however, the principle of mutual independence of Politics and Religion, there is a peculiar meaning generally attached to the term. Among the modern, but by no means moderate writers, acknowledged chiefs in the Roman Church, this is especially observed. The doctrine has been bluntly asserted by them, that Politics has nothing to do with Religion. Their Jesuitism may, however, be detected by changing the saw; for they will be far from advocating the proposition, that Religion has nothing to do with Politics. Willing to free Peter from paying tribute to Cæsar, they are ready to promulgate that kind of independency, with a mental reservation, so that when the matter comes to the point, Peter will be found to be Cæsar's master. Such a settlement amounts to just nothing at all, and hence it challenges no admiration from us.

That Politics has nothing to do with Religion, if allowed in

form, is but a sorry compromise. Each party attaches to the terms its own peculiar meaning. By this is meant, in the mouth of Roman Jesuits, who seem everywhere inclined to what is known as Ultramontanism, that Politics, or the whole civil order, is so inferior to the ecclesiastical, that in point of fact it can never reach up to the sphere of the Church. From this point it is easy to affirm then, that the Pope as visible representative or head of this higher order, the polity of the Church, is sole arbiter of all life, the superior ecclesiastical order as well as the inferior order of the civil or state polity, because the higher includes the lower. When, therefore, in his official capacity as ecclesiastical, supreme head, he speaks *ex cathedra* from the Vatican, not only the higher order but all subordinate ones also must be in duty bound to admit his supremacy. Here then the religious factor is indeed independent of the Political, not because the claims of each in its own sphere are acknowledged and respected, but because the one has to all intents and purposes swallowed up the other. There is no freedom in this arrangement. It is just where the matter had at times been brought by the conquest of the one party by the other. Great moral questions are not thus to be settled by ignoring a vital factor, but by granting to each its normal freedom.

The Gallican tendency, on the other side of the question, may affirm the same proposition: Politics has nothing to do with Religion. In their mouth this may mean what Jefferson meant when he strove to separate, as absolutely as he knew how, the Church from the State. Any infidel political demagogue may use the same terms, when he would put down religion by withdrawing, as he supposes, the support it so much needs, that patronage of the State, which in some countries seems necessary to its very existence. None will be so silly as to assert in the face of history, that any peculiar form of religious polity is incompatible with any one form of civil government. In America the papal, the episcopal, the presbyterian, and the independent, have each been found in connection with the government of the States that fostered them. In the Republics of Switzerland and Venice the papal obtained; and in Monarchies and mixed Aristocracies the episcopal and presby-

terian have not been unknown. To say then, that Politics has nothing to do with Religion, in the sense that it *can* have nothing to do with it, is sheer folly; to say that they *may* have nothing to do with each other is equally unwise; and to say that they *should* have something to do with each other, in free relations of harmony, seems clear beyond a doubt.

The least that the Ultramontanists will allow is, that the political factor shall not set itself in hostile opposition to the religious. Only let it readily subserve their interests, and then it is perfectly competent to enact statutes and inflict penalties, and if it thus lend itself to the purposes of religious polity, the connection is heartily recognized. So will almost any piously inclined religionist recognize these claims to relationship, when in his favor, no matter how stoutly he may have opposed them when they seemed turned against his interest. It is of the utmost importance to know whether my ox gored my neighbor's, or whether his killed mine. The case thereby is materially changed. As long as the civil polity is strong enough to hold itself free from Ultramontane slavery, they are satisfied, if it sides with no party and tolerates all. In this country, where this is, to a great extent, practically the case, Jesuitism once sought to mould politics into its own shape; but now when another party takes hold of the same handle, turning the horn against its pretensions, it is ready to proclaim itself satisfied with bare toleration. Many Americans also, who once boasted that here Politics and Religion were forever divorced, now fanatically use the one to put down the growing influence of politico-religious opponents.

It is astonishing, and to the pholosophical inquirer it is a curious investigation, to learn how much of Romanism may be found in the other different isms in the world. In many points, that which seemed at first view most widely opposed, may be very much like it. From all the different isms this ism of isms might be combined. There is, however, a material difference to be noted: the same principle in Romanism that tends to a centralization, when found elsewhere, assumes an infinitismal atomistic tendency. For example: Jesuitism in its bad sense, centering in the papal supremacy, and Know Nothingism even

in the hands of the most piously inclined, carrying in itself seeds of dissolution, producing even at this early day occasionally as it were spontaneous explosions.

If Romanists charge Protestantism with being only a political order, drumming into its service the machinery of national religions, thus proclaiming itself to be a system of nationalism in the form of quasi religious politics; it may be retorted, that theirs is a system of political religion. The papacy, as a definite system, depends essentially for its existence upon its polity. Take away this and it falls. Hence, whenever it declares religion independent of politics, it is not to separate these in a free way, with a self-determined sphere in which each according to its own inherent law shall act; but it means that the one has overshadowed the other so as to destroy the normal law of its life. A grossly political religion is certainly not much preferable to a religious politics, especially if in this last, the practical workings beget a freer life, a purer morality and a spirituality that will compare favorably with the corresponding elements in the other system. Protestantism, moreover, does show itself quite as capable as a religious system to live divorced from the civil State, as the other dare pretend to be. If it needs to be refuted on this ground, the task will not be easy. With all this, however, we are free to say, that in our most careful study of the past, there are not many points where Politics have nothing to do with Religion, and still fewer where Religion has nothing to do with Politics. Some attempts, honest enough in themselves, no doubt, have been made to settle this controversy for supremacy between these two factors, by setting up a sort of independency for one of the other. But the question still recurs, has this been attained, in any tolerable degree of success? Violent attempts against law do not always produce the greatest amount of desired good. Whatever, therefore, may be the good intentions of honest minded men, if they act in wrong directions, standing on untenable ground, or holding false principles, the object aimed at fails to be accomplished for want of truth.

History, like the writing made with ink that is at first pale, but grows plainer in time, is hard to be read in the fresh form-

ing scenes of the present. By this, the unmeaning embryonic present is interpreted and becomes plain in the hands of Him who brings order out of confusion. The present hostile attitude may look threatening enough to us, but the spirit of life is brooding over the rigid laws, interpenetrating each other's action at a thousand points; and where each one alone would beget an extreme abortion, when all act together under the law of life, a harmony is at last produced. Look for instance at the Historical events of the past ten years all over the world, and see whether their import does not challenge our most profound attention. In point of sublime significance there is perhaps no period of equal length in modern times, with which this does not most favorably compare, and even transcend in almost every important respect. It would indeed seem as though the effect of centuries of previously active causes, though long hidden, had distilled the essence of events and concentrated it all into the narrow compass of the present epoch. Hereafter it will be found that God has been settling much in our day, that has convulsed and divided the world for long centuries before. What men have violently torn asunder, He has seen fit to put together, and much that they had vainly imagined forever united, He has separated by a broad bill of divorcement.

Extreme independency of relation will as little aid in a real settlement of the controversy, as hostile antagonism. Organic relations must always be violated when mechanical, formal and rigid logic is made to take the place of spontaneous autonomic life. The outward and formal may not be first determined, and then arbitrarily require the internal vitality to fill up this form, full and square, with nothing wanting and nothing over—so much, no more, no less. Neither can it be determined from the start just what precisely shall be the outward form, which the growing life in the germ may afterwards assume when it comes to externalize itself in its maturity. It may be well known that an acorn will produce a certain *kind* of a tree, for this law is fixed and known; but how many branches and leaves it shall have in particular, may not be known from the general law of its life. Form and contents do

hold a general relation, but in any given particular case, what that shall be specifically, depends upon the individual life and the circumstances under which that is developed. If this be so in life's lower forms, how much more is it not the case in man, in his relation to morals and human freedom? Here the same life is related to the particular and the general, to the domestic, social, civil and religious order of existence. It is, therefore, simply impossible violently to separate these and set up blank independency. They are mutually related.

III. The relation of these coördinate factors in human life must be reciprocal and free. They may be complementary in their own way to each other, but they ought never to be complementary, as in many cases it is sought to make them, and as they are forced sometimes to become. It is not at all contended that they shall be jumbled together in such a way as to destroy the freedom of either. Equally divine in their origin and human in their form, Politics and Religion must interpenetrate each other, when truly apprehended as they centre in the same life, and are externalized by the same moral agent. This does not destroy their relative independence by either one in its sphere swallowing up the other with its own peculiar rights and prerogatives. They coexist under the character of two distinct orders—the civil and the religious. As to form and contents in a given case they may differ, ought to differ when not illegitimately confounded; and yet the same personalities compose the organization of the one that form the corporiety of the other. The Christian may be a politician, in a better sense than that practiced by the Pope and the Jesuits; and the Politician ought to be at the same time a Christian, as the highest style of man. Religion, if it exist in external organization, must, however, have a polity of some form, Episcopal, Papal, or Presbyterian; and Politics, if it be not of the devil, must have not only morality of a questionable character, but also religion undefiled, for its basis.

Eternal law, written or unwritten, revealed or natural, is the only normal basis for human law. Without this, civil enactments are a sheer nullity. Not that we would say some laws may not be relative and of force only for a particular form of

the civil polity. For a democracy may enact one code of laws for the State in which it obtains, while a monarchy may require conflicting laws, relative to the former, to be obeyed in its jurisdiction. Here the particular form may differ widely, while the general contents or principle is the same. So the form of polity may differ in the various parts of the religious order, as the human elements in its formal constitution may determine, while the essential constituents of the order itself is divine. If government is divine in its authority and fundamental basis, and when humanly actualized takes the form of Democracy, Aristocracy, or Monarchy, either in their simple forms or severally combined, and thereby accomplishes its own proper objects; the religious order can then, under corresponding forms, maintain its own divine economy. Nor is there any reason why the two orders might not exist in the same humanity raised to a union with the divine, in heavenly harmony. No violence need be done to either, and neither should usurp the legitimate sphere and operations of the other. If both were not necessary, only one would have been divinely instituted.

Politics, in this sense, *has something* to do with Religion. Equally certain is it also, that Religion has something to do with Politics. While religion, however, must have polity, and politics must be religious, no undue interference need necessarily result from this mutual relation. To mistake it so, is to make religion either a political machine for self-aggrandizement, as is seen in the tyranny of the mediæval papacy, or politics, the patron of State religions, as is charged by Ultramontanism on Protestant polity in modern times. The civil polity is practically everywhere under the moulding influence of religion, and the religious order is more or less conditioned by the tone of politics wherever it is found. The conflicts engendered grow out of the imperfections and contradictions of sin in man's life. The temporal may be a basis for the spiritual, but on that account is none the less necessary or important for the manifestation of this last; and therefore may not be subverted by neglect or tyranny without great wrong. Relatively, both are important, as body without soul is a corpse, and spirit without body is a ghost.

If it be sought practically to illustrate the relation as it attempts even now, though somewhat blindly, as it would seem, to reconcile the humanly created strife, examples will not be wanting. In Spain the papacy is not the same as Romanism in Mexico, though both nations belong to the same stock. Romanism, with all its proud boasts of immutability is not the same in these United States that it is in Italy. Episcopacy differs in America and in England. Lutheranism is not in our country what it is in Denmark and Sweeden. The outward form in every case depends on the outward conditions. The heavenly essence may be the same, only differently manifested though none the less divine. Political governments depending on the free autonomic action of the people, may change in the same land and still lose nothing of its divine right. Whatever may be the dispute, therefore, as to the rights relatively of religion and politics, each does practically acknowledge some right of the other. Especially in our own country, where they trammel each other as little as could possibly be the case in our present imperfectly developed life, they do, we say, have something to do with each other.

Religion is acknowledged in the fundamental elements of our government, and restrictions are laid upon those who do not conform to its broadest and most obvious principles. The Sabbath breaker is punished, or can be punished, by the provisions of the statute ; the infidel is prohibited from giving testimony in a court of justice; and religious meetings are protected in the enjoyment of peace and safety. All religious systems *not hostile to the government*, are alike protected. At the same time, politics is allowed its supremacy in its own divinely appointed sphere. No religious test is required, except prohibitions of irreligion. Gross errorists, however, are punished by the civil arm, as for instance, the blasphemer, the bigamist; and fanatics are restrained. Mormonism may, as a religious system, be tolerated by the civil statutes of Salt Lake city, but for our latitude it would not answer so well. The polygamist prophet and his uxorious elders would here be made to suffer the penalty of the laws against bigamy. The Seventh day Baptist is punished if he labor on the Lord's day. The

Roman Catholic may be proscribed, because he holds allegiance to the Pope at Rome, which he conscientiously believes to be more binding on him than his oath to the Constitution of the Union.

Here are some of the practical difficulties, not of minor importance, growing out of the intricate relation of Politics and Religion. They stare us plainly in the face. They are real, not imaginary difficulties only, that vanish with close scrutiny. We cannot pitch into them with a Know Nothing furor, and remove them all at one desperate plunge. In doing so we may destroy civil and religious liberty—Church and State. Just as little can we come to a safe and sure settlement by throwing ourselves in despair upon the supremacy of the Pope, trusting in his infallibility, and thus propagating Ultramontanism. Either of these might for a while, as similar attempts heretofore have done, smother the flame, but it would only break out with more fury, having gathered strength by confinement. Do we then give up the solution in despair? Some may, as others have already done; but for ourselves we have too much faith in God, thus to act. We do not think the difficulty, with its vast dimensions of difference, as yet settled; nor do we think it very soon will be. This one thing we know, there is freedom and there is authority—where they now jar, our faith tells us they shall work together in harmony.

The Church, which came from God, and the State which he also ordained, may be in conflict, because sinful human elements constitute the outward revelation of both; but they shall yet be brought into lovely harmony. Our attempts, mathematically to determine the formulas of their coördinates, whether it be of the hyperbole, ellipse or concentric circles, may give us infinite lines, inverse variables or fixed values. These all only show us that logic runs life into an extreme where its autonomic attributes are cramped and valueless. God settles a life question in a living way. His solution allows free activity to the vital powers. In the life of History, therefore, partly in the past and present, partly also in the future, the free settlement of this controversy must be found. God moves in the history of our race, and man in the exercise of his human freedom is

the living outward power that acts out his will. Whether we can determine the exact way in which all the difficulties that meet us here, may be settled, or not, the case remains the same and may not be forced to square with our preconceived notions.

Such world facts, begotten from the spontaneous life of the race, as the Reformation of the sixteenth century that has changed the face of the world, cannot be set aside with a mere wave of the hand. The finger of God is there, and it will not do to ignore the whole wondrous work as, in the providence of God, a permitted trick of the devil, incarnate in Luther and the other great Reformers; nor does it look very philosophical, to say nothing about the boasted prerogative of logic, to make it the result of a secret society organized for this special purpose several centuries before it found itself able to develop its bad intentions.* This were indeed the miracle of miracles. We cannot see how this hellish plot could have been fostered through so many generations without betrayal, notwithstanding the acknowledged tact and shrewdness for such work, of his infallible holiness, through a long series of pontifical successions,

* The best joke of the season, as our public lecturers would say, is the attempt made in the last number of Brownson's Review, to account for the origin and success of the Reformation. The magnitude of the effects of this movement is acknowledged, and at the same time it is confessed that it has not been sufficiently accounted for by Roman Catholic writers. Great effects can only be produced by great causes. The base, ignorant, stupid, depraved, &c., Reformers "baffled princes and nobles, kings and Cæsars, popes and cardinals, bishops and doctors, and gained over the multitude in more than a third part of Europe. How explain this fact?

In the light of the late fitful "rise and progress" of the Know Nothing order, and, in full view of their recent almost universal triumph, the whole Reformatiom of the sixteenth century is to be "philosophically explained." Perhaps too, the memory of Jesuit success adds to the conviction. Answering, therefore, the question, What was the cause of the Reformation? it is replied: *Secret organizatons*, which under a show of outward conformity to the Church, contrived to maintain themselves to a fearful extent in her external communion, for two or three hundred years before the outbreak of the Reform. Opposed to the Church was a secret society, which spread over a large part of Europe, and to which belonged kings and emperors, princes and nobles, bishops and presbyters, courtiers and bards, lawyers and counsellors of popes and of monarchs."

Hence, when all was matured after these long centuries of secret preparation, the Reform broke out on so many points of Europe almost simultaneously! The Church thought there was nothing serious in the matter—its *infallible head*, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, pursued a policy that proved disastrous. "The controversy, at least in the beginning, was to a great extent blunderingly conducted on the side of the Catholic party." Well done for Brownson! Where was the "supernatural strength" and infallibility then?

along with the aid of universal councils! What will men not rather believe than the living truth? It may remain, for the present, an open question, whether Christianity in the first three centuries from the day of Pentecost, achieved more than Protestantism has done since God gave it birth. With all its imperfections, with all the contradictions involved in the partially undeveloped law of its being, with the impossibility, if you will have it, of reconciling it at every point with the rigid deductions of dead logic or rationalistic consequences, it must nevertheless be received as a *living factor*, setting aside stiff formulas and contributing in its own free way to the solution of the great world problem, found to be so complicated in its multiplex conditions. Life here, as elsewhere, is not a fixed extreme. Men of only one idea may be great in that given department, but in the fixed fact to which they exclusively cling only one phase of life's truth is apprehended; so that a warped judgment is formed of all besides. It may even be found easier too, to rest in an entire self-surrendry, upon some such point, than to seek industriously for sure footing, where the ground sometimes gives way and new investigation is required. Hence, in despair some are constrained to cast themselves upon the imagined infallibility of the pope; instead of having faith in God. "Walk by faith, not by sight." This has saved many from despair, and can serve others a like heavenly purpose.

Faith in history, sees God working in an organic way, always with a purpose, never at random or by accident. In its generality, this power is continually active in begetting such life as the law of its own nature freely produces. It is something more real and objective than any kind of organized individuality in whatever way bound by logic; and thus its normal force exerts its creative power from age to age, as above all the conscious or involuntary efforts of the living generation in eliminating the great truth, after which the wants of man must strive. The problem will be solved by the workings of the free spirit, that, neither in haste nor sloth, never by a backward movement, but always steadily advancing in progress, evolves

in the experiment of life new aids to its final solution. This we see in the past; for this we hope in the future.

Coming, then, to this point of our inquiry, we do not consider the unended controversy between Politics and Religion, as small and insignificant. It is so great that ages have failed to satisfactorily dispose of it. It is so important and fundamental that all ages have been more or less alive to its significance. We do not think that the present age can put it to rest, either by submitting to papal supremacy in the Ultramontane sense, or in the spirit of Red-republicanism and infidelity, in whatever shape, making the Church the tool and bond-slave of the State. Although it be now a matter of earnest consideration, or perhaps of anxious alarm, to know what is our part in the work before us, in order that right ends may be reached; yet, we see no cause for quarreling, because Providence is not willing to make all plain, to our logical reasonings, that has remained an unsolved problem through long centuries before us. This much we know, that both factors are important and necessary elements of man's life in the world; both are equally of divine origin, centering in the eternal law of life, and though hitherto and at present in conflict, their future reconciliation is not only possible, but certain. So also may we conclude, in reference to Human freedom and objective Authority, Private judgment and General Rule, and Decrees and Free Grace.

The world's life is not so bad as to be entirely despaired of. The present is better than the past, though it may not look quite so smooth. Some look only on the coarse present, attired as it is in all the rough coverings of reality, and thus compare it with the beautifully pictured past, shaded in dim distance with its convulsions hushed, its contradictions forgotten and its asperities of life covered, all of which a nearer view would reveal. The fierce spirit of controversy, so exceedingly sensitive in its character, and extreme in its demands, all covered with the raging foam of madness, lashed up by party strife on the raging waves of excitement in the sea of unbounded commotion, may threaten to sink our ship in the maelstrom of contest. When such a scene is compared with the lake-like placidity of an Augustan age, or some period of calm and listless in-

activity, we may forget that our father is at the helm. We must look beyond the commotion and thunder of the wrecking storm, to estimate the unnumbered blessings it promises, in its rough kindness, to man. The very fierceness of the past and present struggles, only proves their necessity for the future good of the race. Revolutions even, in God's hands, produce benefits.

Future good often grows out of what seemed evils, in the past or present. The present agitations in the political and religious life, of our own country, and more especially Europe and Asia, must produce some new phase of development in these several departments. It may, in a more definite way than ever before, determine the relation of these vexed questions. The rough and hardy life of the north so long combined with the stagnant Greek Church, may wake up to an activity for which it has been prepared by the long rest; it may pour a new element, fresh and vigorous, into the religious and political life that is now fast becoming effete. How much may not the relative position of these historical factors be changed, within the next quarter or half century! The proud Autocrat of all the Russias, strangely combining the political and the religious in one contest, may, in the hands of the Almighty, become something more than a great northern bear, fiercely raging in his ice-bound palace. It matters little whether the other powers combine against him or for him, if he is the chosen instrument to develop, either by his success or defeat, a new principle in the life of the world's history. Partizans must always be blind; and hence many miscalculations are made which seem fair to the extreme views thus taken, till the illusion is dispelled and the hand of God appears, doing his will among the children of men. Seven years ago, horoscopes were differently cast, and the shrewdest among men, could not have guessed the present aspect of the world's history, either in its political or religious character. The rapidly maturing events now baffle all calculations of the wisest seer.

With God moving before us in the grand cycles of history, through the light of the past, we may descry the dim looming figures adumbrated in the dawning future. In each of the

distinct periods, now buried in the tomb of ages, we discover the solution of some particular part of the problem of humanity, bearing a definite and necessary relation to the progress of the race. The special part of any such period respectively, which is most important, as containing the germ of all that follows, is its epoch. This in each case furnishes an index to the specific nature of that part of the problem to be wrought out by that age. Thus the period of ancient Jewish history cultivated and developed the moral part of man's nature. The great Monarchies of the East inculcated and enforced respect for outward authority, in the form of despotic, absolute power. The laws of the Medes and Persians changed not, and the monarch received almost the homage of a god. To discover the *ideal* of creation, to draw out the essence of mind and ascertain its laws of action, was the province of that wonderful people, the classic Greeks. All the powers of life blended into one result, in the material uses, reduced to practical purposes, applying law, and creating a system of jurisprudence in the services of the State, was the Roman mission. Practical life is committed to the Anglo-Saxon race, in all its different branches and relations.

Or, in a different aspect, one period may be taken up with the process of bringing loose elements together, centralizing power and nationalization. Sometimes civil constitutions are to be formed or remodeled, as in the late revolutionary movements in Europe. The revival and cultivation of literature, the emancipation of mind from mental slavery and degradation, in the sphere of politics and religion, also marks a glorious period. Despotic power, political and ecclesiastical, had restrained the pent up freedom of man so long and so unduly, that when it did burst the shackles that held it enthralled, it fell into the opposite extreme of licentiousness. Hence we have the keals of society upheaved from their old moorings, and the social relations, as well as government, that grows out of these, have been at times convulsed, and torn up as it were, by the very roots. The want of proper vents in Church and State, has more than once agitated the world's quiet life and shaken the foundations of the strong pillars of society.

Action and reaction is a law of life, just as force and resistance are found in the momentum and gravity of matter. The radical revolutionary spirit of our age, therefore, that has shown itself so fierce of late years, is the natural consequence of antecedent causes. It need not alarm us unduly. Liberty deprived of its rights will assert them, in a sense true or false, according to previous fit training or neglect. Far be it from us to justify all that has been done in times of counter excitement in the sacred name of liberty. Excess is the necessary result of deprivation. Two sets of muscles of the same organic body in operation will rest each other, but one alone acting and the other's action repressed begets fatigue and convulsion. Neither freedom nor authority should exclude the legitimate action of the other. The same may be said of private judgment and general law, as well as the vital factors of humanity in the sphere of Church and State, politics and religion.

Absolutism, in any finite and human shape, is a dangerous extreme, be it democracy or monarchy, in the natural or spiritual order. It is always important that power, be it lodged where it may, should be checked by the imposition of constitutional restraint in the form of fundamental laws, within the prescribed limits and guarantied freedom of which it may legitimately act. All truly free action, to be such, must be subject to responsibility. This is true in relation to Peter or Cæsar, the pope or the people. In a monarch, civil or ecclesiastical, the danger is the extreme of arbitrary will. With the people, it degenerates into licentious radicalism in the shape of mobocratic violence. The people may endanger, or even destroy their natural liberty by committing suicide with their own power. The centralized one-man-power, beneficial as it may have been in some instances, when unbridled, can run into abuse of the rights it was called to protect.

Supremacy is thus, not supreme, except it be supremely right, which belongs not to finite, fallible man. A combination of these fallibilities cannot beget an infallibility. To say, then, that the people or the pope will do no wrong, because it is morally impossible, is a broad lie in the face of history. The power of free action, therefore, must come, as derived from its

divine source through mediate organs. Constitutional power must submit to fundamental laws. This is necessary in the right relation of its constituent elements to the very idea of any social, political, or religious organization. Its form of polity must not trangress its divine constitution. Hence, it is not true that he is most free who acts according to the arbitrary caprice of his own will. The freedom of our glorious Union is an obedience to the constitution; called by a British philosopher, "A treaty imposed by the people on their own government as on a conquered enemy."

Looking at the present phase of the world's history, we are brought by these considerations to expect some progress in the solution of the great problem. The right relation of the several factors may be more clearly determined. Certainly we do now know, that it is not found in hostile antagonism, nor in absolute independency, nor yet in unnatural union. The one must not usurp the powers of the other; neither may they encroach upon the ground severally assigned to each by their divine Author. The true genius of History may reveal to us something of the mutual relations of their interpenetration in free correspondence. Civil liberty will doubtless yet rejoice in the triumphs gained in the Eastern war, and Religion may be called to inaugurate a more glorious stage of Christian development. Whatever be the base passions now engaged in the field for selfish gratification, we have this consolation, that God will make all things work together for good.

Who knows the mystery of His providence by which those strange anomalous combinations have been formed? What means the recent awakenings to life in that long stagnant past of the Christian Church? What relation shall the Czar sustain to the Pope, the politico-religious monarch to the religio-political? These are the principals now in the war, whatever be the external combinations. What shall become of the false prophet's mixed system of truth and error, combined in the compound relation of the religious and political factors? These and such like questions are big with import in their practical answers. We anxiously look, even in our day, amid the smoke and din of battle, for a more satisfactory reply than has yet

been given. The commotion and strife every where, the stern buckling on of the armor even in our land, betokens a determined, spiritual contest, the result of which, we trust, will be the triumph of right and truth. God only knows what we may yet live to witness. May he grant, along with the power to do our part well, that we may wait patiently in faith, till he adjusts all difficulties by the Spirit and life of his Son!

Pittsburg, Pa. G. B. R.

ART. IV—THE CHEMISTRY OF FIRE.

OBJECTS of a striking character are most apt to attract the attention of man, on account of their departure from the usual course of nature, or because they exhibit some seeming anomalous deviation from her laws. The phenomena of nature, which hourly take place, in and about him, generally fail to command his attention,—though he is ready to recognize the might of the great Ruler of all things, when bright flashes of lightning, accompanied with the pealing sound of its thunder appear in the skies above him. The little seed may show the wonderful powers possessed by its dormant vital force,—may send forth rootlets, which shall give the future plant a firm hold on the soil and enable it to gain sustenance from the same,—may develop the slender stalk and even grow up to the full maturity of a tree,—but these, being every-day occurrences, regular manifestations of the laws of the vegetable kingdom, elicit but little attention or admiration from man. Again, the animal!—comprising still more that is wonderful than the plant;—its very existence being a constant warring of the vital force against a dying tendency of its component parts,—the physiological paradox, that to have life we must have constant death,—the peculiar food needed to repair the effects of the wear and tear of the system, and the mysterious changes *it* undergoes before it can be fully adapted for this purpose,—the

regularity of the Circulation, bearing in one direction a vivifying current, and in another, one surcharged with noxious principles,—the Respiration, conveying the peculiar substance which vivifies to the one current of the circulation and removing that which is detrimental to life from the other,—the closing scene of life, when the power, which presents these very mysteries as proofs of its presence, leaves the vital frame and although there may remain,

> "Before Decay's effacing fingers
> Have swept the lines where beauty lingers,"

the rapture of repose, yet the decay of the particles, which previously formed the body, making it now loathsome to those who formerly delighted in its company:—all these are allowed to occur daily without exciting more than a passing notice from the world.

Even the principle, which we call *Life*, underlying the mysteries of the plant and manifesting its presence in it by *growth*, or in the animal adding to this manifestation that of feeling and instinct, or in man, the higher power of intellectuality and will,—even this fails to attract a modicum of that attention its importance demands.

All these afford striking examples of the consummate wisdom of their Creator, on account of their harmonious adaptation to the ends, for which they were created. They are examples of the normal operations of nature. Constant familiarity with them has caused us to forget, or at least to overlook them in our daily reflections, and it is only when some remarkable deviation *from* the rule presents itself,—some Aztec or Giant,—that we pause to consider *what* constitutes the rule, and to investigate the nature and extent of the deviation.

There are many things also connected with the physical phenomena of nature, which rarely receive attention from us. Among these can be mentioned the four so-called elements of the Ancients, from which they supposed all matter was created. In the *Earth*, they saw the stable basis of the whole, applying the name to everything of a solid nature found in the planet on which we live; in the *Air*, they recognized a simple fluid which appeared to penetrate all space; in *Water* and *Fire*,

two antagonizing principles, always warring against each other. This division of matter, erroneous though it be, was first proposed by Aristotle. It has challenged investigation, which has resulted in great additions to our knowledge. We do not propose to follow such investigations in the present article, but merely wish to examine the *Chemistry of Fire*, to discuss the wonders of the simple process which we designate by this name, and the nature of the substances essential to it under ordinary circumstances. In doing this, a wide field will be opened to us, abounding in the richest treasures of science, from which we may glean some material that shall clearly show, *all is not only mysterious that occurs at rare intervals*, nor is everything or process, "weary, flat, stale or unprofitable," which belongs to the daily operations of nature.

Heat is the great repulsive force of nature. Matter of a seeming everlasting character is forced, from its compactest form, to become mobile, and to allow movement among those particles, which were bound by the strongest force of cohesion, one to the other. The Ancients, with all their innate reverence for the forces of nature, and their disposition to attribute them to the direct agency of Divinities, hailed Fire as the mightiest of the gods,—watching with admiration the spark, as it was fanned into a small flame, at first flickering, contending with feeble power for the mastery, then gaining additional force from the food on which it was feeding, and finally springing upwards embracing the combustible material in its lambent course. The bright flickering of the flames, as they played in the hearth, dispensing comfort and cheerfulness, while the chilling blasts of the wintry wind were heard howling in the darkness of the night, seemed to them like a god in his kindest and most gracious mood; while the lurid flames of the volcanic eruption, or the vivid flashes of the heaven's electricity, seemed like that same god in his angriest and most vindictive mood. Quite early indeed did the poetic mind of man detect the indispensability and importance of Heat, in the mild and vivifying rays of the sun, as it kindly enticed forth, from the hidden recesses of the seed, the radicle and plumule which constitute the vegetable, and in that animal warmth, without which life itself cannot be.

During the Middle Ages, when chemical research was in its infancy, and all investigations were found nugatory without the aid of fire, it was an agent idolized by the Alchemists. They hoped by its means to expel the moisture, supposed to be inherent to Quicksilver,—and which, when removed, would leave behind the precious metal—Silver—one of the objects of their toilsome researches. By it alone, also, they expected to obtain those potent extracts which should have the wonderful power of transmuting all things into Gold,—and which should allow Science the actualization of the power that Mythology had placed in the hands of Midas.

Fire is worshipped at the present day. The Persians are known to adore flame as a spiritual essence, constituting the life-giving and life-sustaining force of nature. Indeed this idea, with some little modification, is acknowledged as true by modern science. Though it is not considered the *primal* force, yet, under the direction of omnipotent power, it is the mightiest of all the agents selected to manifest this power. For notwithstanding Fire is to be considered as the result of intense chemical action, yet, as its immediate effect is Heat, we may look upon it as entering into the composition of all matter and determining its condition,—bodies being solid because they lack the necessary amount of heat to give them fluidity, and liquids because they have not sufficient heat to give their intimate particles elasticity inter se. In such a view, although we fail to determine exactly what may be the nature of heat or fire, we prepare ourselves to investigate the sources from which it comes.

We find it streaming along with rays of light from the sun, and, by the different angles with which it strikes the earth, producing that pleasant change of the seasons, which makes up the year,—causing the grateful breezes of the spring which woo forth, from their hiding places, sweet birds and fair flowers;—the fiery blasts of the summer's Sun, and the chilling winds of the winter. It comes also from the interior of our planet, where, philosophers teach us to believe, there exists a raging fire, producing heat of such intensity, that all matter, the refractory metals, the primary state of the geologist—the

enduring granite—are all in a state of fusion,—the cohesion, that binds their particles so tightly together, as they are found on the surface of the earth, being unable to withstand the intensity of this heat. In this way we learn what may be the cause of the existence of volcanoes and mighty Geysers, which seem to project their contents forth, as from a boiling chaldron in the depths of the earth.

Heat determines the peculiar physical condition of matter. We need only refer here, by way of illustration, to the fact that, although water remains as a liquid with us at almost all seasons of the year, yet, in winter, the diminution of the external temperature (that is, an abstraction of heat,) reduces it to the condition of a solid, whereas at a depth of little over two miles into the solid crust of the earth it is probable it would fly off into the aeriform condition and be only known as steam. And this power of regulating the volume of a body, by means of heat, is not exaggerated when we are told that it could be determined with precision "what amount of heat would be required to evaporize all the water on the globe," and "how much would be necessary to cause the whole globe itself to become vaporiform." Such calculations could be surely made, as the laws which regulate the condition of bodies with reference to heat, are fixed and determinate.

Heat is also produced by mechanical action,—driven, as it were, from a body by a condensation of its molecules, when friction or percussion is employed. Here, scientific explanation was preceded by the practice of the savage. The latter had known, for centuries before science was able to explain the rationale of the process, how, by the friction of two pieces of wood together, he could produce sufficient heat to ignite them. Many a council fire had been lighted by him in this way, and many a poor victim's life became a prey to flames which the tormentors had thus produced.

In the animate kingdom, Heat is bound up in some mysterious way with life itself; and, most important for our present purpose, it is developed by chemical action, with every phase of which, there is either a reception or loss of heat. No action, within the wide range of chemical affinity, is possible without

its presence. Under this head, we include combustion, where the action of heat manifests itself with such intensity as to form the phenomenon, called fire.

For the production of Fire, or *rapid* combustion, it is essentially necessary that there should be substances which are in their very nature combustible, and one which is capable of supporting combustion. The mysterious laws, which regulate the combination of these, in the process, require that certain and definite quantities should be present, and that the combinations, thus formed, should always be alike in their constitution. Thus when wood is burned, for example, it is a fixed law, that it should be converted into products having always the same composition,—a composition which is as exactly determinable by weight as mathematical accuracy can be,—and as true to itself under *like* circumstances, as the scales of justice are in affording to man the perfect equipoise of reward or punishment for the moral weight of his actions. Here indeed in the very beginning of our examination into the nature of the Chemistry of Fire, we learn something with regard to the composition of matter, which gives us an illustration, to use the words of Griffiths, "of the Scriptural truth, that a just weight and measure are the Lord's; that a just weight is His delight; that He comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance."

If the results of combustion were not of such a fixed character, there would be no harmony in nature's laws,—that music which, though inaudible to the mere sensualist, sounds through nature and all her works,—swells in the roaring of the wind and gently whispers in the murmuring of the breeze,—forms its accords of dulcet sweetness in the movements of the planets, and calls to its aid everything that exists, whether it be animate or inanimate,—that music would be, we say, at best but the jingling of discordant sounds, devoid of all the enchanting sweetness which now forces us to recognize it as the most positive and convincing proof that it is the voice of the Lord of all.

A most important requisite to rapid combustion is the presence of an element capable of supporting it. Such an element

should exist in large quantities all over our earth, as Fire is required not only for the protection of man from the inclemency of winter, but also to aid him in all those operations, which an advanced condition of civilization demands shall be carried on through the aid of Fire. We need not refer to those processes, which the Chemist, in his Laboratory, shut out from the noise and tumult of the busy world, carries on for the purpose of scrutinizing the mysteries of nature, and, if possible, forcing her to give the key which shall reveal her hidden secrets; we need not refer to the many long days he spends in watchfulness by his Laboratory fires, justifying his claims to the title of "the Philosopher by Fire." It is not necessary to enter the quiet retreat of the student. Let us go forth into the workshops of the land, where the stalwart arm of the mechanic moulds, by the aid of fire, the refractory metals and forces them to assume the thousand varied forms his ingenuity suggests; let us watch him as he constructs, by its means, that wonder of mechanism—the steam engine—the stoutest and most useful servant to execute man's commands, and to perform with readiest alacrity the duties assigned it; let us examine the various forms which *iron* has been made to assume under the masterly skill of the workman; how, at the present time, we can judge of the position of any nation in the scale of civilization by its knowledge of the thousand useful purposes this metal can be made to serve; how, by the aid of Fire are constructed of iron, the tools of the artisan, the anvil of the smith, the trowel of the mason, even the delicate knife of the surgeon, and the multifarious machines which the farmer needs for tilling the soil, or in making its products available: all these show that if "iron may be regarded as the greatest material source of national intelligence and industry," Fire is the agent by which all its applicability to man's designs is fully and completely drawn out.

The element, *essential to ordinarg combustion*, is a gaseous body, called Oxygen. This combines with the elements of the combustible and forms new compounds. The presence or absence of flame depends on the intensity of this combination. The *two principal constituents of all combustible bodies*, are

substances called Carbon and Hydrogen. It will be interesting to see, to *what extent*, these three elements, so necessary to fire, are distributed over Nature, and also *why it is*, that the two which form the essential constituents of all ordinary combustions, are the only elementary substances especially fitted for this purpose, on account of the peculiar changes they undergo, which result either in the formation of a substance not injurious to life, or of one which, from its peculiar constitution as a gas, is readily mingled with the great ocean of the atmosphere and by vast dilution also rendered innocuous.

Oxygen is the most widely distributed of all the elements, forming, in its combinations, at least two thirds of the whole earth; entering into the structure of organic bodies; into the composition of the waters which lave great continents, with their dashing billows or gently meander through grassy meadows; and into the formation of those mighty mountains, which, uprearing their summits as if in defiance of the wasting effects of time, give the beholder the idea of illimitable duration. And we find it not only in these, but in the atmosphere, as an indispensable constituent, penetrating all its parts, and bearing the same ratio to the other constituents wherever we investigate its composition. We are unconscious of its presence, because that presence is required for the perfect carrying on of the functions of life; and thus, its condition, though apparently passive, retains in ever fresh activity all the world about us.

The process of Respiration in the animal, depends on the presence of Oxygen, and is at most but an arrangement by which the system can be supplied with sufficient quantities of it to combine with and burn out, as it were, such particles as are no longer of utility in the system. The process is necessary for this *slow combustion* in the system. Every motion of the body requires the removal of some portion of the living frame work. The same law holds here, as in Mechanics, "that for any given effect, there is a consumption, a change of state, of a definite proportion of some material element." This change of state is produced, in the body, by the slow combustion in the capillaries—the furnaces of the animal system—of

certain substances which are composed mostly of carbon and hydrogen in varying proportions. All acts of life, then, are mysteriously connected with the presence of this bland supporter of combustion. Wherever we find vital force, we find the physical condition of its presence is, that there must be consumption of some part of the frame work in which it dwells. And this holds good throughout the whole range of organic life, whether we view it as the monad, of ephemeral existence, or in man with his reflecting mind and responsible soul. Throughout the whole range, the distinctive marks, which separate vitality from mere mechanical action, are dependent on the change of matter which is brought about by its combination with Oxygen gas; and although we are unable to perfectly explain, by theory, yet we know, experimentally, that the relation existing between vital force and the consumption of organic particles in the living body, is a direct one. The laborer who depends on the work of his hands for the support of himself and family, requires, in the pursuit of his daily avocations, the consumption of more organic particles, than the student whose physical labor is light; the former feels this keenly in practice, as the hours for his meals approach, and with an appetite, altogether paradoxical to the latter, eats with zest the amount of food necessary to make up for this previous consumption. This consumption of particles goes on as long as life lasts. The demands are, that, for every vital act, there must be a coincident death of some particle belonging to the system in which the vitality is manifested. All parts waste away under the influence of Oxygen, since to have action, energy, life in the whole, such sacrifice of the parts must take place; and, if, as is very briefly expressed by a scientific writer of the present day, "no means are at hand for repairing these daily and hourly losses, the individual perishes—dies more slowly, but not less surely, than by a blazing pile, burned at a low temperature,"—all the constituents of the body disappearing in succession, till at last "the substance of the brain becomes attacked," and reason tottering on its seat, "madness and death close the scene."

But though means should be at hand to repair these losses,

if the element which produces them be diminished, we shall find that, with each successive respiration, the demonstrations of vitality will be diminished, until at last the whole series of results, which demonstrate its existence, will close and death take place. The actions essential to vitality are destroyed, because the combustion necessary for their production is checked by the absence of the Oxygen. (It will be understood we are all this time not endeavoring to show that the vital force is synonymous with chemical action; but that the former manifests its presence in this way, and selects combustion as the means of generating physical force.) If we confine an animal in any place, where the atmosphere is not renewable from the great ocean of air around us, every breath it draws, deprives this atmosphere of its life-sustaining power; the animal languishes and dies. The system is crowded with the results of previous combustion of its particles. There are no means by which they can be removed. The blood flows sluggishly along the sides of vessels, through which it should course gaily. Stagnation of the blood takes place and with the checking of its current, there is a checking of life itself.

If this experiment be tried in a closely-confined room, in which a crowded assembly has been collected, weariness and lassitude are produced, and each one feels, as he leaves the room and breathes the pure air, the vast difference between the free reception of this grateful stimulus and the limited quantity he has only been allowed to inhale in the room. The respiration of the crowd has gradually removed the stimulating material which is required to keep up a slow combustion in the body, in order that the conditions of vigorous health may be preserved. An examination of the composition of the atmosphere of a close room with a crowded audience, before and after a Lecture in the Sorbonne, showed that as much as five proportions of Oxygen had been removed by this means in the space of an hour.

As life cannot be preserved under circumstances of confinement, in an atmosphere containing a limited quantity of Oxygen, so active combustion or fire cannot take place. In a vacuum it will be immediately extinguished. Where the sup-

ply of Oxygen is limited, the flame will become dim, and flickering faintly will soon cease. Hence the same element is indispensable to both; while allowed free access to the living being, or to the burning substance, we have the phenomena of life or of fire so long as the material on which it feeds is supplied it. In the one case this is determined by a law which regulates the existence of the organic being; in the other, by the amount of material afforded for the combustion.

But if life be dependent on the presence of Oxygen, and if combustion cannot take place unless it is present, it is a fair and rational supposition, that where the quantity of this element is increased beyond the normal amount, combustion would increase in vividness and rapidity, and the operations of the animal system would be carried on with increased vigor and activity. Such a supposition is proven to be true, when the chemist experiments with it, in a state of purity, as to its effect on life and combustion. When an animal is immersed in an atmosphere of pure Oxygen, the effects of the latter are too stimulating, and the result is inflammation and speedy death. Hence it forms only a small portion of the atmosphere, being there diluted by the presence of four times its weight of another gas, whose office seems to be only that of a diluent. If the atmosphere were composed of pure Oxygen, the animal creation would speedily perish from over stimulus; the phenomena of life would be produced in so heightened a degree that death would speedily close them. In the words of another, "as a candle burns brighter in Oxygen gas, and is more quickly consumed, so in this gas the flame of life would be more vivid, but would be sooner burned out."

Notwithstanding the constant demand made on the atmosphere for Oxygen, there has been no change in the composition of the former, since the first appearance of human life on the face of our earth. An analysis of the air at present would furnish nearly, if not quite, the same component parts, as existed in it centuries ago. By suitable provisions of Providence its deterioration has been prevented, and the element, so essential to the preservation of life and to combustion, is now as widely distributed as in the remotest period of history, and will

so continue for ages in the future. Independent of the means existing in the vegetable kingdom for supplying it, a French chemist has made a curious calculation, which shows that "the earth might be peopled with a thousand million of men, and animals equivalent to three thousand million of men, and yet these would not together consume, in a century, a weight of Oxygen equal to that of 16 cubes of copper, 3.273 feet by the side, while the air would contain 134.000 of these; and indeed that it would require ten thousand years for this number to produce any sensible effect on the great body of the air," so that chemical or electrical analysis could detect the change of composition.

Many agencies are at work to prevent an accumulation of impure substances in the atmosphere, freeing it from the impurities which have been combined with its Oxygen, and thus liberating the latter. Among these must be mentioned, as of first importance, the vegetable kingdom. In the Laboratory of the leaves, under the chemical influence of the solar beam, the purification of the atmosphere goes steadily on, from the first greeting the plant receives from the sun's rays in the morn until, in the borders of twilight, the last lingering ray leaves it for the purpose of visiting other plants in other climes. During all this time the chemistry of nature is at work. The Laboratory of the leaf is busied in furnishing supplies of Oxygen for the maintenance of animal life.

> "From its inmost cells, each leaflet pours
> In vital currents through its myriad pores,
> To renovate the air, by tempest hurl'd
> From pole to pole, around a freshen'd world."

But Oxygen does not only exist in the gaseous or liquid form; it also enters in the composition of the geological strata, which form the firm basis of our earth; into the constitution of the solid silica, and there, though immured, as it were, within rocky walls, still possessing the same properties as when floating in the passing breeze or forming a constituent atom in the foaming billow. Its range of combination with other substances is quite extensive, required by each of the three divisions of nature, and its place not to be supplied by any other of the sixty

two elemental constituents of matter. This universality of diffusion, shows the wisdom involved in its selection, as the universal supporter of combustion. If the world should be deprived of it, retaining, however, its present constitution, the higher animals would cease to exist, and vegetable matter of a rank character would cover the earth. Where beauty and grace are now seen to deck the meadow and hill side,—dark, colored vegetation, with a lurid glare, would alone meet the view. Creation would lose the highest manifestation of its Creator's power in the fact, that its master-piece (man himself) could not live to enjoy, and, as it were, bring out the significance of the whole. The grand end and object of the whole, the glorification of the Maker, would be prevented, by the impossibility of a living soul being present to render thanks and honor for the varied beauties of creation.

We shall find by reflection that our theme is not devoid of its poetry as well as of its general interest. Who has not felt his imagination awakened, as he has watched the open fire on his hearth, and in its changing flame, pictured weird figures of terror, or those charming phantasies, in which the mind at times delights to revel? Has not the light, dancing on the wall, chasing fitfully the darkness away, obedient to the longing wishes of the dreamer, assumed the forms of the distant and the loved, while all unconscious of the present, he has again lived over joyous days in the past, when from unbeclouded skies, the sun of peace and happiness shone brightly over his path, or when, perhaps, mid storms of unrest, he battled against the might of oppression and injustice. There is a witching sweetness thrown around these hours of revery; a joyous freedom from the trammels which bind men to things of time and sense; a bliss whose greatest climax is attained amid the fullest serenity of the human mind.

We have seen that the element essential to fire, as its supporter, is widely spread throughout nature; the nature of the two principal elements of all common combustibles remains yet to be examined, as well as the nature of the products which result from this process: the last of which subjects will conclusively show, that no other two elements would have answered for the purpose in the present constitution of matter.

The element, *Hydrogen*, is widely diffused throughout the organic and inorganic divisions of nature. The substance which contains it in largest quantity, is water, of the volume of which it constitutes two-thirds. Its distribution is, therefore, immense; the vast distances, separating continent from continent, are occupied by this bland production of nature. In gushing streams it pours forth from the mountain rock, or in little rills it trickles down the hill side, bearing life and vigor to the parched vegetation of the plain; it comes, in spring, in gentle showers from the vapory clouds ranging in the sky above us, or from the storm clouds of summer, amid the play of heaven's electricity, it dashes upon the earth. View it in the placid lake, when no breeze ruffles the smooth and tranquil surface; the depths mirroring forth the forest trees that fringe its borders, giving the semblance of forests below, for the sportive amusement of old Neptune's subjects, and when perchance the swiftly-fleeting clouds reflected from its surface, as they chase one another across heaven's blue expanse, may be the only seeming disturbance to its tranquility.

View it again, when its waves have been lashed into the fury of a giant, under the influence of the driving storm; see how that consummate piece of man's handicraft, the steam-ship, with all its might, is rendered as helpless as an infant in the hands of a giant. Contemplate it with wonder, as under the direction of the bold Fireman it checks the ravages of the agent we are now considering, when crackling flames are fast destroying the beautiful works of man, and imminent peril is threatened to the unconscious slumberer; when the terrifying cry of *Fire* meets his ear in the dead of night, and the suffocating smoke, with the glaring flames, falls upon his opened eyes; when death, by the most awful torments known to man, seems grinning his ghastliest smile in the midst of the bewildering wall of flame which surrounds him; and then, see the conflict between the flames and the torrents of water, how, at first, the water seething and vaporizing, seems to lose all power when in contact with the destructive element, until torrent succeeding torrent, the imprisoned sufferer awaiting death, sees destruction removed from his path; the way is opened and life again smiles

cheeringly at him. Here we see water, as a mild agent, perfectly passive; again a giant in strength and activity; and again coping with the destructive agent of nature and gaining the mastery.

But these are not all the purposes to which it is devoted in the mysterious economy of nature. It enters into the composition of all that has life, constituting the basis of those fluids which permeate all parts of animated structure. Deprive the latter of the presence of water, and there is only left a moiety of its former weight and none of its characteristic life. Even in man, however, it finds an use, independent of the mere support of the animal system, since the very language, with which extreme grief or joy is expressed by him, requires the employment of—Tears. In the chaste description of an English author,* the tear in the beautiful eye of a child may thus be traced:

"It was distilled from the primeval seas, it rose into the air, formed a cloud in the dark drapery of heaven, and was returned to water the rose and fertilize the corn-field. It then passed through the veins and arteries of the earth, bubbled up in the crystal spring, passed in the blood through that innocent little heart, and comes now the unbidden advertisement of a child's sympathy."

The traveller over the scorching sands of the great desert, deprived of water, suffers agonies unutterable, and gladly hails even the mirage,—all-deception as he knows it to be—thinking that by feasting his eyes on the sight of purling brooks he can banish, for the time, the agonies of his thirst. And the idea of this species of suffering is intensified in the highest degree when the instructive parable of Holy Writ sets forth to us the tortures of another world as of such a character that "not a drop of water can be obtained to cool the parched tongue."

But in this very water there is, as already stated, the element essential to combustion, united by close chemical affinity with Hydrogen—one of the two principal components of all ordinary combustibles; and the burning of the latter wherever

* Dream of Geology, 66.

found, if a sufficent quantity of Oxygen be present, again results in the formation of water. And thus we can imagine the immense amount of aqueous vapor thrown, in this way, daily into the atmosphere; how the balance is kept up between the organic and inorganic world, since vegetables absorb this water from the air and the soil in which they are planted, retain it as the means of communicating, throughout their branches and leaves, the richly-elaborated substances which form new structure, and yet, on being exposed to the action of fire they give up this water again to the great store-house, from whence their constant draughts have removed it.

The Hydrogen of a combustible in burning forms the blandest and least injurious of all the products of nature. How could art or science, with all the aid the discoveries of a century have furnished them, have selected any substance, any element that could have answered half so well, as regards its wide distribution throughout the vegetable kingdom, the ease with which it combines with the supporter of combustion and the innocuous products that result from such combination? Is this not a wonderful illustration of the wisdom of that creative power which made a process, in all its parts, so well adapted for the preservation as well as the protection of animal life?

If the combustion of the element Hydrogen results in the formation of water, the latter substance should be found constituting a portion of the atmosphere, which envelops our earth. Experiment justifies such a conclusion. There is always an appreciable amount of watery vapor in the atmosphere, intimately bound up with it, and yet capable of being demonstrated even by mechanical pressure, so that an English experimenter actually made its presence manifest, in the driest condition of the air, by using a pressure of thirty thousand pounds to the square inch. To prevent an accumulation that would be disastrous in its consequences to life, we find that, by changes of temperature, this moisture is condensed, and, along with the vapor which rises from the surface of the great ocean, it descends then to the earth in the grateful showers of spring, the rains of summer, or the snow and hail of our winter. Thus it goes on its round of duty, ministering to the wants of men

in a thousand ways, preserving a species of equilibrium in the great organization of nature.

Intimately combined with organic structure, Hydrogen may wait for a thousand years, the action of that chemical process which shall cause its union with Oxygen, and yet, during all that time, passive in character, it would indicate no semblance of the power which lies within it, nor would it lose this power in the slightest degree. When the moment arrives for the union of the two gases, combustion takes place, without leaving behind a product that could injure the most delicately constructed plant or the finest nervous system of the animal.

Let us suppose Sulphur had been the element selected to enter into the composition of ordinary combustibles. We know it will burn most freely,—will unite with the general supporter of combustion. But what would be the result? Would the products be innocuous to life, to say nothing of their actually being productive, after a time, of growth in the vegetable and being essential to the existence of the animal? Experience tells us, No! A gas of an offensive odor, destructive to all vegetable colors, bleaching the variegated shades of nature's garb, destructive to the vegetable and deadly to the animal, would be the consequence. Respiration would be impossible under such circumstances. Instead of the picturesque beauty of nature, a blighted scene would present itself; instead of the myriads of beings, teeming with life which cover the plain, swim in the water or float in the air, there would be no life,—but the earth would be one vast Golgotha, where all that had lived, breathed and suffered would be gathered in death from the pestiferous effects of this deadly gas. Nature would lose her very significance, since *without life* her highest and noblest meaning would be lost,—her grandest end and design would not be reached.

We must now hasten on to the consideration of the second substance, which enters into the composition of our combustibles. This is a solid substance called Carbon. Hydrogen, in burning, affords very little light; where illumination is required, Carbon must be added, which, from the heated condition it attains before it can be consumed and converted into

the gaseous form, produces almost the entire illuminating power of every burning substance. It forms a still larger proportion of the constitution of combustibles than Hydrogen. The consideration of its origin, place in nature and influences on the progress of civilization, would require far more space than is allotted us in this article,—but would afford an opportunity for presenting, in a connected form, some of the most attractive objects of study.

It is found largely distributed over both the organic and inorganic kingdoms, though originally belonging to the former. It is removed from a gaseous constituent of the atmosphere, called Carbonic Acid; this undergoes decomposition under the chemical effects of the light of the sun, the Carbon is retained for the structure of the plant, while the Oxygen, which in combination with it forms this acid gas, is given off again to enter the atmosphere. This process goes on wherever there is vegetation. The distribution of the element Carbon, though obtained by this comparatively slow process, is very great, and presents it in many different forms. If we divest wood of its Hydrogen and a number of inorganic substances taken up from the soil, we have left behind Carbon, in the form of *Charcoal*, constituting from fifteen to twenty six per cent of the original weight of the dried wood. Again, we find it laid up, as a species of mineral, in the great vaults of the earth, for the uses of mankind, and *Anthracite* is the name given to another form of Carbon. We find it in the material which the artist uses to give permanence to the forms that an educated perception of the beautiful produce in his mind, and Carbon is here known as *Plumbago*. Under another form, not black and repulsive in its appearance, but resplendent in its lustre, the object of grasping avarice and the delight of gay votaries of fashion, it appears as the brilliant *Diamond*; the synonyme of grandeur and high state; the Koh-i-noor among objects of wealth and beauty. Yet in all these forms, whether as Charcoal or Anthracite, which hide under a black and repulsive exterior, the material that under the effects of combustion is able to give activity to the steam engine in its application to the thousand purposes for which the ingenuity of man has used it, from the

distribution of the products of commerce by the mighty steamship, to the publication of the products of mind by that enormous lever of the world, the printing press; or in the form of the Diamond, which bedazzles the eyes of the spectator as it crowns the brow of beauty; under these varied forms its constitution is always the same. When exposed to heat it will become incandescent—throw off light and heat, and burn; the coal no more readily burning when kindled in our grates, than the diamond when heated in an atmosphere of pure Oxygen. The products of this combustion, being gaseous, are speedily removed by dilution in, and mixture with the great mass of the atmosphere. If this were not so, "the solid results of combustion," says Farraday, "the ashes, so to speak, would have fallen like a mantle on every earthen object; light could neither have emanated nor been seen; the economy of nature would have been embarrassed, clogged for want of agencies to remove the results of combustion, and all living things would have died.*

But whence come the immense coal-beds, which underlie many districts of this country? How can it be possible that such an immense quantity has been collected from the vegetable kingdom, that one hundred and thirty three thousand one hundred and thirty two square miles of coal formation are supposed to exist in the United States, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty nine in Great Britain?

It is now proven beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Anthracite was originally formed by vegetable structure. The microscope examines its intimate construction and finds undoubted vegetable cellules, and the exact moulds or impressions of plants are also often found in the thickest portion of its structure. Modern science has also shown that these impressions might be produced in an artificial way; that by exposing leaves, imbeded in clay, to a red heat, a carbonaceous product was obtained very similar to the fossil leaf presented by nature in her coal beds. But the character of the vegetation which produced the fossil leaves, the immense periods of time, through which

* Farraday's Lectures, pp. 277.

the vegetable matter must have slowly accumulated and the forces by which it was completely carbonized (the other constituents in the mean time having been removed by slow combustion,)—these are subjects, on which we can speculate only with the greatest wonder, considering them the results of gigantic power.

If Carbon is separated from the atmosphere by the vegetable creation, it is manifest that the composition of the atmosphere in the ante-historic periods of the world, must have differed from its composition at present, as such enormous beds of coal could not have been separated from it without producing great changes in its constitution, and an atmosphere largely impregnated with Carbonic Acid, could not have permitted any human being to have lived and flourished on the globe, since large quantities of this gas are fatally pernicious to life. Hence, without straining the argument at all, we must consider this whole process of Carbonification to have taken place during that period of time, which, in the simple and sublime language of the Mosaic record of the creation, is called "the evening and the morning of the third day,"—before man was created, before the perfecting of Creation had been accomplished.

The forms, however, of the plants of that period, learned by us in our examinations of the impressions found in our coal strata, were different, both in kind and size, from the forms of those which belong to the present period of our history. Where science even detects a resemblance in some of the vegetables of the present day to those enduring *Lithographs*, which nature has made of the plants of her infancy, the resemblance seems more like that of the Lilliputians of Gulliver's first voyage, as compared with the giant Brobdignagians of his second. As to the ante-historic period of the coal formations, we may truly say there were "giant plants in those days." If we could transport ourselves back, beyond the period of our own records, to that period, much would be found to astonish, yea, even to bewilder our unaccustomed eyes,—a wilderness of vegetable growth altogether unknown at present, would present itself, and in those giant solitudes, where vegetation was unchecked by the limitations of the present day, the beholder

would gaze with the stupifying astonishment that an inhabitant of some distant planet would probably exhibit, if on a visit to our earth. The author of the "Old Red Sandstone," in his imaginary visit to this geological period, has well depicted, and, we think, not with extravagance, what would probably have met the eye. On the banks of streams, bearing "seeds and ferns and cones of the pine of gigantic size," he sees "an amazing luxuriance of growth. Scarce can the current make way through the thickets of aquatic plants that rise thick from the muddy bottom; and though the sunshine falls bright on the upper boughs of the tangled forest beyond, not a ray penetrates the more than twilight gloom that broods over the marshy platform below. The rank steam of decaying vegetation forms a thick blue haze, that partially obscures the underwood. Deadly lakes of Carbonic acid gas have accumulated in the hollows; there is a silence all around, uninterrupted save by the sudden splash of some reptile fish that has risen to the surface in pursuit of its prey, or when a sudden breeze stirs the hot air, and shakes the fronds of the giant ferns, or the catkins of the reeds. The wide continent before us is a continent devoid of animal life, save that its pools and rivers abound in fish and mollusca, and that millions of the infusory tribes swarm in the bogs and marshes. Here and there too, an insect of strange form flutters among the leaves. It is more than probable that no creature furnished with lungs of the more perfect construction, could have breathed the atmosphere of this early period and lived."

From this luxuriant growth of vegetables the material was obtained for the vast coal formations already noticed. They grew to their full height, and then made way for similar plants of the same species. The stratum of vegetable deposit thus increased through thousands of years, it may be, to its present thickness, when by some sudden revolution of nature, some mighty inundation, bearing along with it material from distant hills, this vegetable deposit was covered up from sight. In the process of time, a like meadow, rich in these tropical productions, may have been formed on this deposit, and another rich stratum of vegetable material obtained, to be covered up, like

its predecessor, by some great revolution in nature. Then came the *Carbonization.* Under the joint action of immense pressure and moisture, a species of smothering spontaneous combustion ensued; the other elements of the plants were removed and the Carbon was left behind, forced into the compact mass we know as *Coal.* In passing through coal regions, especially where rail-road cuttings have been made, the coal strata will be often seen divided from each other by deposites of clay, slate or aluminous rocks, and thus, from their position, forcibly supporting the idea just expressed as to their formation. They look like tomb-stones placed over a race in the vegetable world, now past and gone; but they are suggestive to the human mind of the idea that He who made them must have possessed the very sum of wisdom, thus to cause the very decay and death of the plants of an ante-diluvial world to minister to the wants and comforts, as well as to aid the energies of those destined to flourish on the same world, in post-diluvial times.

The vegetation of this particular period answered another grand end in the economy of the universe; it prepared the way for the reception of a higher order of animate existence, by removing from the air that very substance which would have been fatal to all of that class; it made the earth habitable for beings created in the fifth period in the course of creation—"the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind," and also man made "in the image of the Deity and after His own likeness." The mind is lost in wonder, when it attempts to apprehend the grandeur of the process; extending through ages, preparing the way for the entrance on the stage of Time of the greatest wonder of all—MAN, himself. All the gorgeous visions which imagination has pictured as belonging to the wonders of Fairy land; all the gigantic works of fabled Genii sink into insignificance, when compared with this wonderful reality.

But to return to our subject; Carbon, whether furnished from these immense coal-beds or from the wood of the forests of our own times, in the process of combustion, unites quietly with Oxygen and forms a gaseous substance, already mentioned as Carbonic Acid. Now though this product is not as harmless to life as the water which is formed by the combustion of

Hydrogen, yet on account of a property peculiar to gases, which enables them to diffuse themselves through each other in despite of their gravity, until their noxious properties have become extremely attenuated, this Carbonic Acid gas, though much heavier than air, is diluted to so great an extent that it is rendered innocuous. It is as free from odor as water itself, and its swift dilution by the atmosphere prevents any ill effects from its presence. This very aptitude for dilution, and its freedom from any deleterious power or odor, when diluted, constitutes the special merits of Carbon as a combustible. If it were an odorous gas, like that produced by burning Sulphur, already noticed, although it might be diluted so as to have its poisonous properties prevented from acting on the system, yet the odor would render the atmosphere altogether intolerable.

Just as common combustion forms Carbonic Acid because there is sufficient Oxygen present for this purpose, so also that slow combustion which takes place in the system, produces Carbonic Acid, which is thrown off, by every expiration from the lungs. And this illustrates the innocent character of this gas, when present in a diluted condition. It comes into contact with the delicate tissue of the lungs and produces no injury; is continually bathing their minutest cells without altering their structure. There is no substance, except Carbon, which would answer these purposes; serving through slow combustion in delicate capillaries, to keep up the heat of the animal, and forming a product which passes quietly out of the system without injury, in the slightest degree, to its most intimate structure.

The amount of Carbon thrown off from the body, through the process of respiration, is almost incredible; making as much as 13¼ ounces per day from the adult. This is removed from the air again by the vegetable kingdom, which detains the Carbon and throws off pure Oxygen for the support of the animal. The animal and vegetable thus act in opposite ways on the constitution of the atmosphere; the former throws off that gas, which if collected in large quantities around it would be detrimental to its life; while the latter absorbs this, extracts its poisonous properties and sends forth the element which is so im-

portant to life. Thus the two portions of creation mutually contribute to each others preservation and mutually exhibit the grand compensating laws of nature.

What process invented by man, could exhibit such an admirable adaptation of means to the end, not constructed as our processes always are, of a complicated nature, employing various external adjuvants to produce the desired effect, but the relation between the means and the end being *immanent.* The elements are so intrinsically adapted to each other; the results are so little calculated to injure the slightest and most delicate created being; the whole process is one grand exhibit of an Omnipotent power, which shows its Omniscience no less in the destruction of matter than in its primal creation; a subject for study, which must impress one full as much with the idea of an overruling Providence, as the grandeur of the storm, or the glorious beauties of the firmament, when studded with its myriads of heaven's luminaries, the brightly shining stars.

If we have succeeded in showing that one of the most familiar processes of nature combines as much that is wonderful, as those which, on account of their departure from her usual course, are more apt to attract the attehtion of man, our design has been accomplished in this article; our promise fulfilled that we would find, in this subject, some material which would clearly show, all is not only mysterious that occurs at rare intervals, nor is everything or process, "weary, flat, stale or unprofitable," which belongs to the daily operations of nature.

The ancients had a glimpse into the true nature of this process, and, as has been referred to by Scoffern, in one of their poetic myths, they have shadowed forth the same idea that science has since developed into the form of a full and satisfactory theory. The Phœnix having accomplished the end of her existence, mounted the funeral pile, fanned the flames which were to consume her body, but not to destroy one particle, since from the very ashes she rose again clothed in all the vigor and buoyancy of youth, regenerated from the deformities and decrepitude of age. The flames did not *destroy* matter, but presented it in a new form. There was here strong belief, veiled in poetic imagery, in the indestructability of matter,

when Fire even was shown to be unable to accomplish this result. And thus, in fact, must it ever be, so long as the present laws, governing created matter, are permitted to have power over it; and *when* this power ceases, and only *then*, shall Matter yield to anything like a destructive tendency,—Fire being selected by the Creative Power as the grand agent for destroying "the old things" of this World, and making way for the more brilliant and more durable things of that New World, whose limits can only be embraced in the idea of Eternity.

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ART. V.—THE MORAL QUALITY OF CONSCIENTIOUS ERROR.

WHEN a man feels any compunction for wrong doing and is not quite ready to confess, he can sometimes find a sort of relief in the false plea of sincerity and a clear conscience in his deed. There is often great effort to make that appear good which the heart feels to be evil; to justify what one secretly knows to be error or vice. The scriptures speak of men who call evil good, and good evil; who put light for darkness and darkness for light. And there is probably not even a Christian in the world who would not sometimes rather extenuate his infirmity than confess it, and frequently use the plea of sincerity and good intention as a cloak for real sin.

This trait of human nature appears on every page of the moral history of man. Sincerity in error, conscientious wrong doing, sincerely believing, at one time, what is rejected at another as false; conscientiously doing, at one time, what at another is lamented and abhorred; all this can be recognized everywhere as characteristic of the moral infirmity of man.

There never was a stronger case of this sort than that of Saul of Tarsus. In his Christian review of his career in the Jewish religion, he freely claims for himself the most religious and conscientious intentions, as a persecutor of the Church. "I verily thought with myself that I ought—." But he now wishes to hold up that error of his benighted and misguided conscience as one of the greatest aggravations of his Jewish unbelief. "I am the least of all the apostles, not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." "It pleased God in his mercy towards me, who was before a persecutor and injurious, to put me into the ministry." "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first, Jesus Christ might show forth all long suffering, for a pattern to them who should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting."

This error and repentance of Paul presents an important point in Christian casuistry, to wit: The moral quality of conscientious error. It offers a test of some of the common ways of avoiding self-reproach, and the reproach of the world. It shows the real character of some devices much relied on in the conflict of opinions, and commonly allowed to govern controversy as with the force of a divine law. When one would fortify his opinion by the vehement assertion of sincerity, or justify his deed by the assertion of a good conscience, it is well for him to consider the moral value of that sort of defence.

From the first appearance of Saul of Tarsus in the history of the Church, till his meeting with Jesus on the way to Damascus, he never wavers in his belief or falters in his action. He seems not a whit more distrustful of his rectitude as a bigoted and persecuting Jew, than afterwards as an humble and persecuted Christian. His judgment in this matter will seem to any reflecting mind entitled to great consideration. It was pronounced against his former self, in what he considered his better state of mind. It is the decision of an enlightened mind accustomed to reflection, just released from the strong prejudices of his early education. Above all, it is a judgment formed under the guidance of the Spirit of the Lord. Every

thing which can give one man's opinion influence with another contributes to make this judgment of the apostle against his former sincere and conscientious course, a solemn caution to all. It warns men not to count themselves innocent in error, though they hold it with all sincerity, nor guiltless in wrong doing, though they do wrong with good conscience. The apostle did not expect that on account of his sincerity and good conscience as a Jew, his error would avail for him as truth, and his vice as virtue.

Impunity in error on account of conscious sincerity is no where suggested in the Scriptures. In denouncing woes against those who call evil good, and good evil, the Bible makes no such distinction between the honestly deluded and the wilfully perverse, as between righteous and wicked. The deceiver and the deceived fall alike under the demands of justice; the difference between them lying not in the fact of corruption and guilt, but in the *degree* of responsibility for pernicious influence. The woman could say, "the serpent beguiled me, and I did eat;" yet her being a victim of deceit did not save her from the doom of a sinner. The Bible never countenances sins of ignorance. It reproves and denounces all who do not earnestly and diligently seek for truth, condemns them for their errors, and warns them of punishment. It forbids an indolent repose in falsehood, and a heedless indulgence in lawful deeds. The lenity of God towards sins of ignorance is no remission of the sins. The doom of Tyre and Sidon, of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment will be dreadful; only that of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum will be still more dreadful. God winked at the times of ignorance and required less in them than in times of greater light, yet the ignorant people perished in their lack of knowledge. He that knoweth not his Lord's will and doeth things worthy of stripes is beaten with fewer stripes indeed, yet he is beaten. Thus believers of falsehood and workers of iniquity, although, through ignorance, ever so sincere, find no justification in the Scriptures. They are left to a doom only less terrible than that of those who sinned with better knowledge.

What is thus taught by the example of Paul and the tenor

of the Scriptures, is confirmed by the natural and manifest preference of the human mind for truth and right. It is as contrary to nature that a man should be happy in believing falsehood and working iniquity, as that he should take pleasure in bodily disease. Falsehood and wickedness are poison to the mind; producing, first, disgust, then disease and death. The motive for receiving false doctrine and running into vicious ways, is never a healthy desire for truth and love of duty. In whatever light it may be viewed, or by whatever name called, it is only a moral disease. It is no more evident that the body is to live by bread, than that the soul is to live by truth and virtue. No doubt the desire for truth and our satisfaction in attaining it, are the greater from our knowing it to be useful to our future welfare. But even when we read or hear with the idlest curiosity, is it all the same to us whether the story be true or false? Though the counterfeit and the genuine appear alike to the eye, are they alike to the inward sense? Would you have the same pleasure in a perfect imitation of the autograph of your friend as in the autograph itself? When the builder tries to imitate marble in some inferior material, his very effort to deceive the eye signifies his preference for the reality, and his discontent with the least disagreement between the representation and the fact. How would mankind bear the loss of all truth from the world; the truth relating to science and art, and to the origin, character and destiny of our race.

The very existence of science proves the affinity of the human mind for truth. The astronomer can rest in no theories but such as will account for the facts. Witness the universal agreement in receiving the theory of gravitation. The astronomer has found his heaven of truth on that point, and there he abides. No false supposition could supply the place of truth. The mind must find no rest in falsehood, and whenever it allows itself to repose in error, it receives damage to its character and its welfare. The more sincere in such error the worse; for sincerity in such a state is only another name for prejudice, which prevents all learning, and determines not only against other views, but against all inquiry into the correctness of one's

own opinions. We have thus in the nature of man a strong ground of presumption that contentedness or what is commonly called sincerity in error and wrong doing, must result in evil to the interests of men, or in other words, is of the nature of sin and must bring its punishment.

This presumption is confirmed by the course of the divine government in the world. The heathens are sincere in their blind credulity, and as conscientious in their vices, as men deluded and depraved can ever be. The Christian world believes that they know no better. Yet they live always under the frown of God. Their iniquities are constantly visited upon them. *Because* they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, therefore, God gave them over to a penal debasement of the understanding and the heart; to absurd and degrading practices; to unnatural affections; to pernicious institutions, domestic and civil; to brutal customs and habits; to utter despair respecting a happy life to come. They are children of wrath, living the most revolting and deplorable of all conceivable conditions of humanity on earth. God thus declares his judgment that they which commit such things are worthy of death. Their miserable slavery to superstition and vice is the penalty of their sincere adherence to falsehood; that is, their hearty whole-souled self-surrendering to delusion. And then the Lord aggravates their misery by special visitations. His command to exterminate the aborigines of Palestine was given with terrible denunciations of their character and deeds. He taught the Hebrews to execrate those heathens; and gave them fearful warning, that all who adopted the falsehood and the vices of the heathens must drink also the cup of their misery. All Christendom surveys the dark abodes of paganism with pity for their desolation, with shame for our nature and with dread of the justice of God. And as for their sincerity and earnestness, in their way, we all admit that such sincerity and earnestness, or such decision and firmness in the way of truth and virtue, would raise them to the sphere of a glorious and happy life.

Now, if error, with sincerity and wrong doing with good conscience, could ever avail as truth and virtue, would they have so darkened and wasted the heritage of the heathen. Why do

not lies and fables, received with all the heart for want of better knowledge, do the work of truth on those people; unfolding in them true moral beauty and dignity, and yielding the fruit of pure blessedness? Why do not the moral sentiments of our nature there blossom with pure social affection, and ripen into permanent social order and prosperity? If merit can go with sincerity apart from truth, and with good conscience apart from virtue, why does not this sometimes appear in providential retribution? Why is it that no profusion of the gifts of providence can ever so combine with the errors and vices of paganism as to produce the general improvement and happiness of the people? If the Lord does really intend that ignorance shall neutralize error, and that self-delusion shall justify vice, how can he thus allow the course of his providence to contradict the law of his mouth.

Again, in the mental state of a man who cleaves to error and vice, we discern the property of evil which no sincerity can change or remove. It is a state of depravation, which has in itself the nature of sin. It is not an incapacity for perfect knowledge, the mere finiteness of the understanding. Error is not imperfect knowledge. Angels and saints in heaven, all earnest, docile students of the world and the works of God, are limited in knowledge, and differ in degrees of knowledge among themselves; yet are not chargeable with error. Their views are finite, but not therefore false. As they witness the progressive unfolding of the scheme of God and "desire to look into" the mysteries of redemption; and behold in their heavenly spheres the successive demonstrations of the manifold wisdom of God, their knowledge receives enlargement, but not correction. What they now know is true, and agrees with what they have to learn. Their progress is not putting truth for falsehood, but adding truth to truth. The student of language may know little at first, but know that little rightly. He may know the nature and powers of the letters, their true pronunciation in syllables and words; and many other such things, yet have little command of the language as an expression of thought. The student of natural philosophy may learn much that is true of the office and laws of light, yet have much

to learn of the invisible agencies employed in producing its effects. The science of astronomy began with the observation of facts, which indeed were as widely and as truly known at first as they are now; but it was long before those sublime views of the celestial worlds were obtained, which all future observations rather promise to corroborate than threaten to disturb.

But when the inquirer becomes the dogmatist, declares his fancy as doctrine, demands for it the homage of others, makes conscience of guarding it against the disclosures of clearer light, and shuts himself up in his cell of bigotry, he turns his imperfect knowledge into offensive and pernicious error. In such a state of mind truth itself loses its value. It is truth held in unrighteousness. It is degraded from the purity of a divine excellence into a low and dark conception of an impure mind. Though the man has the truth in a logical form in his thoughts, he does not know it as truth in his heart. He only asserts it as an opinion, and as such only it serves him. His mental conformation is vicious. His arrogance, self-confidence, and self-conceit are enmity against the truth, as truth; and favor it only as his own opinion.

Had Des Cartes, amidst the grand scientific movement of his age, asserted his theory of vortices, with dogmatic assurance, falsified observation to verify his doctrine, and distorted or rejected irreconcilable facts, he would have been inwardly wrong; and his theory would have had none of the virtue of truth for him; not even though in the hands of Newton, that same theory might have been demonstrated as the true doctrine of the solar system. But holding the theory as a hypothesis for explaining the planetary system, waiting to see whether the facts of the heavenly motions would fall together under it into unity, or whether it would be found to have no practical value, except, perhaps, as a hint towards the discovery of the true doctrine, he was on the right track as an inquirer, his theory was no fixture in his mind, had nothing of the nature of error, and wrought none of its mischief. His mental process was like one of the tentative steps of the student in finding the common measure of several quantities, when he drops his assumed measure the instant he comes to a quantity which it will

not divide. The state of mind is not only faultless but eminently praiseworthy; the posture of a learner. The hypothesis is his post of observation, till he sees whether he can command, from it, the known facts of the case. If he fails with his supposition he moves, with infinite facility, from that to another more promising, not as forsaking, but as seeking his resting place in truth.

The application of these remarks to the science of religious truth is obvious; and it commends to the serious consideration of all Christian people, the question whether any man can really hold erroneous doctrine, except as the victim of a guilty perverseness. Pride, vanity, avarice, ambition, with their progeny of partialities and antipathies for persons and things, inflame the selfish heart with zeal for an opinion; and when robed in the sanctity of a religious profession, conceal their motions, if not wholly from the public eye, yet commonly from the eye of the errorist himself. Thus, what passes with him for the greater sincerity is only the deeper delusion, and more hopeless obliquity of the understanding and the heart; and so far from extenuating the guilt of his error, becomes its chief aggravation.

The state of the mind in holding error, is opposed to that knowledge which is offered as a part of the chief good of human nature; and herein it appears intrinsically evil.

The real happiness of man flourishes in true knowledge, as vegetation in light; and when the intellectual powers do not find their health and satisfaction in the clear path of truth, but rest in some plausible and favorite form of falsehood, "they altogether become unprofitable." We do not mean that any given amount of speculative knowledge is necessary to the existence or the peaceful exercise of a pious faith. We are far from imputing the rise and progress of the life of God in the soul to the working of the speculative reason. Yet we know and must always remember, that the intellectual faculty claims a most important office in the simplest intuitions of pious faith. Hence it is that so many intelligent Christians, like Calvin, judging from their own experience, define faith by the term knowledge; and that the Scriptures inculcate the religion of

faith as a religion of knowledge; "to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." The understanding resorts to the living waters, rejoices in their exhilarating virtue, and even delights to sink the lead with all its line of devout contemplation, into their ocean depths.

But if, by any eivil affection, this knowing faculty be turned from the path of truth, the aberration is so much departure from the way of life for man. There must then be a shortcoming in the religious culture, and the harvest of spiritual enjoyment is proportionately lessened. The right operations of reason on the genuine matter of the Christian faith multiply the blessed fruits of that faith in the experience of individuals, and in the social improvement of mankind. Whatever prevents these fruits, deprives the man of his highest and purest happiness in the present, and turns him from the path to his highest glory in the future. It is evil, and only evil continually. No sincerity, no conformity of the reason or the conscience to such a state of the mind can change it from evil to good.

The intuitions of simple faith in all true believers are essentially alike; for the human element in them springs from the same nature in all, and the divine element is from the one Holy Spirit in all. Hence all true Christians agree in those great fundamental truths of our holy religion which are reached by immediate spiritual discernment and not by ratiocination. Now so far as the speculations of reason confound the intuitions of faith, and darken the immediate spiritual vision of divine things, they frustrate the beneficent office of faith, and consign the believer to darkness and distraction. This unavoidable part of the penalty of error, weighs heavily on the Church in her earthly imperfection. It is the want of a free acquiescence of enlightened and active thought in the things which are freely given unto us of God in the Holy Scriptures, and which are spiritually discerned; a lack of lively enjoyment in the convalescence of the understanding from the disorder it has suffered in common with the other faculties of the sinful soul. No man can find in error the joy of intellectual reconciliation to God; a joy which must always increase with the ever deeper and sweeter harmony between right reason and pure faith; but on

the contrary, the most specious falsehood, in the sincerest and most earnest mind, precludes the spiritual joy and peace of believing, and yields only the low and momentary pleasure of a logical satisfaction.

Since then the only harbor for error is a mental depravation which is itself a part of human sin, and opposes the attainment of our highest good, it follows that the sincerest belief of falsehood is only the most deep-rooted and desperate opposition to truth arising from a wicked heart; that exposure to error is an infirmity connected with all sin, that all should recognize this failing in themselves, and make it a matter of daily humiliation and repentance.

Again, that error and wrong doing should be excused on account of sincerity, is forbidden by the nature and office of the law which they violate.

The law of universal order fits every creature to its place, reduces all to system, and makes the universe, as its name imports, a unit. All sin is a transgression of this law of universal order. The transgressor leaves his place in the system. A wheel in the machine is displaced or broken. A member of the body is lost, or forsakes its proper office and usurps another, as if the foot should claim to be the hand, or the hand the eye. Thus man, in his transgression, left his place in the holy ministry of nature, and exalted himself in the pride of his heart, to be as God. The correspondence of things is now impaired. The Creator and the creature no longer live in harmony. If other creatures remain as they were, the fallen creature finds himself in conflict with all; and must both do and suffer violence.

Now, for the suffering arising from this disorder, there is no alleviation in the fullest confidence of sincerity and a good conscience; but whenever men offend against this law of order, they have, in the course of nature, their reward. Agriculture, guided by false views of the laws of vegetation, brings only loss of labor, and disappointment of hope. And neither the loss nor the disappointment finds any relief or compensation in the sincerity or honesty of the mistake. The honest and earnest mechanic, though believing with all his heart that his machine

when finished, will move itself forever, receives, with all his sincerity, the full recompense for his mechanical sin, in the loss of his time and labor, and the mortification of seeing his machine stand still; and if, in his self-conceit, he hated instruction from the demonstrations of science, and chose to purchase knowledge by prodigal and ruinous experiment, he must drink the full cup of self-reproach and of bitter repentance for his error. If education has been pursued in ignorance or disregard of the laws of the mind, the victim of the mistake, notwithstanding the utmost sincerity, is cast into the prison of his inferior estate, and there, in the failure of aspiring endeavors, in the diminished esteem of his fellows, and the conscious lack of qualifications for usefulness and honor, he must pay the very last mite.

This law of order prevails likewise in the spiritual kingdom, and requires, in every man, the adjustment of thought, feeling and action to his relations. He must love God with all the heart, and his neighbor as himself. To fail in this is to work iniquity; that is, to violate equity, to disturb the mutual agreement of things. His correction would be a reconciliation, a return to peace. This constitutes the redemption through Christ. The man in his sin finds himself also in misery; and the faith wrought in the sinner by the Holy Ghost, consists of that mental state which fits the sinner's relations to God and all creatures, which harmonizes with all, prepares the man to enjoy the presence of God, and receive good from all things. But while the discord remains, what can prevent its grating on his ear? O wretched man that he is, who shall deliver him, though he plead his sincerity, and insist that he verily thought he was doing God service? Where, in the experience of mankind or the teaching of the Bible, do we find a hint, that a man may hope to escape the penalty of disturbing the spiritual order of the world, because he did the violence in the sincerity of his heart and with a good conscience?

The experience of the Church is one connected and complete demonstration of what we are endeavoring to show. When one portion of the Church conceives the doctrines of the gospel, and maintains the exercise of the religious life in a con-

fused connexion with dreams of superstition, or with bondage to unprofitable and bewildering forms, there is no refuge from the penalty in the plea of sincerity, or of a conscientious desire to pursue the right; but long ages of the world bear witness, how a penal degeneracy in the Church has followed her most earnest holding of the truth in such unrighteousness. When another portion works all its warm intuitions of faith into cold propositions of science, makes the kingdom of heaven a mere intellectual structure, and judges of religious character only by the dogmatical test, she receives in her body that recompense of her error which is meet, in the weakened and sundered bond of charity among the members, in grievous alienations and distractions, and in the exposure of "the multitude of sins" which the wars of opinion and passion always nourish, but never hide.

Another portion, with sincere desire to do good, give up all faith in the saving operation of the Spirit under the laws of the covenant of grace, and endeavor to promote the kingdom of God among men by "observation" of the sudden and promiscuous changes which appear in persons under peculiar external circumstances and measures artfully arranged by human device; and the full penalty of such departure from the way of the Lord is suffered in the long and often final alienation from religion and its ordinances, of multitudes whom a right discipline and culture would have kept in reconciliation with them, and under their sanctifying power; and in the malformation of religious character in those who make profession of Christian piety. And the consequence is all the worse, the greater the sincerity and confidence with which such deviations are pursued.

The prevailing distractions of the Church are a cause of deep affliction to all pious people who allow themselves to dwell upon them. The one Church, the body of Christ, does not, in her outward form, fairly express her inward unity. All feel the inconsistency between the true theory of Christian unity, and this actual disunion. It is lamented as a reproach to religion. It is a grievous stumbling block to many serious and observant people of the world. Christian people of all sects find

some of the strongest temptations to evil affections in these divisions and rivalries of the Church. These antagonisms hinder the fair exhibition of the gospel, and provoke to the distortion of truth, through zeal for the interest of the sect. They produce confusion in the work of missions. They create immense difficulties in supplying religious instruction to feeble and scattered communities who cannot harmonize in religious faith or worship. And they prevent the formation of a symmetrical religious character in individuals.

Now to inquire into the mental conditions of these divisions seems altogether reasonable, and indeed the bounden duty of those who are mainly responsible for the evil. We are aware of the prevailing disposition to apologize for these sectarian rivalries by referring to the increased energy of the sects in promoting their separate interests, and to the various advantages of mutual emulation; and all the results are accounted as good. There is not due allowance made for the corruption which vitiates all good works provoked in this way. But such apologies are very much weakened by considering the real state of mind in which these divisions originate. And we have accomplished this end when we have gained full possession of the thought that error finds no shelter in the plea of sincerity, and a good conscience.

There is no denomination of Christians on earth whose system of doctrine as a whole is right. The doctrines of each sect seem to itself nearest right; but for any denomination to set up its own system of religious faith and practice as perfect, and incapable of amendment, would shock the Christian sense of propriety in the whole protestant Church. This is one of the arrogant, heaven-daring sins which protestants abhor in the papal Church. There is certainly imperfection in the creed and discipline of every branch of the Church. It is greater, of course, than any one is aware of; although no one is obliged to admit that all the objections of the others against its system are valid; or even that any of them are so in the form in which they are urged. For every objector finds fault with his neighbor's system only in defence of his own. We shall all doubtless see in the clearer light that is coming, that while our views

of truth and rules of discipline may have done us all good service in their way and for the time, still, compared with the absolute standard, they were, like the laws of the Church, gone before us, "laws that were not good and statutes by which we should not live;" and that they were allowed us for the time, and were suited to our case, "on account of the hardness of our hearts." All this must be conceded according to our own protestant principles. We can admit this without detriment to our character and progress. Indeed, it is *one* true mark of a Church of Jesus Christ that we confess error and sin, and look and long for improvement.

It is one of the objects of our foregoing discussion to trace some outlines of that mental state which naturally accompanies our divisions, and indeed, which must now be considered their chief support. We have different views of religious truth. These differences, it is a great part of our study to illustrate and maintain. Great labor is bestowed to make them prominent. In many cases they are exaggerated to extremes. It is no part of our natural tendency to discover and commend the mutual affinities of our sectarian views; but every sect is interested to magnify the diversity; to exaggerate the repugnance between its own and others' doctrine, and make the views of others as abhorrent as possible to the Christian sense of its own members. In this operation the natural stimulants of mutual antagonism are very powerful; and what should be pure Christian zeal, glowing with meek and charitable devotion to the truth and its friends, degenerates at once into the natural spirit of the party.

If the great evil of our sects in the Church be at present incurable, it may, perhaps, be slightly mitigated. At least, the moral sense of Christian people may be quickened to discern the evil, and to disallow it; and we may be spared the mortifying obtrusion of elaborate apologies for disunion, which may be reckoned among the curiosities of protestant literature. For we have heard and read not a little of the advantages of divisions in the Church. Alas, that our Christian spirit is so earthly, that it can taste the stimulus of such low rivalry without disgust. Could we silence some of the excuses which would

make their authors ashamed in the light of a true Christian unity, we should be better prepared to estimate our present imperfections and to consult upon the means of removing them.

With the views above given of the moral quality of conscientious error, we do not honor any man's integrity the more for his swearing by his conscience, nor receive his doctrine the sooner for his swearing by his honest belief. His oath betrays him. His conscience is only an agent of his will. His sincerity is set as the bulwark of his prejudice. He fears for his own weakness, and suspects the approach of some doctrine or usage stronger than his own; and he calls upon his conscience for security instead of asking her guidance to the impregnable fortress of truth. Hence it is that different men can believe opposite doctrines with what they call equal sincerity, and follow opposite courses of moral conduct with equal purity of conscience. Their oath shows that their attachment to their practice is not from any impulse of the conscience at all. Neither does their adhesion to an opinion spring at all from the sincerity and earnestness of their minds. But another principle, different entirely from an earnest and humble persuasion of the truth, binds them to their opinion or their usage, with a force which they, under their peculiar circumstances, are unfitted to detect. A dispute between such minds can seldom go on long without personal alienation. Mutual hatred, and not conscientious devotion to the truth, becomes a ruling reason for separation, or if separation already exists, a reason for embittered antagonism.

The separation of Christians from one another for opinion's sake is of the nature of an oath upon one's conscience or honesty. It is a form of asserting a sincere and conscientious belief of a doctrine or obligation to a practice connected with religion. It is refusing for conscience sake to hold fellowship with those who think and speak differently from ourselves on particular points; which points are on all hands conceded as not involving the saving truth of the gospel. It is one of the forms of demanding respect for our opinions, to eschew fellowship with a Christian brother who refuses or hesitates to adopt them. The mental frame at the bottom of this separation is

even more exceptionable than the mere assertion of opinion upon honor or conscience. For men become at once committed and bound to one another to maintain an opinion or a practice as theirs, and to guard it against all exposure to the light which might test its truth or righteousness. They join hands to defend their prejudice. Inquiry is at an end. Their dogma is settled. Nothing further is to be learned. To betray a desire after another argument for the dogma of the sect would provoke suspicion and reproach. Free thought is unsafe. The mind is sold into bondage. The lips can say only Sibboleth, and must never try to pronounce it otherwise. And it forthwith becomes a part of the religious culture, in one view, to hold the members of other sects as aliens, and, in another, to regard them with charity as brethren.

All views of truth and duty must be taken from the position of the sect. The distinguishing dogma must not be looked at by its own advocates from another direction. All the religious teaching must have the sectarian complexion. The Protestant must witness no Catholic worship; the Catholic, no Protestant. The Calvinist must receive no Arminian instruction; the Arminian, no Calvinistic. To approve the proceedings of another sect seems like becoming reconciled to heresy. To prefer the practices or views of another in any particular to our own, would be taken as treachery or apostacy. The rivalry for advancement is rather a mutual opposition, than a mutual incitement to good works; and the gain of the one is commonly viewed as the loss of the other. These phenomena are, indeed, greatly modified by the Christian conscience which more or less prevails throughout; but the remaining depravity of the Christian heart takes great advantage from these sectarian occasions, against the cause of pure truth, and all the good principles of the new man. This condition of the Church can only be viewed as the fruit of her inward infirmity; and it is a condition of organized and strong temptation in which she is prone, rather to excuse or even justify that infirmity, than to deplore and labor to remove it.

Something, therefore, is gained for progress in the right direction, when we give earnest attention to this feature of our

religious state, and to the nature of the evil from which it arises. Beyond all doubt, the present divided condition of the Church is incidental to her progress from the darkness and bondage of an apparently slumbering and stagnant age. It comes from the free motion of the waters of salvation as they flow from the vast lake of medieval inactivity through the rough channel of free but ill regulated thought, towards the brighter and serener clime of the future, where they are again to rest, having deposited all their impurities along their turbulent course. But at present they are certainly dark with earthy matter. The distractions of Protestantism are not of the Father, but of the world. They come from the lusts which war in the members of the Church; and while their appearance may be welcome as a needful discharge from the inward ulcer of sin, and may promise relief in the end, they yet reveal the deep and terrible disorder within. And since all Christians know the law of perfect unity to be holy, and the commandment holy and just and good, this vehement rising of the law of disunion in their members against the law of union in their mind, might seem enough to make the sin of our divisions become exceeding sinful. It will certainly be so as the time of reformation draws near. Let the Church look sometimes at this. Let brethren who lead the flock of Christ turn an occasional and solemn glance at our position, and consider whether these are the still waters beside which the Great Shepherd has ordered his flock to be led. And if the body of Christ has reached the stage of convalescence where this grievous deformity is ready to disappear, it will show the preparation by a growing and mournful sympathy with such reflections as we have here suggested.

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Art. VI.—NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

To form correct ideas of ecclesiastical functions it is necessary that we should have correct views of the Church, in the bosom of which they are held and exercised. He who holds false and unsacramental views of the Church, will of course hold the same low and false views of its official functions; for the one is conditioned by the other. Sound sacramental ideas of the Church and the means of grace, are invariably coupled with a high regard for ecclesiastical or churchly functions; but on the contrary, spiritualistic sectarian notions of the Church are always a sure presage of a most reckless disregard of the real, mystical, and sacramental side of Christianity. Such notions do, therefore, not unfrequently stand in connection with a positive denial of the necessity of ecclesiastical functions; practically at least they always come to this radical and unchurchly conclusion in the end. For this reason it becomes necessary, that, in our remarks on the nature and significance of such functions, we keep a steady eye on the relation they sustain to the Church as their proper ground and foundation, in order to show that they simply form the channels through which the Church, as a whole, must come to its specific expression and realization in the world, *as the body of Him that filleth all in all.*

In order to do justice to the official functions of the Church, we must look upon it not as a spiritual abstraction, or as a mechanical outward consociation of parts or members for social and edifying purposes simply, but as a real supernatural constitution, as an organism that has its own peculiar life, bearing in its own bosom the powers of historical evolution and of creating such real and natural functions as may be necessary to bring its saving and redeeming powers to bear upon fallen humanity. The Church is not an unreal, purely spiritual consti-

tution, therefore, but, as its fountain and head, it has both a human and a divine side—the grace, the truth, and the life which are in Jesus are also shed abroad in his members. The incarnation is the normative ground and principle of the Church, and the Church is the historical succession and continuation of this fact for the redemption of all ages to the end of the world. This idea lies too plainly both in the letter and spirit of the gospel to be overlooked by any one, who comes to it free from all constitutional and traditional bigotry, or sectarian bias. Christ, the absolute foundation and head of the Church, is the living and actual embodiment of the fulness of the Godhead. "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary," and he is, therefore, truly and emphatically Immanuel—God-with-us—God manifested in the flesh. Christianity, springing as it does from his divine-human person, must always in its life and character remain true to its original type and fountain. It can never go beyond Christ without losing its character and force. It must be the continuous and uninterrupted unfolding and manifestation of the divine-human life and character of the adorable God-man in the bosom of the world. It must have an outward form as well as inward life. Coming from heaven it must at least take up our fallen and depraved nature into its own bosom, for the purpose of redeeming it by its own historical life-process carried forward in the Church, through which it can only come to its proper and full expression in the world as a divine fact for its redemption.

We have said that this idea lay clearly both in the letter and genius of the gospel. We do not consider it necessary to enter largely into quotations of isolated passages for the purpose of establishing this point, but shall rather confine ourselves to the consideration of some of the fundamental ideas, brought clearly to view in reference to it, both by Christ and his Apostles, which seem to form the very basis of its theological scheme and aim. If it can be made to appear that the Church, as a real, actual, supernatural constitution or organism, always present in the world, forms a necessary part of true and evangelical Christianity, and that as such it is the bearer of it, and, therefore, also the bearer of salvation to the world, not so much from iso-

lated passages as from the reigning genius of the gospel, then, it appears to us, the point in question is much more fully and unequivocally established than if based on infinite isolated passages simply, which stand in no such inward and living relation to the general life-stream of historical Christianity. We are, however, not at a loss to find passages in great numbers, which have a direct bearing in this matter, and may be safely taken as a clear interpretation of the general sense of the gospel in reference to this particular point. The gospel throughout clearly and palpably condemns Gnostic, unreal spiritualism on the one side, and Ebionitic, Judaising rationalism on the other. It rests upon and springs from the incarnate Word, bears throughout the character of a living concrete divine fact—of a Christ-life—of the life, grace and truth of Jesus shed abroad in his members by the Holy Ghost through the Church, which proves to be a most powerful and uncontrovertible argument in favor of the grace-bearing and saving power and significance of the Church *as the body of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth.*

Christ himself always brings his Church to notice in this realistic and sacramental sense. For instance, he represents the vital union subsisting between him and his disciples, under the figure of the vine and its branches, John 15. Now if the mystical union of Christ and his members bears any comparison to the one here noticed, it must at least be real and living; for such emphatically is that of the vine and its branches. But it must necessarily also be formal, and hence it can only come to its full and legitimate expression in the Church. In this position we are borne out not only by the parable just noticed, but by the unmistakable tenor of Christ's own language on other occasions. When Christ entered upon the duties of his office, he first preached *repentance*, assigning as the reason the *kingdom of God being at hand.* This shows at once the true character of the kingdom or the Church of Christ in the world —its objective and subjective—its divine and human—its supernatural and natural character is here already fully and distinctly held forth;—the kingdom of God is at hand in a truly human form, in the person of Jesus who now ordains his apos-

tles and sends them forth to preach repentance, which is nothing less than the renunciation of self on the part of the world with a view to be received into the bosom of the Church, there to rest in and to enjoy the sweets of that objective divine grace manifested in the glorious person of our adorable Redeemer. But he brought out this idea more fully at a later period when he founded his Church upon Peter,* not, it is true, as an isolated and unregenerated individual, but as a living member of the apostolical college and as the bearer and heroic confessor of the divinity of Christ, thus making in fact himself the absolute foundation of the Church, while Peter and the other apostles are but its pillars and organs—its relative foundation and its representatives for all ages to come. As such he commissioned them to *preach*, and to *baptize*, Matth. 28: 19, and gave them power to *loose* and to *bind*, Matth. 18 : 18 ; to *remit* and to *retain* sins, John 20 : 23, assuring them, at the same time, that, what was thus done on earth, should be ratified in heaven. He declared that all power in heaven and on earth was given unto him, and that, as the living Father had sent him, so would he send them, adding the promise that he would be with them *all days*, even to the end of the world. Here, then, we have not a bald, arbitrary, divine commission *from* Christ *to* the Church, but the promise of his actual uninterrupted presence *in* the Church ; and he actually communicates divine powers and authority to the Church and commands that they shall be used and exercised in his name, for the purpose of making all nations his disciples, and partakers of his grace. And this is but a single instance of Christ's direct and positive teachings,

* This has nothing to do with the primacy of Peter, as this is held by the Church of Rome ; for the mere fact that the Church has, in a certain sense, been founded upon him, as the living heroic confessor of the divinity of Christ, does not necessarily require that his primacy should either be transferable, or that it has actually been transferred, particularly to the bishop of Rome. The popish theory is not based upon satisfactory historical data, but the actual history of the Church flatly contradicts its exclusive claims, and leaves ample room for a more liberal interpretation of the sacred text. It is, however, equally clear, on the other hand, that violence is done to it by that Protestant theory, which separates the confession of Peter altogether from his person and builds the Church upon it, in purely abstract and spiritual style. This interpretation is as arbitrary and unsatisfactory as the one noticed before, and for this reason it has long since been given up as untenable by the best Protestant commentators.

among many others of the same character and type, by which we come to a correct knowledge of the supernatural character and significance of the Church as the bearer of grace and salvation to the world. His teachings are throughout churchly and sacramental. He is in and with the Church; there he makes men his office-bearers, works faith by the Holy Ghost through the gospel, and confirms that faith by the sacraments; and therefore the Church naturally becomes the pillar and ground of the truth.

And that this is the true sense and interpretation of Christ's own language in reference to this point, is clear, from the practice and teachings of the apostles, who are the infallible organs and interpreters of the glorious truths which they received directly from the Master's lips. They never turned the sacred trust thus committed to their hands into sheer spirit—into purely abstract spiritual notions and whims. Both their teachings and their practice, us we have them recorded in the New Testament, are of the churchly and sacramental stamp. It comes to view in all their transactions. They did not point the inquiring multitude directly to Christ, without the Church and the means of grace, after the fashion of our modern sects; but baptism was held and imposed as necessary for the remission of sins, and as of deep and mysterious significance as a badge and laver of regeneration to the believing subject—the vehicle and medium of the Holy Ghost—the putting on of Christ himself. The sermon of Peter on the day of Pentecost, the conversion of Cornelius, the baptism of the jailor at Philippi and that of Lydia the seller of purple, and numerous other cases of the same character, bear ample testimony of the truth of this assertion. The apostles everywhere clearly and unhesitatingly teach the necessity of being sacramentally and formally united with Christ through baptism, as the rite of incorporation into his body, the Church. It is called the washing of regeneration, the washing away of sins, Titus 3 : 5, which shows that it was considered of real significance in the bosom of the Church, as a grace-bearing sacrament—as the sign, seal and bearer of the covenant grace of Christ. And the Church of course was considered the only

proper and legitimate medium through which this grace can be brought to bear on the world, and in whose bosom this holy rite can be lawfully administered, wherefore the apostles call it the house of God, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone, (Eph. 2; 20;) the pillar and ground of the truth, (1 Tim. 3: 15,) through which the manifold wisdom of God shall be made known to powers and principalities in heavenly places, Eph. 3: 10. No disobedience or unbelief is to be tolerated in the bosom of this divine institution, but she must teach, exhort, reprove, correct; she must bind and loose, and whosoever will despise her counsel and authority shall be to her as an heathen man, and a publican, Matth. 18: 17. The exercise of such power and authority is "for delivering up such an one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus," 1 Cor. 5: 5. This shows plainly that the exercise of the keys was considered of real meaning as regards the salvation of the offender. What was done was done in Christ's name and by virtue of his divine commission, being fully confident and assured, that, what was thus done on earth, should be approved and ratified in heaven. It never entered into the mind of the apostles that the Church might in any sense, or at any period of her history be placed on the same level with heathen theocracies, or that its voice should not be listened to with more regard than that of "Delphi or Dodona." Whatever elements of sin and error entered into it as regards its actual and human side, it was still held to be the pillar and ground of the truth, the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, thus holding fast the promise, "And, lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." And he that would have preached "another gospel," or denied the supernatural mystery thus held up as an object of faith would have been denounced as "anathema," or as "a liar."

And as the apostles are the infallible organs and interpreters of the true sense and meaning of the Saviour's language, so succeeding ages may serve at least as a key to the sure solution of the whole fact, as it has been revealed by Christ and interpreted by his apostles. Every age is but the growth of

the one that preceded it—the more full expression of its significance, its prophecies and tendencies. For this reason succeeding ages must always be taken as a sure key to the true position and mind of those which preceded them, as well in the history of the Church as in that of the world. Christianity is a historical life process. Starting in and flowing from the person of the God-man it is, objectively considered, perfect as he himself is perfect; but as regards its subjective historical realization in the world, it is necessarily subject to a process of growth or evolution after the fashion of the mustard seed, and the leaven. Its process must be living, organic, historical. It must enter into the world's consciousness and life, to deliver it from the consequences of sin, and from all the power of the devil. The process must be from a lower to a higher stadium of perfection, until it end "in a new heaven and a new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness." Accordingly the age which succeeded that of the apostles, is the legitimate succession, the organic growth and historical manifestation of the true theological sense and mind of the age that gave it birth, and for this simple reason it is a sure historical criterion of the same. All here seems to be in favor of the mystical and sacramental idea of the Church, proving this to be the faithful continuation simply of what the apostles had established from the start, as the norm and ground of the Church for all ages to come. The incarnation is the ground on which the Church firmly established itself from the beginning. It brought the natural and the supernatural, the divine and the human into living concrete union, both in Christ and in the Church. It repudiated and condemned dualism, and held fast to the mystery of God manifested in the flesh, of which the Church was held to be the bearer. Not only the writings of the fathers as such; but the voice of its confessors, the testimony of its martyrs, the decrees of its Councils, the order of its creeds, the manner and spirit of its worship—all show that the mind and character of the early Church lay plainly in this direction, and that such was the order of its faith from the days of the apostles down to the Nicene period, and the days of Augustine. The conflict which the Church sustained in those early days

with the reigning sects and heresies of the age, must be taken as a sure key to its true theological position and mind. It battled against a false christology on the one side, and a false anthropology on the other. Its concern was moreover not merely to settle the proper divinity or humanity of Christ over against open infidelity, or against heretical tendencies in this direction; but the hypostatical union of the two natures in the one living concrete person of the God-man entered also largely into its deep and earnest theological struggles. It was not satisfied with the confession simply that Christ was very God and very man, unless these two natures were suffered to come to a living concrete union through the incarnation, and thus allowed to constitute but one person and one life. And of course by this faith in Christ, which made proper account of the divine and the human, the supernatural and the natural, in their living concrete union, the faith of the early Christians in the Church and its functions was conditioned. They made proper account of the objective, mystical and sacramental as lodged in and sacredly kept by the Church, which was of course always held to be mystically and sacramentally wedded to Christ, its spiritual head and fountain. The Apostles' Creed, which constituted the *regula fidei*, the standing symbolical norm of the faith of the early Church, proves this beyond the least shadow of a doubt. This, as might be expected, makes Christ the objective and absolute ground of our salvation, but not in an abstract and ideal sense—it makes the Church the medium of our union with Christ—the channel and bearer of his grace and Spirit. It is in the Church, according to the Creed, that the Holy Ghost works faith and nourishes it. It is in her bosom only that we come to full communion with God and with each other, as members of his mystical body. It is here that we are made partakers of all Christ's benefits, and that we obtain the heartfelt assurance of the remission of our sins, of the resurrection of the body, and of life everlasting. The Creed has no sympathy with evangelical radicalism in any form. It is throughout churchly and sacramental. Christianity, according to it, as the real actual embodiment and historical succession of the Word made flesh, can only come to its legitimate ex-

pression and final completion through the Church. Outside of this sacred and divine institution the faith of the early Christians found no home, and no foundation to rest upon, and this fact, therefore, gives us an insight into their general theological mind and consciousness. From this source sprung the high regard for ecclesiastical functions; the fear of its authority; the dread of its anathemas and bans; the veneration of its confessors, martyrs, and sacred relics; the longing after its prayers and intercessions which we find already prevalent in the days of Polycarp and Ignatius. This also shows why the early Christians had such a strong desire to be in its communion; to enjoy its privileges; to bow at its altars; to worship in its temples; and to sit under the droppings of its heavenly oracles—"*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*"

We might still proceed further and show, that the Church in succeeding ages, particularly the Reformation of the sixteenth century, rests here on the same theological basis and is substantially of the same mind with the early Church,—holding the Church to be a divine supernatural constitution, always present in the world in a human form, bearing divine grace and salvation—regarding its official functionaries as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the *mysteries* of God. The history of Luther, and the Reformers generally, is of no uncertain sound as regards this matter, and the fact that the Creed formed the theological basis of the Reformation, and that it was formally embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism, is sufficient evidence to convince us, that Protestantism, in the hands of the Reformers, was not exactly as bald and unhistorical as some champions of evangelical orthodoxy, at the present day, would fain make us believe; but that it was simply the redemption or historical emancipation of the general life-stream of Christianity as this stood before, the carrying it forward to a higher state of existence, in, however, truly historical and conservative style. But we have sufficiently digressed to show that the Christian world from the beginning held and believed the Church to be a divine supernatural constitution—the body of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth, as Paul calls it—always present in the world, and possessing power to redeem and

save it; and we are now prepared to proceed to the consideration of its official functions.

The Church, then, as a divine fact and supernatural constitution in the world, must have a real historical basis to rest upon, to be of any real significance for the world's redemption. We are told that Christ is its foundation; but so are the apostles and prophets, at least in a relative point of view. It is not built upon abstract doctrines or bald spiritual notions and influences, but upon living personalities and actual official functionaries—on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ of course being the chief corner-stone. Ecclesiastical functions, consequently, belong to the general scheme and plan of salvation, and they are absolutely necessary to bring the world-embracing significance of Christianity to its proper specific aim and completion. Apostles, prophets, and evangelists; pastors and teachers, and other office-bearers were given, not by the arbitrary will and pleasure of Christ, or his apostles; but they must rather be considered the legitimate and necessary organs of some particular phase or aspect of the living supernatural fact with which they stand in connection, as this comes to view in the living body and organism of the Church, for the purpose of accomplishing some particular end in the way of human redemption. We must never forget, that the Church is an organism—a living supernatural fact—a body having living members, possessing different capacities and gifts, all, however, of the same spirit, and for the same general purpose and end. Whatever its official functions may be as regards their name and form, in order to be of any account, or of any constitutional right and aim, they must stand in connection, in a real and living way, with the general organism and life of the Church as a whole. They are given, Paul tells us, "for the perfecting of the saints; for the work of the ministry; for the edifying of the body of Christ," that we be henceforth no more tossed to and fro like children by every wind of doctrine, but that we may come to the unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. We have nothing to do here, then with any particular form of Church

polity, as this may have prevailed, or may now prevail, in the Church, whether it be Anglican Episcopacy, or Baptistic Independency, whether it be of Geneva, or of Rome; neither do we intend to enter into a lengthy and full discussion of particular offices and functions in the Church. Our aim is to vindicate their historical necessity and significance in a general and summary way only, with a view to turn the whole subject in the end to some practical account. The Church as an organism—a living, supernatural, historical fact—is not necessarily confined to the narrow pipe-stem of any particular form of government. It may come to its specific official expression in different forms, provided such forms grow out of its own legitimate life and constitution, and have some real meaning in its general organism and mission. Yet this comprehensive and liberal view of its official character, in its proper churchly and sacramental style, is something very different from that cold indifferentism, that heartless latitudinarianism which makes no account of ecclesiastical, priestly functions, and turns Christianity into a Gnostic vision or figment of the brain. It makes no merit of avoiding Scylla, the more certainly and ingloriously to perish in Charybdis. It avoids both rock and whirlpool, and strives after the full apprehension and exercise of the principle of liberty, in union with that of lawful authority.

Planting ourselves firmly on this broad and elevated platform of ecclesiastical polity, we may easily discover its fundamental lines and marks by the aid of which we may come to a correct knowledge of its general design and specific aim. If we cast a glance at the general life-stream of its history, these characteristic traits come clearly and fully to view, which seem to form the main and fundamental factors of its life and onward progress in the world—Doctrine, Life or Grace, and Law or Discipline—corresponding to the threefold office of Prophet, Priest and King; they constitute the ground pillars of the real side of Christianity, as this comes to its proper churchly, mystical, and sacramental realization in the bosom of the world's history, by way of human agency and mediation. All the official functions of the Church must, consequently, have reference to one or the other of these fundamental or constituent

and elementary principles, and in their corporate capacity to them all combined. The idea of unity here must form both scale and compass for the proper solution of the idea of a Church polity, which may embody these three elementary factors in perfect keeping with the free and normal exercise of each and every one of them, in their separate and independent capacity. Only then when we shall have such unity in diversity, and diversity in unity—when these characteristic and fundamental traits of evangelical, churchly, and historical Christianity shall be fully developed, in this comprehensive and normal style—only then will we come "to the unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God; after the fulness of the measure of the stature of Christ." In Christ they are united—he is both Prophet, Priest and King, and each of these offices comes to its full and normal expression in his mediatorial character. Christianity must be the real actual embodiment of the life and character of Christ, to carry out, normally, the idea and aim of the incarnation—it must be prophetical, priestly and kingly in its character—it must teach, nourish, and govern in order to perfect the saints, and to edify the body of Christ; and wherever one of these official traits is made unduly prominent, Christianity is developed in a correspondingly one-sided and abnormal style.

Doctrine seems, however, naturally to come first, as regards order and time; but as regards their importance as integral parts of the general economy of the Church, they seem to be of equal significance and use. Christ commissioned his disciples first to preach the gospel, and then to baptize and to exercise the keys, thus, proceeding in a manner in perfect harmony with the wants of mankind, he brought out these three ruling factors of Christian history in their legitimate and normal relation, as the fundamental ideas of all true Church polity.

We have said that doctrine comes first in order and that this order corresponds fully with the actual wants of our race—we need but refer to the longings and sighs of mankind, in their uncovenanted and unregenerated state, to make this point clear to the reader. These longings and sighs Christianity must

satisfy, since Christ came to save and to redeem the world, and his Church must be the historical continuation and fulfilment of all that is necessarily comprehended and grounded in Christ its head—the source and fountain of the world's redemption. It dare not destroy the natural powers of man, nor ignore his wants and longings, especially as far as these are a sure indication of the original state of our fallen nature. In order to become the living source and medium of the world's redemption, it must take it up into its own bosom, satisfy its longings, supply its wants, deliver it of its miseries, and communicate to it that support and grace, that divine life and truth revealed in Christ the Logos—the Word made flesh. Hence the necessity first to teach; for the world evidently lies in spiritual darkness and ignorance—a dark and dreary gloom is brooding over the human mind in spiritual matters, and men are alienated from the knowledge of the true God and the relation they sustain to him as responsible beings—we of course mean the Pagan world as we find it outside of the Church, or beyond the influences of true religion altogether. Among such people we generally find deep and wide-spread moral degradation, and spiritual ignorance and superstition—having either no knowledge at all of the true God, or holding the most absurd and ridiculous notions of his character and will. Yet the desire for truth and light, and the longing after "wisdom," is as universal as the moral degradation and spiritual ignorance of mankind, and we find the mediums of such light or knowledge "in every clime and every land." All have their oracles; their pretended revelations; their sorceries, magic, soothsayings—their pretended communications with hidden wisdom in some way, whether this be by the movement of planets, of clouds, of birds, or from the entrails of animals slain for sacrifice, and the mouth of living oracles, prophets and teachers—whether it be from gods or from devils. This seeking after wisdom is founded on truth, though that truth may be perverted or turned into a wrong channel; and hence the Church must necessarily be pedagogic to deliver the world from the shackles of heathen ignorance and superstition—it must teach, and, as the Saviour did, it must speak as never *man* spake—it must preach the

gospel to every creature and make known the manifold wisdom of God to the world. The Church here holds the same relation to the yet unregenerated and unenlightened world that Christ holds to it—the relation of prophet or teacher. The whole counsel and will of God as regards our salvation, is, through it, prophetically and pedagogically revealed and communicated to the world, as it was first comprehended and manifested in Christ. The prophetic office in the Church is consequently necessary to give expression to the pedagogic feature of the gospel, and to satisfy one of the deepest and most general wants of mankind—the desire after the knowledge of the true God and the plan of salvation. The idea of doctrine, of teaching, and of instruction is fundamental to all religion, but more particularly to that of Christ; and Christ gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers for the purpose of bringing the whole body of the Church to unity in the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God. And as long as this work is not fully accomplished, as long as there is yet spiritual ignorance and error in the world, so long the prophetic office is needed in the Church and the commission to preach the gospel to every creature, is still in force.

But it would be false and contrary to the general design of the gospel to develop this feature of its polity, its prophetical or doctrinal character, in an unduly prominent or altogether separate capacity, since it forms but one of the characteristic factors or fundamental ideas of a normally and fully developed Christian Cultus. Christianity is not only doctrine, but it is also emphatically life and spirit, law and precept, and the sacerdotal and regal functions are just as necessary as the prophetic for the full and final completion of its mission. A one-sided doctrinal view of the Church, or of Christianity, would be just as unsatisfactory to the wants of humanity, as it would be false and injurious to the idea of a universal world-redeeming power in the gospel; for man longs after reconciliation with God as much as after light and truth. There exists a general consciousness of sin, of guilt, of separation from God, and a desire to be again restored to his favor by the interven-

tion of priestly functions and the offering up of sacrifices. This consciousness and the desire to be reconciled, we have said, are universal, and that such is the case, is clear from the fact that they come to view in all pagan ideas of religion, and in all the forms of their worship. And as this consciousness is based on truth and the desire of redemption or reconciliation, is grounded in the very nature of man, true religion must direct them into their proper channel and carry them forward to that degree of spiritual freedom and deliverance, after which the world is prophetically longing. This is emphatically the mission and aim of Christianity. Its character and scheme is catholic, in the fullest sense of the term, not only as regards its universal spread in the world, outwardly considered, but also as regards its redeeming and sanctifying powers in the way of inward historical growth and emancipation from all the powers and consequences of sin, which process shall only be finally completed "when this mortal shall put on immortality," and when there shall be "a new heaven and a new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness." The idea of reconciliation—"remission of sins"—is fundamental to all religion, and more particularly to that of Christ. It entered largely into the Saviour's own ministrations, and also into those of his apostles. It forms the necessary counterpart and complement of repentance, which would prove to be a prodigious farce in the absence of true evangelical remission or absolution. The Son of man, therefore, has power to *forgive* sin, and in order to make Christianity, or the Church, a full and faithful expression of what was thus comprehended in Christ, this power must be embodied, in some form, in its general organism and polity, for the benefit of all succeeding generations—it must have its priestly as well as its prophetic functions, in order that it may not only reveal but also apply the grace, the truth, and the merits of Jesus to a dying world.

These two fundamental ideas of a full and normal Christian Cultus complete themselves, by the exercise of the regal function, in the idea of law and discipline. Without law there can be neither doctrine, nor life—it forms the ground and foundation of them both. Doctrine is a law to itself, and so is life,

since all life exists and develops itself according to the law of life. It enters also deeply into the construction of the human mind, and constitutes the *sine qua non* of all logic. Without it there can be no consciousness of right and wrong, of moral responsibility or sin, and Paul tells us, therefore, that without the law there is no sin. Yet this consciousness—the consciousness of guilt—we find all the world over, and the fear of penalties connected with it. All pagan religions are governed by it; it enters largely into all heathen worship, and they show a universal willingness to submit to the most severe disciplinary rules, and penitential requirements. In fact the idea of right and wrong—of good and evil—of truth and error—of rewards and punishments, must govern or rule the actions of all rational beings, however degraded they may be, and this idea must consequently come to its legitimate expression, in the life and conduct of men, according to some fixed and well defined principle to constitute them moral and religious beings. Christianity, whose aim it is to conduct the world to the highest pinnacle of moral and religious perfection, and to deliver it from all the elements and consequences of sin, must necessarily make provision for the full and normal exercise of lawful authority, in order to bring its labors in the sphere of Christian knowledge and grace thus to their proper and final completion. The Church must govern and rule as well as teach and reconcile. She must bring her members—their faith and life—under proper disciplinary restrictions for the purpose of developing and controling them. She must accommodate herself thus to the wants and longings of mankind as these are expressed in the general life and history of our race, and become a law unto the world for the real and actual fulfilment of the world's own prophetic sighs and longings after a kingdom, in which dwells righteousness and peace.

We need but little acquaintance with the New Testament Scriptures to know, that all the official functions of the apostolic Church had reference to these three fundamental parts or ideas of ecclesiastical polity. The apostles, being the infallible organs of the Holy Ghost and the pillars of the Church, had of course necessarily the care of the whole body of Chris-

tians and their office embraces all the other ecclesiastical offices and functions, forming thus the normative ground of all such functions in its bosom for all ages to come. They were, however, not teachers only, but pastors and rulers. They preach the gospel, which was made their primary duty, but they also baptized by divine right and commission, and required that all things should be faithfully observed that Christ had commanded. Their office was threefold in its character, as that of Christ himself—pedagogic, sacerdotal, and regal, exercising prophetic, priestly, and kingly functions; and in order to make their office of lasting historical significance to the Church, it must be continued, in this threefold character, in some real and human form, *all days even to the end.* This idea lies clearly in the purport and aim of the apostolic commission, and whatever may be our ideas of apostolic succession, as regards its particular form and mode, it must embody these three constituent factors in the general construction of its polity to do justice to Christianity as a whole, and to meet the wants of our unenlightened and unregenerated nature. History bears us out in this position. Those officers which were associated with the apostles and who were solemnly inducted into office by them, exercised these different functions, whether their calling had reference to the Church generally, or to individual congregations only—they were the teachers, pastors, and rulers of the flock. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, show that Christ's commission was thus understood and unhesitatingly put into practice by the Apostolic Church—prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, bishops, elders—all exercised either the one or the other of these functions, without, however, altogether excluding the exercise of the others, since the idea of a general priesthood among Christians makes it necessary to have the three always united, although the one or the other may be particularly prominent in this or that particular functionary, for the purpose of serving this or that particular end.

This threefold office, exercised in this legitimate and normal style, will develop the three cardinal virtues of our holy religion—**Faith, Hope, Charity.**

As regards faith we do not take the word here in its purely subjective sense and significance, but in its wider range of objective truth, as this starts in Christ and flows on, by historical succession and growth, in the bosom of the Church. The obligation and authority to teach implies the possession of the truth and the power of communicating it. The truth has evidently been committed to the Church, since, without this sacred deposit it would sink to the level of a mere human organization, and its apostolic commission would be turned into solemn mockery and sham; for this is evidently intended to constitute the Church the bearer and channel of divine truth with a view to bring this to its full and final revelation, in the way of historical process, for the benefit and light of the world; and the promise of Christ's continual presence to the end of the world shows plainly, that the commission itself is likewise of an unimpeachable and uninterrupted character. The safety of the sacred trust is guaranteed by the promise of the Saviour's own real and uninterrupted presence, who is himself in and with his Church as an imperishable rock and power of salvation. The Church is the medium and source of a living fund of divine truth to the world, the instrument through which Christ communicates the manifold wisdom of God and brings all nations to the unity in the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God. By the exercise of the prophetic functions this fund of objective truth is formally present to the world, as it has first been developed in the subjective consciousness of the Church itself. It is both positive and negative in its bearings. It exercises a determining influence on the development of its own subjective consciousness and life, as well as on the character and life of the world wherever this is brought under its influences and control, and it constitutes, therefore, the lever and channel of the world's onward progress in the knowledge of divine things.

This faith, this Christian self-consciousness and apprehension of the truth, in its course of historical evolution and growth, becomes hope,—it is a longing after a higher, better and more perfect state—it is the expectation of things already realized, but not yet fully possessed. Both our faith and our knowledge

are but in part, and we see but darkly as through a glass. Our apprehension both of Christ and of the Church, is at best but very limited, and we have not yet come to that degree of perfection of which we are capable and to which we are destined. But our knowledge may increase and our faith may grow stronger—"we live in hope." This, however, must not be understood to refer to individuals only, in their separate and isolated capacity, but to the Church as a whole, in its organic and historical sense; for as such it stands in need of the same living process. It comes to its full and final completion only by degrees. It does not at once fully comprehend its own character and mission, but its self-consciousness and a full and clear sense of its significance and mission will only be gradually developed in its bosom. The Church in its infancy was not exactly what it is now, or even what it has been in the days of the Reformation. In life and substance of course it is always the same, but not in form and nature. It is not an institution fixed and finished from the start, but a living supernatural constitution which increases in "wisdom, stature, and in favor with God and man," as its living fountain and head did. Being directly instituted by Christ and having received from him divine wisdom and truth, it occupied in the beginning a hostile position over against all that did not come directly from this same source—against the *profane*. But the exclusive style in which this zeal for its own sanctity was carried out, proves that the full extent of its mission was not then clearly understood. It excluded much that come legitimately within the compass of its historical process and aim, and which is now generally admitted and understood as necessarily belonging to its living onward progress and existence in the world. Its strong lines of demarkation between the *profane* and the *holy* were only gradually obliterated and overcome, and it only by degrees began to contemplate its own divine character and life not as a power simply, standing over and above the world, but as a spiritual cosmos, as a supernatural fact entering leaven-like into the world's own life and history, for the purpose of sanctifying and redeeming it. This gave a wider range to the consciousness of the Church, and a new impulse to the prosecution of its work. It looked forward not simply to the conver-

sion of all nations, but to the fulness of its own sanctified stature and life, and the deliverance of the whole world from the curse of sin, by way of inward growth and transformation, ending finally in the full and complete overthrow of all profanity and sin. Its course, from the beginning, has been steadily onward. Its faith grew and increased, and its hope was not made ashamed. But its race is not yet fully run, and its course is not yet fully ended. We live still in hope, and only then will our faith and hope come to their final and glorious fruition, when they shall both end in uninterrupted and heavenly charity.

Charity, therefore, is truly the greatest of the three, and it shall abide when the others shall pass away. For this reason it must deeply and broadly enter into all true religion. It forms a fundamental principle of the Jewish economy, and it may consequently be expected to be still more prominent in the religion of Christ. It entered largely into its original history and life. Love to God and love to man forms its ruling principle, nay, its very life and substance. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that all who would believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. In Christ we have, accordingly, the realization and manifestation of the love of God to man, making provision in him for the salvation of the world as a gift of free grace. But he is also the fountain of man's love to God, and to "one another." His glorified person is the source of a new life—of a new creation, which is mutual and reciprocal in its effects. It comes from God to man, and rests and makes its abode in man, and through man it returns again to God. It is the marriage of the supernatural with the natural, of the ideal with the real, of man with God, in sweet, living and abiding union. The incarnation is not simply of passing and temporary significance, but it forms the very centre of the world's history, and embraces both the past and the future, as the actual fulfilment of the prophecies and tendencies of the one, and the living source and channel of the outward progress of the other. The history of the past was flowing steadily onward to find at last a living centre in the mystery of God manifested in the flesh, from which mysterious source it might then flow through all succeeding ages, as a

stream of living water—as the actual and real continuation of the incarnate Word, uniting all generations with God and with each other as but *one* "peculiar people," having but *one* Lord, *one* God and Father of all, *one* faith and *one* baptism. As Christ and the Father are one so shall also his disciples be one in him, by which it shall be shown to the world that the Father has sent him. In view of the deep and world-wide significance of Christianity, therefore, the Saviour declared that he gave a new command to his disciples—the commandment of love. The discipline of the Church was made to have particular reference to it. It was intended, not simply to regulate the moral deportment of its members. Its authority extended much further, and its meaning was of a much wider range—its aim was unity in faith and in practice, brought about not by the force of objective law and authority altogether, but by the full and spontaneous unfolding and action of the principle or law of love, as this comes to its subjective realization in the world through the Church.

But as this is the final fruition and fulfilment of faith and hope—the last and greatest of the three cardinal virtues of the religion of Christ—it may be necessary to consider more particularly its practical bearings, in a real and tangible way, as it comes to view by acts of mercy. Charity, as we have already seen, is fundamental to the Christian religion, and it has, therefore, from the beginning, been entitled to its own peculiar official functions in the Church. The office of deacons and deaconesses was established by the apostles, with direct reference to its practical or benevolent purposes. Persons of both sexes—"full of the Holy Ghost," were appointed by the Church and set apart by the laying on of the hands of the apostles, to minister to the wants of the needy. Such offices existed already in the Jewish Church, and the apostles ministered to the wants of the poor before the appointment of particular officers for that purpose. The object of the appointment was not to call the office into existence, but to give new scope to its principle and to make its charitable purposes more practicable, and available, by giving it into the hands of special functionaries. As far as the necessity of the office was concerned it was foun-

ded in the wants and state of society; these wants must be satisfied, and society must be redeemed, and as Christ came into the world to accomplish this end, he made charity the ultimate law of his people, which is to be carried forward in the bosom of the Church as a real god-send to the nations, and as the crowning glory of the grand, triumphant progress of the gospel in the destruction of human selfishness. The self-denying and self-sacrificing spirit of Christian charity moved the infant Church to a community of goods, which, though it did not rob its members of their individual possessions and rights, yet induced them voluntarily to place all they had into the apostles' hands, whenever there was any occasion or necessity of such general liberality or sacrifice. In those early days the temporal and physical as well as the spiritual wants of humanity were made the object of the special agency and liberality of the Church. Both males and females were engaged officially in the good work. They visited the sick, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, wiped away the tears of the bereaved widow, took care of the helpless orphan—they were angels of mercy to a miserable and dying world. Both friends and foes were the objects of their ministering care. They blest when the world cursed, and this gave a peculiar charm and superhuman force to their faith and influence in the world. All this was done in the name of religion and by the direct agency of the Church, in order to bring the all subduing principle of the love of Christ to bear upon the world through the instrumentality of his people, showing practically its official right and claim in the polity of the Church, and making it forever the duty of the same to foster its heavenly principles and prosecute its glorious work. That the Church, in its present state, makes but very limited provisions for charitable purposes, or that it has neglected this part of its mission for many ages, is no argument against the necessity, or against the legitimate existence of such a function in its bosom. It only shows there is a falling away here from the original character and design of Christianity, a neglect of a very important part of its mission or work, and that, in proportion to the extent of this apostacy and neglect, it will sooner or later be obliged to retrace

its steps in order to bring its mission to its full and final completion.

Viewed from this stand-point, the Church presents an awfully grand and interesting spectacle. It goes forth in the persons of weak and fallible men as its office-bearers, and exercises, through them, prophetic, priestly, and kingly functions, thus working faith, hope, charity—creating a radical and grand revolution in all the social, political, moral, and religious relations of society. Nowhere do we find an institution bring about such prodigious and world-embracing results by such means, and in such style. The triumphs of the Cross are more noble than the trophies of the Cæsars, and more illustrious than the exploits of Alexander. What is the pomp and glory of Felix, or the "wisdom" of the Athenians, compared with the moral heroism of Paul? Hercules himself dare not enter the list with the humblest martyr or confessor of Jesus, and all the sages of pagan Greece and Rome are totally eclipsed by the glorious galaxy of Christ's humble and faithful witnesses, which has ever adorned the ecclesiastical heavens. It is true, the elements of sin and error entered largely into its process, as regards its actual or human side, and it seemed at times as if Christ had withdrawn his saving presence, for which reason some despise its counsel and scorn its voice. But this only proves the short sightedness of man—the finite scope of his spiritual vision; for the fact that sin entered into the historical process of the Church is no argument against, but rather in favor of the divine character of its constitution and voice. To redeem and sanctify fallen humanity, it had to take it up, with all its sins, weaknesses and errors, into its own bosom and life, and no one, who is not either ignorant or blind, will deny that the moral and spiritual corruption of mankind was deep and universal. The greatest wonder is, that it was not, under the circumstances, entirely borne away by the immense tide of moral and spiritual corruption and darkness, which rushed upon it from all sides, but that it triumphantly stayed its angry waves, and turned the course of history into its own channel. Notwithstanding all its sins and errors, it soon became the channel and bearer of all true progress—of all social, political,

moral and religious amelioration. It has reconstructed and moulded the disorganized elements of society, and brought its confused mass into order and symmetry—it has matured and ushered in a new era of political and moral freedom—it has given laws and liberty to the world—it laid the axe to the root of all tyranny and despotism by making all one in Christ—it has enlightened, moralized, and christianized public opinion—it has given faith, hope, and charity to the world—it has been a messenger of peace and gladness to the world amid all its dread and direful sufferings and wants;—surely its voice has been *good news* to the afflicted, the weary, the heavy laden, the sick, the dying, the captive—and all this while it was itself weak in form and in stature, and while the world and the gates of hell conspired for its destruction! This is the strongest evidence that its resources are above nature, and that Christ has never denied it his special presence and care. Who can sit at the feet of its history and carefully watch the heavings of its steady onward progress, without discovering the footprints of the God-man—the constant bubbling of his divine-human life—the actual, gradual, and historical development of the character, life, acts, thoughts, spirit, and love of Christ in his members, through the miraculous power and operation of the Holy Ghost? And who would, therefore, deliberately dare to place the voice of the Church, at any period of her history, on the same level with pagan oracles, and her office-bearers in the same category with the priests of Delphi, or Dodona? All right and serious religious feeling rebels against such a wholesale and sweeping denial of the divinity and authority of the voice of the Church, on account of its errors and sins. It does not deny the existence of such sins and errors—as these must necessarily always enter into its process in the world—but it does not ignore the supernatural fact, the divine grace and life which lies back of all such human weakness and sin. Weak vessels are the bearers of God's grace and peace to the world—"*Errare est humanum.*"

And now, for the purpose of turning this whole subject to some practical account, for the benefit of our own age and day, we shall add a few thoughts, for serious reflection, by way of conclusion.

1. The present state of Protestantism* is one sided—it seems to be too prominently doctrinal in its character, and too extremely radical and unchurchly in its tendencies. It makes too little account of the objective, the mystical and sacramental in the Church, at least in any real sense, and turns the whole subject into a process of subjective reason and common sense. It does not seem to stand on the same ground here with the early Church, which believed that it might understand; or even with the Reformation of the sixteenth century which made faith, in its proper mystical and sacramental sense, the ground of its standing or falling Church, but it has entirely reversed the rule, and all must now be fully understood before it is entitled to our faith. The idea of authority is, of course, considered altogether out of date, at least as far as it transcends the bounds of a mere moral corrective in the way

* It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remark, that, speaking of Protestantism, we have reference only to its present extreme radical and unchurchly tendencies, leaving its original and proper conservative churchly and sacramental character altogether out of the question, at least as far as censure is concerned. And we shall show, in the proper place, that, whatever we may find necessary to say against its most radical and dangerous tendencies at the present day, is not intended to disparage its proper merits, but rather to warn it against impending danger, and to bring it to a proper consciousness of the solemnity of its mission. The present age is fraught with deep and earnest theological struggles, which refer particularly to the nature and significance of the Church, and which, on that very account, are the more earnest and solemn. Protestantism has already come in for its full share of severe trials, and God only knows whether a worse day still will not soon be coming. And let it be remembered that its severest trials must now, from the very nature of the case, refer to its own life—the very marrow and bone of its existence. The question has not yet been fully solved, whether it will be able to maintain itself over against the radical and infidel tendencies every where at work in its bosom, and hence now is the time when the solution of this solemn problem will become a question of life and death, to the whole Protestant Church. Its danger does evidently not lie in the direction of Rome, as much as in the opposite extreme of religious radicalism, or open unbelief. Even admitting that there are Romanizing tendencies at work in some parts of the Protestant Church, yet the danger is comparatively small, if compared with that which lies in the opposite direction. It is not at all probable that evangelical Christendom, at this advanced period of its history, will very easily be allured into the arms of the Pope—every thing that seems to lean this way is denounced with unmitigated severity, and it has become the spirit of the age to hate Rome with a deadly hatred. But this very fact makes the danger on the other side so much the greater—its hatred to Rome very easily runs out into hatred to all positive religion, or at least creates an undue disregard of its claims. In view of these facts, therefore, it becomes necessary to point out its faults and defects, or rather its dangerous tendencies, and to do it with an unsparing hand, may be the strongest evidence of our love to it, in its proper churchly and sacramental character.

of spiritual advice and admonition. It is allowed to have no binding force in the settlement of our faith, or of the true sense of the holy Scriptures—every one must be left to draw such information from its sacred pages as to it may seem necessary, and to form a faith of its own, in purely subjective and independent style, without the intervention of ecclesiastical authority in any form. It makes, however, professedly vast account of the Bible—it will have the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, as the rule of its faith, in the absence of all ecclesiastical tradition whatever; but by its violent and arbitrary exegesis it turns it into a nose of wax. No account is made of the voice of the Church, in any sense, as the voice and meaning of the Scriptures. Private judgment, in its purely negative and unhistorical capacity, according to this modern mode of religious thinking, is the tribunal to which both Scripture and the Church must be brought for final settlement and adjudication. To believe a single doctrine of the Bible, or to take the voice of the Church as the faithful interpretation of its true sense and meaning, without such previous common sense adjudication, or measurement of its whole length and breadth, height and depth by the narrow compass of its own contracted mind, would be considered the height of ecclesiastical pedantry, or a hankering after the "flesh pots of Egypt." No reverence for the past, and no living communion and fellowship with its history, enter into its theological thinking and scheme, but all turns on the narrow pivot of its own bigoted self.

Such, it seems to us, is the character and tendency of much that is considered Protestant and evangelical religion, at the present day. The whole picture looks somewhat gloomy if brought face to face with apostolical Christianity, as this comes to view in the New Testament and in the history of the early Church, where the Church is always presented as a divine institution and supernatural fact—the body of Christ—the pillar and ground of the truth, built on the apostles and prophets, and showing unto the world the manifold wisdom of God, and executing God's will in behalf of the world's salvation. The thinking of the early Church was throughout mystical, churchly, and sacramental—"holding fast the form of sound words,

once delivered to the saints." It had no sympathy with the radical and unchurchly spirit, so exceedingly popular and common in our own age. The Church, according to it, was the only proper channel or medium of divine grace and salvation, as the bearer of which it was held to be always necessarily present in the world. Of course, it is not necessary that the Church be considered a uniform scheme, either as regards doctrine or polity, fixed and finished from the start. It seems by far more reasonable and in accordance with its actual history —to say nothing of Scripture—to consider it a living organism that comes to its final completion only by organic growth and historical development; and changes must, therefore, necessarily follow and grow out of its living onward progress. Yet it dare never lose its objective character and force for the faith of the world, or be theoretically or practically separated from the promise, "Lo, I am with you alway!" All such violent, unsacramental proceedings tend directly to full and final shipwreck on the shoals of infidelity and rationalism. The Church challenges our faith as a divine supernatural constitution in some real form, and the denial of this fact involves the denial of the historical significance of the incarnation, and of Christianity, its historical continuation and completion.

2. The prevailingly doctrinal and churchly-radical character of our modern Protestantism produces, of course, also an undue disregard of the priestly character of ecclesiastical functions, or of the liturgical and devotional side of Christian Cultus. It addresses itself in undue prominence to the mind or the understanding, while it fails to satisfy the deepest wants of the emotions and feelings. It wrongs the idea of objective grace and life, and makes strenuous efforts to bring everything here, as well as in the sphere of doctrine, down to the flat level of its own sectarian mind and consciousness. In its fanatical zeal for "spiritual" religion, over against dead and cold formalism, it is losing sight too much of the objective, mystical and sacramental character of the Church and its official functions, and hence it has banished the Priest, demolished the Altar, and abandoned the use of the Liturgy. The idea of sacramental grace is not simply ignored or neglected by this modern self-

styled evangelical school, but denounced as a dangerous heresy. The "preacher" plays the main part in its irreligious exercises, who is placed directly into the pulpit with an open Bible as the only guide of his ministrations, depending upon his own private judgment and the direct aid of the Holy Spirit for its true and faithful interpretation. The congregation may meanwhile remain altogether passive, looking upon the whole routine of his ministrations as an intellectual treat, or rhetorical entertainment, or taking part only in loose, irreverent and purely subjective style. Its radical and unchurchly tendency places it in continual danger of turning an easy somerset into the vortex of infidelity, or of rushing headlong into the whirlpool of sectarian fanaticism. Having abolished the idea of subjective sacramental grace, it of course does not make proper account of educational religion—this is altogether foreign to its theory and scheme, and whatever influence it exercises in favor of religious training, is of the most vague and arbitrary character. Its ideas of charity rest on the same false and rationalistic basis—on human sympathy rather than on divine grace, as shed abroad in the hearts of his people. In a word, it runs out into bald intellectualism, sneers at the mystical, cherishes a deadly hostility against everything that savors of a churchly and sacramental spirit, falls in readily with all kinds of innovation and humbug, and gives the most sacred and solemn interests into the hands of an ungodly and irreligious world; and hence, to it, the Church is *not* a divine supernatural constitution present in the world, in a truly human form, for the salvation of the world; the sacraments are *not* the media and bearers of divine grace, the ministry are *not* the stewards of the *mysteries* of God, but all must meet on the square of *common sense*, no matter how narrow and contracted this may be.

Such is the reigning genius of this modern evangelical scheme —such are some of its characteristic features; but it is evidently too poor and meager to satisfy the universal consciousness of the Christian world. As already remarked, it does gross injustice to the idea of objective grace and life, and wrongs the devotional feelings of our nature, and accordingly it must

eventually receive its sentence of condemnation at the bar of Christian Cultus. Already decided tones of dissatisfaction are uttered from all directions, against its lofty and self-styled pretensions. The Priest, the Altar, and the Liturgy are felt to have a place in the Church, as well as the Pulpit and the Preacher. Christianity is felt to be not simply a system of doctrine, but really and truly spirit and life, bubbling forth continually in the bosom of the Church, by the means of grace, as a means of deliverance from sin and death; and this growing consciousness of the objective force and power of Christianity must necessarily lead, in the end, to a better understanding of the nature and significance of its priestly functions. What makes this matter peculiarly interesting is, that the most decided appeals in favor of the introduction of liturgical worship, of catechetical instruction, of a plan of systematical benevolence, and much besides that belongs to a sound and healthy state of ecclesiastical discipline, come from those who were formerly constitutionally and fanatically opposed to any thing of the kind, and who stood in the service of an altogether different system. But this only proves what we have repeatedly asserted, that such a bald and unsacramental religious theory or system does not satisfy the deepest wants of our nature, and hence the reaction that is now beginning to make itself felt against its false pretensions is not to be considered as the result of taste and fancy simply, wrought out by the free and independent exercise of the individual will, but as the deep and earnest longings rather of the universal Christian consciousness, for the revival of the grace bearing character of the Church and its official functions.

3. But we must pay more particular attention here to Charity, in which all other Christian graces must necessarily come to their final completion. Without this, they avail nothing, and consequently it must occupy a prominent position in every form of ecclesiastical polity that lays claim to evangelical right, or apostolical succession. It is, however, a lamentable fact, that it does not reign sufficiently prominent in the present state of evangelical Protestantism. It has hitherto been principally and almost exclusively concerned about the develop-

ment of Christian doctrine, or the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, and benevolence did not enter universally into its operations as of equal importance and right with the prophetic office or function. This again gave it a one-sided and false tendency, and made it incapable of meeting all the wants of society. Its defective character as regards systematic benevolence for charitable purposes, or for the support of the poor, has given rise to numerous institutions and societies outside of the Church, whose object it is to supply these wants. This does, however, not only rob the Church, or the religion of Christ, of a vast amount of its influence by divesting it of its principal charm and glory; but it divests charity itself of its heaven-born character, and drags it into the sphere of politics, irreligion and utilitarianism. The Church finds, therefore, at least an indirect rival in these societies, and some Protestant bodies seem to become conscious of this fact, being that they take positive ground against them. But all mere negative proceedings in regard to the matter wrong the wants of society, and must fail to accomplish their object. The establishment of these societies or associations has been caused by the actual and culpable neglect of the Church itself, and she can only bring about their abolition, or prevent her members from connecting themselves with them, by making provision in her own bosom for the supply of the wants, which are now supplied by them. But this evidently makes the renewed exercise of its peculiar functions necessary—the revival of the office of deacons and deaconesses, in its proper apostolic and evangelical significance and character—for without this, systematic benevolence can never carry into effect its charitable purposes and aim.

We are aware that the defective character of the benevolent operations of Protestantism is sometimes excused on the ground that it aims to make society as a whole, a grand benevolent association, by instilling principles of true Christian charity and mercy into every one's heart; and it must be confessed by every candid person, that its merits, in this respect, are far superior to those of its formidable rival—the Church of Rome. It has cultivated a spirit of universal good will and of general

Christian liberality, which Romanism, with its exclusive policy, was never able to produce, in spite of its finished system of ecclesiastical tactics. But its advantages in this respect do not furnish an excuse of its own faults and defects, in another direction. To do full justice to the character and mission of the gospel, and to the universal wants of mankind, it must not only cultivate a general spirit and habit of Christian liberality, but it must also make provision for the accomplishment of its specific ends and purposes. And it will really not do to shift the difficulty by saying, that such specific measures are not required on account of the general willingness of evangelical Christians, to relieve the suffering poor. Actual facts flatly contradict any such wholesale assertion, and no one can make it who is not either wofully blind or shamefully ignorant. "The poor ye have always with you," says Christ, and these very words, taken in the proper connection and sense, carry with them a decided force in favor of special systematic operations for their support; and we are glad to witness a widespread and growing consciousness of wrong and guilt in this matter throughout evangelical Christendom, and an energetic effort for improvement in the right direction.

Our benevolent operations generally seem, however, to rest on a wrong basis—they proceed too much from mere sympathy, rather than from the consciousness of divine grace, as this comes to view in the ties of Christian fellowship. There is too much common sense in them, using the term in opposition to the child-like faith which governed all the benevolent and charitable operations of the early Church, and their subjective fickleness and the accidental nature of their motives have a tendency to make them spasmodic and irregular in their effects. But this low view of Christian charity is but the natural result and necessary consequence of the low and unsacramental view of the Church and its functions, which underlies it. Rob the Church of its objective divine character and force, and its charitable operations must sink to the same low rationalistic level, and lose their steady activity and superhuman force. This also, we are glad to say, is beginning to be felt, and well indeed may we rejoice in view of this fact, since this furnishes

the only proper starting point for improvement in the exercise of Christian charity—we mean the consciousness of many on behalf of evangelical Christians, as regards the fundamental cause of the defective character of our present benevolent operations, which lies in the low and rationalistic views, now too generally prevalent, concerning the Church and its official functions.

4. We have been thus particular in drawing a somewhat dark picture of some of the extreme tendencies of modern Protestantism, in order to draw from the general fact an important conclusion, viz: *Protestantism, in its present condition, does not present a full and normal state of Christianity, as this is expressed in the character of Christ and in his blessed gospel, and it seeks its final completion, therefore, in a still higher degree of perfection.* We do not draw this conclusion to disparage its great merits, or to rob it of its numerous laurels. Far be it from us, that we should take away a single mite from the weight of its glory. Yet we must not be blind to its faults and defects, even in our dream of infallibility we hurry it to the goal of speedy inevitable ruin. With all its faults and defects it may still be a higher and more perfect form of Christianity than that from which it sprung, which had of course also its defects and diseases, and this in fact seems to be the only way in which it can be brought to a proper sense of its wants, and of its final destiny. But as regards the correctness of the conclusion, let facts be considered—let it be shown that the three fundamental factors of the history and progress of true Christianity are not fully developed in their normal relation, in its present form and condition, or in the general scheme of its polity, as we have endeavored to do in the course of this article, and no more is required to prove its correctness. No one that has any knowledge of its actual condition, or that has candor and liberality enough to examine impartially into its real state, can deny that it is predominantly and unduly prophetical, and that the priestly and kingly functions are not allowed to come to the full and normal exercise of their significance and force in its polity and Cultus. Its monstrous doctrinal difficulties and differences, its endless schisms and here-

sies, its crippled benevolent and charitable operations, and its present deep and earnest struggles in favor of a more churchly and sacramental conception of its own peculiar life and Cultus show really clear enough, that it must and does look beyond its present state as the goal of its perfection and final destiny, and that it can never reach that degree of perfection, when all shall be one in the unity of the faith, and in the knowledge of the Son of God, after the fulness of the measure of the stature of Christ, without including much which it now excludes and denounces; not saying a word of its culpable neglects and unintentional faults. As long as Protestantism does not present a full grown stature or form of Christianity, comprising all that constitutionally and necessarily belongs to it, as the historical continuation of the life and character of the God-man himself; as long as it does not embody in its polity Doctrine, Life, and Law in their normal and living relationship, working Faith, Hope, Charity in the full fruition of their heaven-born earth-redeeming character, so long we must not blindly and fanatically assert that it stands in need of no reformation, or that it must stand forever in its present form, as the faithful resuscitation simply of biblical and early Christianity. Let us rather hope and pray for a more perfect state of the Church—when it shall be more perfectly imbued with the Spirit of Christ—when its form shall correspond more fully with its inward supernatural life and constitution—when the spirit and form of its polity shall more faithfully express the mediatorial character of Christ, its blessed and glorified source and head—in short, when it shall be "clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners."

Pottsville, Pa. I. E. G.

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES.

CASES OF CONSCIENCE, OR THE INQUIRING CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTED, &c., &c. By Messrs. Pike and Hayward. New Edition, a late London Edition. Philadelphia. Smith & English, 86 North Sixth St. 1855.

WHEN a book lives a hundred years, and a new edition of it is then published, we may be sure there is something in it. This long vitality must have something to sustain it. Especially may we be sure that when a work on topics pertaining to practical piety, is thus long lived, there is something in it to satisfy the ever recurring spiritual wants of the human soul. Not the least recommendation of the book before us, is that it was first published in 1755, and is now republished, after the lapse of a century. And a careful investigation of it will show that it has body and substance enough to secure this longevity. It is plain, pointed and practical, and is eminently fitted to serve as a guide to the sincere and humble Christian. It grapples with those very difficulties which Christians are most likely to meet in their own experience, some of which are exceedingly perplexing, and the manner in which it endeavors to dispose of them is skillful, affectionate and evangelical. Two or three of the questions proposed and answered may serve as indices of the general drift of the book. "Case 1. How shall we distinguish between the workings of natural affection and the real exercise of grace in religious duties?" "Case 23. How may a professor, who fears lest his experiences are counterfeit and not genuine graces, come to such satisfaction concerning his state, as shall encourage his continued reception of the Lord's Supper?" "Case 18. How may a Christian know that he grows in grace?" &c., &c. Ministers will find this volume a valuable aid, in the work of pastoral instruction, if put in the hands of young converts who yet hope with trembling. C.

THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS, *with an Introduction by Edward Hitchcock*, D. D., President of Amherst College, and Professor of Theology and Geology. A new Edition, to which is added a Supplementary Dialogue, in which the Author's Reviewers are reviewed. Boston; Gould & Lincoln. New York; Sheldon, Lamport and Blakeman, 1855, pp. 376.

THE relation of science to religion is a subject which has, for

many years, engaged the serious attention of the Christian philosopher. The discoveries of the former have happily served not only to illustrate, but also to confirm the teachings of the latter. Especially have the most recent investigations in the departments of astronomy and geology, contributed much towards unfolding the truths of divine revelation, and enlarging the mental vision of the intelligent Christian. It must be admitted, however, that much of what has been brought to bear upon the truths of religion from the sphere of astronomy, rests upon no better foundation than that of plausible hypotheses. Of this nature are the teachings, which assume, that there is a plurality of worlds, and that these worlds contain inhabitants of a spiritual and intelligent nature like unto man. It is not strange, therefore, that there should be a difference of sentiment even among intelligent Christian men with regard to the propriety and validity of such teachings.

The astronomical discourses of Dr. Chalmers have been long before the Christian public, and the grand and magnificent views which they present, have found many admirers. Yea, his speculations drawn from the science of astronomy, in relation to innumerable worlds besides our own, peopled with intelligent inhabitants, have come to be pretty generally regarded as unquestionable truth. There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule, among which the author of the work, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, occupies a prominent place. He calls in question the position, which assumes a plurality of worlds, and especially the fact of their being peopled with intelligent inhabitants like unto man. He does this on philosophical grounds. His arguments are drawn particularly from astronomical and geological science. Though in some respects, his conclusions are too sweeping to meet with anything like general concurrence, yet there is much truth in many of his positions and much instruction is to be obtained from a careful and candid perusal of his work. One pleasing feature about it, is the fact, that, in all his investigations, the author manifests the highest reverence for the teachings of divine revelation, and seeks throughout his work to exalt and not to disparage the Christian religion. F.

THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1855.

Art. I—CONYBEARE AND HOWSON'S EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By the Rev. *W. J. Conybeare* and the Rev. *J. S. Howson*. Two volumes, octavo. New York: Charles Scribner, 145, Nassau Street. 1854.

In the last number of this Review we addressed ourselves to unfolding the *Life* of St. Paul, under the guidance of the authors of the work named above; promising, *Deo volente*, to give our future attention to the translation of the Epistles and Speeches contained in the work. That promise we now endeavor to redeem.

We remarked, previously, that the main feature of a better type of exegesis, now rising into the ascendant, is *reproduction*, i. e., bringing forth in living freshness of allusion, and incident, and illustration, and idea, by the aid of philological and historical research, and artistic skill, the component parts of Scripture, which once were instinct with a vigorous life regarded in the peculiar circumstances in which they were produced. To accomplish this result, in the case of those portions of Scripture under consideration, is the aim of the translator of these Epistles and Speeches of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. It is not his intention, as it was not the intention of Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen in his translation of the Gospels, that this translation shall in any manner supplant the Authorized Version. It is simply given as a contribution to critical exegesis,

designed to aid the expounder and the private reader of the Scriptures in perceiving the true meaning, force and beauty of the Pauline writings. And in this we think he has admirably succeeded; for although the translation is to some extent chargeable with an excess of ingenuity, as Mr. Howson's physical descriptions are chargeable with an excess of detail, yet on the whole, it holds up a clear and polished mirror to the Apostle's meaning, in which the minutest lineaments are reflected; and so much were we struck with the life-like freshness, particularly of the Epistles to the Corinthians, the translator's master pieces, as we opine, that we felt as if we had never read them before. In our former article we had to do chiefly with Mr. Howson's part of the volumes before us; in this we have to do entirely with Mr. Conybeare's—he having contributed all the translations.

It is not our chief design to criticise the translation before us. We propose to ourselves a humbler task, that of letting our readers, who may not possess the work, know what the translation really is, in a number of those points in which it varies from, or throws light upon the received version. We cheerfully offer our services to act as Mr. Conybeare's usher, to introduce him to that class of readers to whom this periodical comes. The plan we propose is to set in one column the authorized version of such passages as we shall select, and in the other Mr. Conybeare's rendering of the same. Of course our space will limit us to such passages as are in themselves important, and derive striking illustration from the new version. A multitude of minor gems must be passed unnoticed.

Before entering upon this our main purpose, we ask attention to the results of the author's investigations respecting the order and circumstances in which the several Epistles presented to us, were written. These results are the following: 1. *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, in immediate succession, written from Corinth. When St. Paul was at Athens he sent Timotheus to revisit and establish the Church at Thessalonica. Timotheus returned to Paul at Corinth, and the news which he brought caused Paul to write to these beloved converts. Besides being an expression of friend-

ship, these Epistles were designed to correct certain errors into which they had fallen. "Many of the new converts were uneasy about the state of their relatives and friends, who had died since their conversion. They feared that these departed Christians would lose the happiness of witnessing their Lord's second coming, which they expected soon to behold. In this expectation others had given themselves up to a religious excitement, under the influence of which they persuaded themselves that they need not continue to work at the business of their callings, but might claim support from the richer members of the church. Others, again, had yielded to the same temptations which afterwards influenced the Corinthian church, and despised the gift of prophecying in comparison with those other gifts which afforded more opportunity for display." 2. *The two Epistles to the Corinthians*, (preceded by one which has been lost,) the first written from Ephesus, the second from Philippi. The leading circumstances which called forth these epistles were detailed in our former article. 3. *The Epistle to the Galatians*, written from Corinth, after Paul's return from Ephesus. The design of this Epistle was to counteract the destructive influence of the Judaizing party. On the controverted point of the date of this Epistle three reasons are given for the position assigned to it: (1.) That it was written after St. Paul's second visit to the Galatians. (2.) That it was not necessarily written "soon" after that event, as many contend. (3.) That it bears internal marks of having been written nearly contemporaneously with that to the Romans. 4. *The Epistle to the Romans*, written from Corinth. The aim of this Epistle, with its grand summary of the doctrine and practice of Christianity, was to reconcile and fuse together in the bonds of Christian truth and love the Jewish and Gentile elements in the Roman Church. 5. *The Epistle to Philemon*, written during St. Paul's *first* imprisonment at Rome, and designed to aid in the friendly restoration of the now converted Onesimus to his master. 6. *The Epistle to the Colossians*, written during the same imprisonment, and directed against the combined errors of Judaism and incipient Gnosticism. 7. *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, (so called) written about the

same time, which our author, following Archbishop Usher, regards a circular letter to the scattered churches of Asia Minor; the designation, "to the Ephesians," being a misnomer. 8. *The Epistle to the Philippians*, written towards the close of his first imprisonment, and which is characterized simply as a letter of grateful acknowledgement, containing "less of censure and more of praise than any other of St. Paul's extant letters." 9. *The first Epistle to Timothy* at Ephesus, written from Macedonia during the interval between the two imprisonments at Rome. 10. *The Epistle to Titus*, written during the same interval. 11. *The second Epistle to Timothy*, written during the second imprisonment, and shortly before his death, the last, and fitting utterance of his triumphant spirit as he stood "ready to be offered" on the threshold of martyrdom. *The Epistle to the Hebrews* our author does not class among those which are indisputably Paul's. He considers its authorship enveloped in obscurity, but inclines to the opinion that it was written by Barnabas. Its canonical authority and inspiration are, however, fully recognized, and it is regarded as Pauline in so far as it is an echo of Paul's masterly teachings through the medium of another's mind. A translation of it is also given.

We proceed now to the comparison of passages, setting the rendering of the Authorized Version in the left hand column, that of Mr. Conybeare in the right.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Acts 13. 18.	And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness.	And about the time of forty years, even as a nurse beareth her child, so bare He them through the wilderness.

This passage occurs in Paul's speech in the synagogue in Antioch in Pisidia, and speaking to a Jewish audience, he evidently had in his mind Deut. 1 : 31. This rendering is given in the margin of the common version.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Acts 17 : 22.	Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' Hill and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that	Ye men of Athens, all things

in all things ye are too superstitious.	which I behold bear witness to your carefulness in religion.

From Paul's speech to the Athenians. The rendering of the common version is singularly unhappy, as it entirely destroys the graceful courtesy of the Apostle's opening address, and represents him as beginning his speech by offending his audience.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Acts 17 : 30. And the times of this ignorance God winked at.	Howbeit, these past times of ignorance God hath overlooked.

No such metaphor as "winked at" is to be found in the original.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Thess.* 4 : 15. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.	This I declare to you, by the authority of the Lord, that we who are living, who survive to behold the appearing of our Lord, shall not enter into his presence sooner than the dead.

Our authors seem strongly to incline to the opinion that Paul was not very clear on the subject of the second coming of Christ. He seems to have shared to some extent in the common expectancy of the times, at least so far as to suppose the speedy appearing of Christ possible, or even probable, and the only point in which he corrects the Thessalonians is respecting the resurrection of believers, declaring it to be contemporaneous with the appearing of the Saviour. It seems difficult to understand some passages in the Apostle's letters without the aid of some such supposition. See 1 Thess. 5 : 4 ; 2 Thess. 2 : 8 ; 1 Tim. 6 : 14–15. The fact that vaticinations of the second coming of Christ, and the end of the world, have been uttered in every age, and especially in every great critical and convulsive era since the ascension of the risen Saviour is among not the least curious and significant facts of history.* We take them to be the foregraspings of eager expectancy,—

* Perhaps the most popular vaticinations of the present day are those of Dr. Cumming of London. Time will reveal whether or not he is a second Noah.

the articulate utterance of the weary heart of Christendom exclaiming, "O Lord, how long?"

Mr. Conybeare makes more intelligible many passages of the Apostle's letters by inserting the "I" instead of the "We," which Paul uses according to the idiom of many ancient as well as modern writers.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 1 : 17. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel; not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect.	For Christ sent me forth as his Apostle, not to baptize, but to publish His Glad-tidings; and that not with the wisdom of argument, lest thereby the cross of Christ should lose its mark of shame.
1 *Cor.* 1 : 18. For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishnss; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God.	For the tidings of the cross, to those in the way of perdition, are folly; but to us in the way of salvation, they are the power of God.

Our translator, in such passages as this, uniformly renders σοζομενοι, those "*in the way of salvation*," instead of "*saved*," and not unfrequently it gives a shade of variation in the meaning.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 2 : 6. Howbeit, we speak wisdom among them that are perfect.	Nevertheless, among those who are ripe in knowledge I speak wisdom.
1 *Cor.* 2 : 13. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.	These are the things whereof we speak, in words not taught by man's wisdom, but by the Holy Spirit; explaining spiritual things to spiritual men.

The manifest reference here seems to be to the different classes of converts in the primitive Church, ranked according to their degrees of Christian attainment. For the rendering of the last expression in verse 13 compare 3 : 1.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 5 : 7. Purge out, there-	Cast out, therefore, the old leav-

fore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened.

en, that your body may be renewed throughout, even as now (at this Paschal season,) you are without taint of leaven.

This interpretation is adhered to in opposition to the opinion of Chrysostom, and some eminent modern commentators, and is based upon the supposition that the Gentile Christians joined with the Jewish Christians in celebrating the Paschal feast after the Jewish manner, at least to the extent here indicated. If this be so, the beauty of the local allusion is but imperfectly brought out in the common version.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 6 : 12.	All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.	(But some of you say)—"all things are lawful for me." (Be it so,) but not all things are good for me: though all things are in *my* power, they shall not bring me under *their* power.

The Apostle seems to be holding a colloquy here with the Corinthian free-thinkers, who argued that the existence of bodily appetites proved the lawfulness of their gratification,—a species of reasoning which has reappeared under various forms in modern times. The common version makes Paul speak entirely in his own proper person. Compare 10 : 23.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 7 : 21.	Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be free, use it rather.	Wast thou in slavery at the time of thy calling? Care not for it. Nay, though thou have power to gain thy freedom, seek rather to remain content.

The Greek here is ambiguous, and might be so rendered as to give directly opposite precepts. The translation given is that advocated by Chrysostom, Meyer and De Wette, as best agreeing with the whole context.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 7 : 36–7.	But if any man think that he behaveth himself	But if any man thinks that he is treating his virgin daughter in

uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not; let them marry.

Nevertheless, he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doeth well.

an unseemly manner, by leaving her unmarried beyond the flower of her age, and if need so require, let him act according to his will; he may do so without sin; let them, (the daughter and suitor) marry. But he who is firm in his resolve, and is not constrained to marry his daughter, but has the power of carrying out his will, and has determined to keep her unmarried, doeth well.

The variation here is important; making the reference to be to the desire of Christian *parents* to devote their daughters to virginity.

The opening verses of the eighth and ninth chapters are rendered more intelligible by rendering them as though written in reply to a letter received from the Corinthian Church, embodying as quotations some of the topics and charges contained in that letter.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 10: 1–2. Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.	But you, brethren, I call to remember our forefathers; how they all were guarded by the pillar of the cloud, and all passed safely through the sea. And (as you were baptized unto Christ) they all, through the cloud, and through the sea, were baptized unto Moses.

The object seems to be to warn the Corinthians against immorality, as forfeiting the blessings of the new covenant, as the sins of the Israelites forfeited for them the blessings of the old covenant.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 11: 10. For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels.	Therefore, the woman ought to wear a sign of subjection upon her head, because of the angels.

The meaning of this very difficult expression is given (hypothetically) as follows: "The angels are sent as ministering servants to attend upon Christians, and are especially present when the Church assembles for public worship; and they would be offended by any violation of decency or order."

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 11: 29. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.	For he who eats and drinks of it unworthily, eats and drinks a judgment against himself, since he makes no difference between the Lord's body and common food.

The strong rendering of this important passage, in the received version, has been a stumbling block to many weak believers.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1. *Cor.* 14: 18. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all.	I offer thanksgiving to God in private, speaking in Tongues to Him more than any of you.

On the gift of tongues, see former article. Also compare v. 2, of this chapter.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Cor.* 16: 22. If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha.	Let him who loves not the Lord Jesus Christ be accursed. *The Lord cometh.*

On this we have the following note, which seems satisfactory. "Maran-atha" means "The Lord cometh," and is used apparently by St. Paul as a kind of motto; compare ὁ κυριος εγγυς, (Phil. 4: 5.) Billroth thinks that he wrote it in Hebrew characters, as a part of the autograph by which he authenticated this letter. Buxtorf (Lex. Chald. 827,) says it was a part of a Jewish cursing formula, from the "Prophecy of Enoch," (Jude 14;) but this view appears to be without foundation. In fact, it would have been most incongruous to have blended together a Greek word (ANATHEMA) with a Hebrew phrase (MARAN-ATHA,) and to use the compound as a formula of execration. This was not done until (in later ages of the Church) the meaning of the terms themselves was lost."

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
2 *Cor.* 2 : 14–16. Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savor of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savor of Christ, in them that are saved and in them that perish. To the one we are the savor of death unto death; and to the other the savor of life unto life.	But thanks be to God who leads me on from place to place in the train of his triumph, to celebrate his victory over the enemies of Christ; and by me sends forth the knowledge of him, a steam of fragrant incense, throughout the world. For Christ's is the fragrance which I offer up to God, whether among those in the way of salvation, or among those in the way of perdition; but to these it is an odor of death, to those of life.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
2 *Cor.* 4 : 7. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.	But this treasure is lodged in a body of fragile clay, so that the surpassing might which aids me, should be God's and not my own.

The personal references of these letters should not, if possible, be lost in the statement of general truths. This is a governing principle with that school of exegesis which seeks first to understand the Scripture in its special, or particular relations, and then to deduce from these its wider application.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
2 *Cor.* 5 : 2–3. For in this we groan earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked.	And for this I groan with earnest longings, desiring to cover my earthly raiment with the robes of my heavenly mansion. (If indeed I shall be found still clad in my fleshly garment.)

Our translator, according to his hypothesis, before-mentioned, here makes Paul express himself as uncertain whether he should be found living at the second coming of Christ or not. The rendering of the common version is obscure, to say the least.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
2 *Cor.* 5 : 16. Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now, henceforth know we him no more.	I therefore, from henceforth, view no man carnally: Yea, though once my view of Christ was carnal, yet now it is no longer carnal.
2 *Cor.* 6 : 11–13. O, ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged. Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own bowels. Now for a recompense in the same, (I speak as unto my children,) be ye also enlarged.	Corinthians, my mouth has spoken to you freely,—my heart has opened itself fully towards you. You find no narrowness in my love, but the narrowness is in your own. I pray you, therefore, in return for my affection, (I speak as to my children,) let your hearts be opened in like manner.
Verse 14. Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers.	Cease to yoke yourselves unequally in ill-matched intercourse with unbelievers.

We cite these as instances of the way in which the meaning of the original may be made at once apparent; whilst it (or indeed any definite meaning in some cases) can be gained only by a somewhat laborious study of the version in common use. It will be seen that in the passage last quoted, our translator cuts off the direct (and very common) application of it to the question of marriage. It refers rather to general social intercourse with Judaizers and heathen. See context.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 2 : 3–5. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised; And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage;	Yet not even Titus, my own companion, (being a Greek,) was compelled to be circumcised. But this communication [with the Apostles in Judea] I undertook on account of the false brethren who gained entrance by fraud, for they crept in among us to spy out our freedom, (which we possess in
To whom we gave place by sub-	Christ Jesus,) that they might en-

jection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you.

slave us under their own yoke. To whom I yielded no submission, no, not for an hour; that you might continue to enjoy the reality of Christ's Glad Tidings.

Every discriminating reader of the first half of this second chapter of the letter to the Galatians, must have been compelled to suppose, either that the original was very obscure, or that the translation was very clumsy. The original is not entirely free from obscurity, something needing to be supplied at the beginning of the fourth verse, but the common version nearly destroys what clearness the original has, besides being clumsy and unreadable. There is nothing answering to the "neither" of the third verse; and there is no sensible connection between the third and fourth. The version of Mr. Conybeare makes the whole passage intelligible.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 3: 4–5. Have ye suffered so many things in vain? if it be yet in vain. He, therefore, that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?	Have you received so many benefits in vain—if indeed it has been in vain? I say, How came the gifts of Him who furnishes you with the fulness of the Spirit, and works in you the power of miracles? Came they from the deeds of the Law, or from the teaching of Faith?

The change of person here gives a material change in the sense.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 3: 19–20. Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator.	To what end, then, was the Law? It was added because of the transgressions of men, till the Seed should come, to whom belonged the promise; and it was ordained through the ministration of angels by the hands of [Moses, who was]

Now, a mediator is not a mediater of one; but God is one.	a mediator [between God and the people.] Now where a mediator is there must be two parties. But God is one, [and there is no second party to his promise.]

To this passage, which has doubtless puzzled every unlearned reader, justice requires us to add our author's explanatory note. "St. Paul's argument here is left by him exceedingly elliptical, and therefore very obscure; as is evident from the fact that more than two hundred and fifty different explanations of the passage have been advocated by different commentators. The most natural meaning appears to be as follows: 'It is better to depend upon an unconditional promise of God, than upon a covenant made between God and man; for in the latter case the conditions of the covenant might be broken by man (as they had been,) and so the blessings forfeited; whereas in the former case, God being immutable, the blessings derived from His promise, remain steadfast forever.' The passage is parallel with Rom. 4: 13–16."

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 3: 24. Wherefore the law was our school-master to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.	Thus, even as the slave who leads a child to the house of the school-master, so the Law led us to our teacher Christ, that by Faith we might be justified.

Παιδαγωγος is here taken to mean "the slave who accompanies boys to the public schools." See any standard Greek Lexicon. The metaphor is quite as good, and more complete than that of the common version.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 4: 12–14. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are; ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation which was in my	I beseech you, brethren, to become as I am [and seek no more a place among the circumcised;] for I too have become as you are [and have cast away the pride of my circumcison.] You have never wronged me hitherto; on the contrary,

flesh, ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.

although it was sickness (as you know) which caused me to preach the Glad tidings to you at my first visit, yet you neither scorned nor loathed me because of the bodily infirmity which was my trial; but you welcomed me as an angel of God, yea, even as Christ Jesus.

Here again we have an obscure passage rendered comprehensible. It is very unfortunate that the word *temptation* has so changed its meaning in the last two hundred and fifty years, as to make the Authorized Version of the 14th verse a great source of misapprehension to ignorant readers. Some have even been led to imagine that St. Paul spoke of *a sinful habit* in which he indulged, and to the dominion of which he was encouraged (see 2 Cor. 12 : 9.) contentedly to resign himself!

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 4 : 24–26. Which things are an allegory; for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.	Now, all this is allegorical; for these two women are the two covenants; the first given from Mount Sinai, whose children are born into bondage, which is Hagar, (for the word Hagar signifies Mount Sinai in Arabia;) and herein she answers to the earthly Jerusalem, for she continues in bondage with her children. But [Sarah is the second covenant, which is in Christ, and answers to the heavenly Jerusalem; for] the heavenly Jerusalem is free, and is the mother of us all.

It is sometimes impossible to render intelligibly the elliptical arguments of Paul without supplying in the translation what is left to be implied in the original. This is done in the 26th verse, the parallel being incomplete without it.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 6 : 2. Bear ye one anoth-	Bear ye one another's burdens

er's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.	and so fulfil the law of Christ. * *
Verse 5. For every man shall bear his own burden.	For each will bear the load [of sin] which is his own [instead of magnifying the load which is his brother's.]

The translation of the two words *Φορτιον* and *βαρος*, by the same term "*burden*," seems to make St. Paul contradict himself. His meaning evidently is, that self-examination will prevent us from comparing ourselves boastfully with our neighbor; we shall have enough to do with our own sins, without scrutinizing his.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Gal. 6: 11. Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.	Observe the size of the characters in which I have written to you with my own hand.

Mr. Conybeare here differs from nearly all the English commentators and critics, in making this the beginning of the Apostle's usual autograph postcript, the body of the Epistle being written by an amanuensis. Only two reasons are adduced, the one verbal, the other general, viz: That *πηλικοις γραμμασιν*, cannot well be taken as equivalent to *επιστολη*; and that none of the epistles bear more evident marks than this one of having been written from dictation. These reasons, together with the fact that what follows verse 11, is a recapitulation of the pith of the whole Letter, have some plausibility; there is, however, a verbal difficulty left unnoticed. Why should the writer of such a postcript merely, use the aorist *εγραψα*, instead of a term indicating present or future time? Why say, "I have written," instead of "I write," or "I am writing?"

We have but a few instances to cite from the Epistle to the Romans; which may seem strange considering that it is the longest and most elaborate of all Paul's Letters. But owing to its didactic and metaphysical character, and the absence of the same abundance of local allusion and illustration, which characterizes most of the other epistles, there is not the same room in it for variation of rendering, or for the display of those

peculiar excellencies which distinguish Mr. Conybeare as a translator. And though his translation is done with great care and accuracy, and by its nice shades of meaning throws much light upon many obscure passages, yet we have not been able to note a large number of points which we deem worth contrasting with the Authorized Version according to the method which we are now pursuing. A few will suffice.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Rom. 1 : 18. * * * men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.	* * * * men, who keep down the truth [which they know] by the wickedness wherein they live.
6 : 6–7. Knowing this that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin.	For we know that our old man was [then] crucified with Christ, that the sinful body [of the old man] might be destroyed, that we might no longer be the slaves of sin; (for he that is dead is justified from sin.)

The gist of this closing illustration seems to be that if a criminal charge is brought against a man who died before the perpetration of the crime, he must be acquitted, since he could not have committed the act charged against him.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Rom. 7 : 25. So then, with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.	So then, in myself, though I am subject in my mind to the law of God, yet in my flesh I am subject to the law of sin.
8 : 20. For the creature was made subject to vanity, &c.	For the creation was made subject to corruption and decay, &c.
9 : 19. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault? for who hath resisted his will?	Thou wilt say to me, then, Why does God still blame us? for who can resist his will?"

We cannot refrain from giving the entire note on this last verse. "Here comes the great question—no longer made from the standing-point of the Jew, but proceeding from the feeling of universal justice. St. Paul answers the question by treating the subject as one above the comprehension of the

human intellect, when considered in itself objectively. If it be once acknowledged that there is any difference between the character and ultimate fate of a good and a bad man, the intellect is logically led, step by step, to contemplate the will of the Creator, as the cause of this difference. The question, "*Why hast thou made me thus?*" will equally occur and be equally perplexing in any system of religion, either natural or revealed. It is, in fact, a difficulty springing at once from the permitted existence of evil. Scripture considers men under two points of view; first, as created by God, and secondly, as free and moral agents themselves. These two points of view are to the intellect of man, irreconcilable; yet both must be true, since the reason convinces us of the one, and the conscience of the other. St. Paul is considering men here under the first of these aspects, as the creatures of God, entirely dependent on God's will. It is to be observed that he does not say that God's will is arbitrary, but only that men are entirely dependent on God's will. The reasons by which God's will itself is determined are left in the inscrutable mystery which conceals God's nature from man. The objection and the answer given to it, partly here and partly in chapter 3: 5–8, may be stated as follows:

Objector.—If men are so entirely dependent on God's will, how can He, with justice, blame their actions?

Answer.—By the very constitution of thy nature thou art compelled to acknowledge the blame-worthiness of certain actions, and the justice of their punishment; therefore, it is self-contradictory to say that a certain intellectual view of man's dependence on God would make these actions innocent; thou art forced to feel them guilty whether thou wilt or no, and (9: 20) it is vain to argue against the constitution of thy nature, or its author.

The metaphysical questions relating to this subject which have divided the Christian world, are left unsolved by Scripture, which does not attempt to reconcile the apparent inconsistency between the objective and subjective views of man and his actions. Hence many have been led to neglect one side

of the truth for the sake of endeavoring to make a consistent theory; thus the Pelagians have denied the dependence of man's will on God, and the Fatalists have denied the freedom of man's moral agency.

We may further observe that Paul does not here explicitly refer to eternal happiness or to its opposite. His main subject is the national rejection of the Jews, and the above more general topics are only incidentally introduced." (Vol. II, page 178–9.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Rom. 12: 2 * * * that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.	* * * that by an unerring test you may discover the will of God: even that which is good, and acceptable and perfect.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
14. 1. Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations.	Him who is weak in his faith receive into your fellowship, and make no distinctions for opinions' sake.

We pass on to cull a few instances from the shorter epistles in the order in which our author supposes them to have been written.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Col. 1: 19–20. For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him I say whether they be things in earth or things in heaven.	For He willed that in Himself all the Fulness of the universe should dwell; and by Himself He willed to reconcile all things to Himself, having made peace by the blood of His cross; by Himself (I say) to reconcile all that exists, whether on the earth, or in the heavens.

The subject of the verb *Ευδοκησε*, is supplied in the common version ("the Father.") Mr. Conybeare thinks there is no

need to seek a new subject when there is one already expressed in the preceding verse, viz: Christ. He understands the Apostle thus to set forth emphatically the true divinity and supremacy of Christ over against the angelolatry of the Colossian heretics, who seem to have taught like some of the later Gnostics, that Christ was only one, perhaps the highest, of the angelic hierarchy. See verses 15–17, Supra, and chapter 2: 9–10, which our author translates, "For in Him dwells all the Fulness of the Godhead in bodily form, and in Him you have your fulness; for He is the head of all the Principalities and Powers."

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Col. 2: 20–23. Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (Touch not; taste not; handle not; which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh.	If, then, when you died with Christ, you put away the childish lessons of outward things, why, as though you still lived in outward things, do you submit yourselves to decrees, ("hold not, taste not, touch not"—forbidding the use of things which are all made to be consumed in the using,) founded on the precepts and doctrines of men? For these precepts, though they have a show of wisdom, in a self-chosen worship, and in humiliation, and chastening of the body, are of no value to check the indulgence of fleshly passions.

This is a passage of acknowledged difficulty, but the rendering here given seems to be in harmony with 1 Cor. 6: 12–13.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Eph. 4: 22. * put off * * * the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts.	* * put off the old man, whose way is destruction, following the desires which deceive.
4: 30. And grieve not the	And grieve not the Holy Spirit

Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.	of God, who was given to seal you for the day of redemption.
5 : 18–19. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess ; but be filled with the Spirit ; speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.	Be not drunk with wine, like those who live riotously ; but be filled with the indwelling of the Spirit, when ye speak one to another. Let your singing be of psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, and make melody with the music of your hearts to the Lord.

The translator sees in this passage, throughout, an implied contrast between the heathen and the Christian practice, as though he had said : " *When you meet let your enjoyment consist not in fulness of wine, but fulness of the Spirit ; let your songs be, not the drinking-songs of heathen feasts, but psalms and hymns ; and their accompaniment, not the music of the lyre, but the melody of the heart ; while you sing them to the praise not of Bacchus or Venus, but of the Lord Jesus Christ.*"*

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Phil. 1 : 22. But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labor ; yet what I shall choose I wot not.	But whether this life in the flesh shall be the fruit of my labor, and what I should choose, I know not.
2 : 30. Because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, to supply your lack of service toward me.	Because his labor in the cause of Christ brought him near to death ; for he hazarded his life that he might supply all which you could not do, in ministering to me.

The authorized version of this last passage seems to contain a reflection upon the Philippian Christians. None such was intended. The brethren at Philippi had made a contribution

* We remark in passing, that a little attention to the then existing circumstances in which this Epistle was written, might prevent a certain class of expositors from limiting the " psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs " of the above passage, to what are technically known as the " Psalms of David."

for the relief of the beloved Apostle's prison necessities, and sent it by the hand of Epaphroditus,—a journey, it seems, attended with peril and followed by sickness. The "lack of service" which Epaphroditus supplied was in bringing the offering which could not be brought by all in person.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Phil. 3 : 15. Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded, &c.	Let us all, then, who are ripe in understanding, be thus minded, &c.
4 : 2–3. I beseech Euodias, and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord. And I beseech thee, also, true yoke-fellow, help those women which labored with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow-laborers, &c.	I exhort Euodia, and I exhort Syntyche to be of one mind in the Lord. Yea, and I beseech thee, also, my true yoke-fellow, to help them [to be reconciled;] for they strove earnestly in the work of the Glad-Tidings with me, together with Clemens and my other fellow-laborers, &c.

The variation from the common version here is considerable. The two women mentioned, were zealous helpers of the Apostle, but had since become unhappily at variance. There is no means of knowing who was the person addressed as "true yoke-fellow;" apparently some eminent Christian at Philippi to whom the Epistle was to be presented in the first instance. Chrysostom mentions a hypothesis that Συζυγος, is a proper name. We have the authority of Origen for regarding this Clemens as the same who was afterwards bishop of Rome.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Tim.* 2 : 15 Notwithstanding, she shall be saved in child bearing, if they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness, with sobriety.	But women will be saved by the bearing of children; if they continue in faith and love and holiness, with self-restraint.

It is difficult to give an accurate version of this remarkable passage, without a paraphrase. The sense given it by some, that it contains a promise of succor in the perils of child-birth, is without foundation; much less ground is there to suppose

that child-bearing is intimated to be a condition of salvation. Paul's meaning is that women are to be kept in the path of safety, not by taking upon themselves the office of the man, (by taking a public part in the assemblies of the Church, &c.,) but by the performance of the peculiar functions which God has assigned to their sex.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Tim.* 3 : 2.	A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, &c.	A Bishop, then must be free from reproach, the husband of one wife, &c.

Several different constructions have been put upon this precept. It has been supposed (1) to prescribe marriage, (2) to forbid polygamy, (3) to forbid second marriages. The most probable interpretation is that which regards it as directed against the *successive* polygamy which was so common under the corrupt facility of divorce allowed by the Greek and Roman laws.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Tim.* 3 : 15.	* * that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.	* * that thou mayest know how to conduct thyself in the house of God (for such is the Church of the living God) as a pillar and main-stay of the truth.

The interpretation of Gregory of Nyssa is here adopted, which makes Timothy, and not the Church, to be the "pillar," &c., in analogy with Gal. 2 : 9, where James, Peter, and John are called "pillars," &c. We are not disposed to follow Mr. Conybeare in this instance, on the strength of any of the reasons given for weakening this important passage.

	A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Tim.* 6 : 5-6.	* * Supposing that gain is godliness; * * * But godliness with contentment is great gain.	* * * who think that godliness is a gainful trade. But godliness with contentment is truly gainful.

The authorized version reverses the true order and violates the laws of the article.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
1 *Tim.* 6 : 20–21. O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith.	O Timotheus, guard the treasure which is committed to thy trust, and avoid the profane babblings and antitheses of the falsely-named "Knowledge;" which some professing have erred concerning the faith.

It seems very clear from the pastoral epistles that the unsanctified *Γνωσις*, or "philosophy falsely so called," which afterwards developed into the multitudinous and threatening forms of Gnosticism, had already germinated and was bearing its first ill-favored fruits within the borders of the Church.

A. V.	*Conybeare.*
Titus 1 : 12. One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow-bellies.	It was said by one of themselves, a prophet of their own,—"Always liars and beasts are the Cretans, and inwardly sluggish."

Epimenides, of Crete, a poet who lived in the sixth century before Christ, is the author quoted.

A characteristic of the pastoral epistles is the frequency of quotations which are not to be found with anything like verbal accuracy in the Old Testament Scriptures. They seem to have been current sayings, or Christian proverbs, embodying some important item of Christian truth, or doctrine, or admonition, which were floating from mouth to mouth, indicating that a Christian traditionary literature was in a rapid state of formation, of which the "Apostle's Creed" is the most remarkable and lasting product. Such quotations are found at 1 Tim. 3 : 1; 1 Tim. 3 : 16; 1 Tim. 4 : 9–10; Titus 3 : 8; 2 Tim. 2 : 11–13, and 2 Tim. 11 : 19.

We shall not, owing to the large space we have already occupied in this way, lead our readers through the translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It would be worthy of an extended and careful analysis. The Epistle itself is one which needs peculiar care in translating, and which affords an ample field for the ingenuity, and critical and antiquarian researches

of Mr. Conybeare. To it he has done equal justice with the other more strictly Pauline Epistles, and by the help of his assistence the ordinary reader may see a richness of meaning and a beauty of illustration where it can hardly be expected he would see them in the common version. It has not been our aim in this paper to render service particularly to the scholar or the critic; but to indicate to the ordinary pulpit expounder of the Word of God the kind of aid he may receive, in the work of exegesis, from the volumes before us. We have given mere specimens.

We take leave of these volumes with the grateful conviction that our labors upon them have been both pleasurable and profitable to ourselves. They have made us better acquainted with a great character, a character eminently worthy of study from a merely human point of view; and they have brought us into more intimate sympathy with that portion of the "lively oracles," which we owe, under the illuminating Spirit, to the pen of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Such, we are persuaded, will be their effect upon the great mass of their readers. They are the product of a healthy and vigorous growth of English literature.* They indicate, here and

* We humbly venture to record our dissent from the severe sentence of condemnation which the Biblical Repertory (April, 1855) flings at the "Broad Church" party in the Church of England. It occurs in a short notice of a new work by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and is as follows. "He belongs, we understand, to that small but brilliant coterie in the English establishment, who have been styled by one of their leaders, the "Broad Church School." A similar class in this country glory in the title of Liberal Christians. We augur little good from any religious teachings of this school." One of the most common sins against Christian charity and truth is committed by making sweeping assertions from isolated data. If the author of "Alton Locke" was the only legitimate representative of the "Broad Church School," we should have little fault to find with the philippic of the Repertory. But when we remember that the products of the "Broad Church School" embrace the writings of Richard Chevenix Trench, (See Bib. Rep. for 1851, p. 51, and 1850, p. 340 and pp. 681-2,) *all* the writings of Frederic Denison Maurice, (See Bib. Rep. for 1854, pp. 197-98,) Archdeacon Hare's "Mission of the Comforter" (See Bib. Rep. for 1854, p. 199,) the vigorous pamphlets of Arch. bishop Whately, the Sermons and Correspondence of Dr. Thomas Arnold of blessed memory, and the Life and Epistles of St. Paul by Conybeare and Howson, we cannot help thinking that the "small but brilliant coterie" have given to the world *some* religious teachings of which we may venture to augur good. We do not know precisely who are intended by the "Liberal Christians" in this country; but we opine it is a title in which one might rather glory than in that of "Illiberal Christians," which some seem to make their peculiar boast.

there, a type of thinking and feeling upon many of the great questions of modern Christendom, which, to our mind, tends most immediately to the solution of these questions, and which we should be happy to discover to be the prevailing type of thinking and feeling in the bosom of modern Protestantism. The translations of the Epistles and Speeches we regard as one of the most important features of the work. They will stimulate an intelligent study of the Word of God. They will dissipate the delusion (of no little practical force in many minds) that the received version is the only possible correct one, that it is exhaustive of the whole contents of the Scriptures, and almost inspired. Something is needed to breathe into our common orthodox Protestant "worship of the letter" a spirit which shall give it vitality, and save it from the charge, not always without foundation, of being mere bibliolatry. To this the authors of this work, and the school of writers and thinkers to which they belong, have contributed more than a mite; for which the future heirs of a healthy Christianity will not be unmindful of them.

Chambersburg, Pa. J. C.

Art. II.—COLLEGE GOVERNMENT.*

First of all, young gentlemen, permit me to congratulate you on your safe return from your homes, your robust health, the renewal of endeared social relations, and the prospective pleasures of College life. To me these pleasures were among the most joyous and endearing of my youth. They form a

* An Introductory Address, delivered to the Students of Franklin and Marshall College at the opening of the Summer Term, May 4th, 1855.

green spot in the past, covered with waiving trees, and vocal with the song of birds, to which memory loves to run back with unchanging fondness. Indeed, did I possess the power of magic, I would once more for a while be a college student; I would enter the class-room from day to day; I would catch the truthful words with eager earnestness as they once fell from revered lips, alas! now sealed in death; I would roam again over hill and dale at the morn or even, in the buoyancy of ripening physical vigor, and listen to hear the forest ringing with the voices of my boon companions; yes, I would once more live the life of a college student, perform its duties, pass through all its scenes, and look out upon the wide sphere of manhood, the unclouded sun of hope shining full upon it. For those were precious days. But my wand should fill my bosom with a far deeper sense of the diamond value of youth. I would look upon my responsibilities, upon my duties to God and man, upon the vast interests of the future, with a keener eye and a more earnest heart.

These fanciful representations are not mere fancy. It is because the varied experiences of public life, enable me to set an estimate on youth and college education, such as I never could when a student myself, that I can congratulate you on the renewal of your relations with all my heart. Yet my pleasure is mingled with some degree of sadness. How differently a man of forty and a boy of fifteen look upon youth, emphatically the sowing season of life's harvest. Could I use the art of the fabled magician, I would for an hour, transfer you to the prime of manhood. The intervening days, weeks, months and years should be a lively reality, filled out with the cares, trials, disappointments, joys, pursuits, plans and seriousness of actual life. I would stand upon the line that divides equally the allotted period of our earthly existence, and then reflect upon the past with an earnest mind. I would let memory and imagination call up with the vividness of reality the happy days of boyhood, the golden days of college life, and cause the worth of every hour, the worth of every branch of study, and the intimate connection of every opportunity to cultivate mind and heart, with your peace, usefulness and hon-

or, to pass under solemn review. You should sit in judgment on two score years, and decide, in the light of the wisdom that mature age alone serves to impart, upon the inestimable preciousness of youth and the vital importance of thorough Christian education and scholarship. Conscience would doubtless approve of many instances of diligence, self-denial and perseverance. Many scenes would certainly be the source of calm satisfaction. But how many scenes and events, standing out clearly in all their relations, would be of an opposite character? How many vain, vain regrets would embitter your peace? Unbidden the useless but sincere wish would rise from many a heart: O that the days of my youth would once more come back!

Then you should awake again to the real and natural, as one awakes from a dream, and know that you are sitting on these seats, just ready to enter upon the duties of another Session. But the transition would carry with it an impression, deeper than that which any chisel can engrave upon a marble slab. The view of the solemnity and earnestness of life would inspire new resolutions, give firmness of purpose and enlist your feelings in favor of Literature, Science and Christian character, with more enthusiasm than all the efforts of the Faculty can breathe into your souls.

Again I say, these fanciful representations are not all fancy. They illustrate to you the manner in which maturer years enable a reflecting mind rightly to appreciate the value and the pleasures of a student's life. You can infer too why I have said that my congratulations are not free from sadness. The majority of even the most diligent and earnest students, fail to appreciate their privileges and advantages fully. Although they make good proficiency in most or many branches of study, and their general deportment commands the full approval of their Teachers, yet, when, in after life, they subject their whole course of conduct to the scrutiny of a mature judgment and an enlightened conscience, there are but few that will be free from all regrets. In view of the solemn and momentous interests of humanity that demand the devotion of every virtuous, intelligent man, your own consciences will deal with every

word, with every day's labor, ten-fold more severely than did ever any Teacher or Professor. Hence it becomes the Faculty of this College, it becomes me, to aid you both by regular instruction and by kind counsel, in the development and discipline of your intellects and in the formation of a firm moral character, in order that you may enter into the sphere of manhood with the consciousness that you have made earnest and successful preparation to work for man and for God.

There are numerous topics upon which I might dwell in this Introductory. Either one would be a theme for profitable reflection. But as I am just assuming the trust to which I was called last July, I desire to discuss a subject that is immediately connected with the duties of my office as President. It is *the Government of the College.*

Two principles are necessarily involved in all rational, Christian Government. One is the principle of authority; the other, that of freedom. Both must be maintained inviolate. It is the harmony of their operation that constitutes well-regulated life.

The necessity of authority, the sound judgment of every one, will at once concede. To establish it is unnecessary. To affirm that the State, or a community, or an association, or a College, or a family, can prosper without its regulating and conservative influence is simply absurd. In this country particularly, this glorious land of republican freedom, every man, woman and child is subject to to the authority of suitable laws from the scavenger or chimney-sweeper, up through all the various grades of our social organization, to the President of the United States himself. Everywhere it is adapted to the particular sphere or condition of life which it affects.

Authority obtains expression in the form of customs and laws. All specific laws rest in the general or moral law, which, when traced to its ultimate ground, is the will of God; from this every regulation derives its validity and binding force. They are wise in proportion as they properly express the demands of the general law in its relation to given cases. Strictly speaking, men never originate or make any laws. They simply study the wants of a given sphere or condition or de-

partment of society and apply the great principle of right. They interpret the determinations of God's will. These interpretations or decisions carry with them, as long as they are not retracted, all the force of the moral law itself. In all good constitutions, in all good laws and regulations, God speaks through the understanding and will of men. Men indeed may err; men actually do often err, even the wisest and best; circumstances change; the age advances; the prevailing spirit and tendencies of the world are modified; there is progress in knowledge, wisdom, virtue and in a clear insight into the higher wants of mankind as well as into the comprehensive claims of Christianity. In consequence customs and laws, though they may in themselves be good, also undergo change. Some laws are discovered to be unwise or unnecessary and must be abrogated; some, to be defective and must be modified and improved; whilst others are seen to be wanting altogether, hence new ones must be enacted. This necessity of change in the course of time does not, however, affect the general principle just affirmed. Whilst any particular law exists it is the rule of right and duty for those to whom it applies. There is no other authoritative expression of what God's will requires in the premises. Any violation is, therefore, morally wrong. Obedience is morally right. In one case, the conscience, duly enlightened by the Word of God, will condemn the act and produce a sense of guilt; in the other, it will always approve and awaken a sense of complacency and honor. I know of but one exception. It arises when specific law or authoritative demand, plainly contradicts the revealed will of God.

Such also is the nature of good College laws. The object of a College is to develop the intellectual and moral faculties; to enable a man to think logically and independently; to instil right principles of thinking and of morals; and thus, by a course of thorough and comprehensive training, to lay the foundation for profound scholarship, extensive learning, and a noble, manly, and truly Christian character. I can conceive of no lower or more limited aim as legitimate. The constitution, course of study, and the laws, embody, on the one hand, the views of the Board of Trustees and of the Faculty as to

what is in all respects the best way to perform so important and difficult a work. They are the result of long experience, extensive observation and careful reflection. Although they do not lay claim to being free from imperfections, yet they challenge the respect of every student as expressing the united judgment of those who have been entrusted with the responsibility of conducting the Institution. On the other hand, these laws express the will of God concerning the conduct of a student. Some of them, indeed, are but a simple repetition of God's commands; others are such as the universal judgment of the good and the virtuous, apply to all men everywhere; and those that regulate and apply to College life specifically are either self-evident or are proved to be necessary by experience. In what light then shall a student look at College laws? Are they mere whims of fancy? Are they arbitrary enactments? Are they the result of ignorance or of the love of despotic sway? Are they a collection of obsolete notions? No. They are not only wise and necessary statutes, but they come with the authority of the moral law stamped upon them. They teach every member of the Institution what is his solemn duty—what God himself requires at his hands whilst filling this particular relation. Coming with such authority, they address themselves to every man's sense of honor—to every man's conscience. The authority of College Government is, therefore, the authority of moral law, expressed in various specific subordinate regulations adapted to the exigencies of a College.

This, young gentlemen, is not only a Christian view of College authority, but it is also the only honorable view—honorable alike to the Faculty, to me, and to you yourselves. The arbitrary will of any individual or of any body of men, no matter how intelligent or scientific, cannot bind the conscience or command the respect of those who respect themselves. Laws that rest on no deeper basis are no stronger than a spider's web. They do not merit even as much regard. For my part, I will obey no one but God. But whenever He speaks, no matter by whom or where, let my soul bow in profoundest reverence. Nor do I ask any young man to obey any person but God. But I would have every one remember that

God speaks to men by men. He speaks to men by the constitution of the world, by the normal institutions of society, by every relation growing out of the divinely-established order of things, and by every law, whether civil, religious, moral, or collegiate, that springs from a recognition of God's will and design. God speaks to me in the duties that belong to my office as a Professor and as the presiding officer. God speaks to you in every law of the College and in the duties that devolve upon you as students in all your relations. To view College laws in this light respects you both as men and as freemen. Your true relation to our common Creator and Judge is recognized. One man is not at the disposal of the will of another man. All are alike subject to a higher law. In one sense, the Professor and the Student stand side by side on the same platform. Both must recognize the supreme authority of law and lead a life of moral rectitude. Both must yield promptly to the call of duty. But as their stations and duties differ widely, so do their privileges and prerogatives. The wide difference of duties, rights and privileges is, however, entirely consistent with the respect due to both. The laws respect you as free and rational beings. You respect yourselves in rendering cheerful obedience to the laws; and every member of the Faculty evinces proper respect both for the person and character of the student, and for the honor of the College when he seeks to maintain the inviolability of the laws and direct all the affairs of the Institution in accordance with their general spirit.

To maintain the authority of the laws is entrusted to the Faculty, and particularly to the President of the Institution. A connivance at serious infractions, or a neglect to enforce order when it is disregarded, argues a culpable indifference to the reputation of the College and to the character and future prospects of the student. It is no more, therefore, than you all doubtless expect and desire to hear, when I say that I respect the laws of Franklin and Marshall College and shall endeavor to maintain their authority with decision and firmness. I owe it to the honor of the College; I owe it to the Board of Trustees; I owe it to the community in which we live; I owe

it to your parents or guardians; I owe it to you, young gentlemen; I owe it to myself; and above all I .owe it to God. These various obligations bind my conscience to this course as by so many bands of steel; and I must be faithful to my solemn trust.

Numerous cases arise, however, for which there exists no particular law; for even particular laws are in their nature more or less general. The mode of conducting a College, depends after all, to a great extent, upon the discretion and energy of the Faculty and its President. The laws may be administered kindly or unkindly, with due discrimination of temperament, times and circumstances, or with mechanical rigor. All I can promise is that I shall look upon you not only as students, but as my brothers; that I shall deal with you as a man of Christian principle should deal with men of Christian principle, or as an honorable man should deal with honorable men. I shall be able to overlook an error or find an extenuation for some improprieties of conduct in a young man who respects his own obligations and manifests a becoming sense of honor. But not one among you, do I believe, would wish me to respect a coxcomb or to repose confidence in the word of a scoundrel. The lancet is good for a festering sore, particularly when it is ripe. When an ugly excrescence grows upon the cheek-bone, the sooner the surgeon applies his sharp knife, the better it is for the face.

The question may now be put, Whether such a view of authority, does not imply slavish subjection on the part of the student? Is there no violence done to the freedom of his nature? In reply, I proceed to discuss the second principle involved in good Government, namely, that of *Freedom*.

The opinion, that the authority of law, or of an officer or body of men invested with the prerogatives of a trust, is antagonistic to the freedom of any individual affected by the judicious exercise of such authority, is false. It is false both in theory and in practice. There is no necessary antagonism between necessity and liberty. The reverse is true. Liberty and necessity, freedom and authority, include each other. For what, let me ask, is freedom? Certainly not the determina-

tions of will in opposition to law or in defiance of it. That does not constitute freedom, but arbitrariness, licentiousness, lawlessness. Freedom of thought, freedom of will, freedom of action, imply the conformity of a person to the laws of thinking, to the laws of physical life, to a certain objective order of things in virtue of which he possesses his rights. Law is an internal necessity that constitutes the only guarantee and the very soul of freedom. Illustrations are abundant. Free speech demands obedience to the laws of language; free thought, obedience to the laws of mind; free discussion, conformity to the rules of logic; and free citizenship pre-supposes a strict observance of civil laws. Indeed a citizen is free only in the degree that he performs his duties to his neighbor and to the State. The more profound his respect is for law and the order of society, the more free is he in all his private affairs and public business. And what is the state of the case as regards our own independent Republic? National independence involves the necessity of subjection to the fundamental law or the Constitution of the confederacy, and of implicit obedience to the national will as expressed in accordance with the provisions of that Constitution. The moment this fundamental law is transgressed or ignored; the moment the national will, constitutionally expressed, is disregarded by the officers of government, and the will of an individual citizen, or of another nation is substituted in its stead, that moment a blow is struck at the pillar of our national liberties. The nation itself is bound. It cannot choose between its own will and the will of a foreign nation. As soon as it does, it is in the act of casting national independence to the winds.

These facts illustrate the position that true freedom involves the authority and supremacy of law. The true freedom of a College Student, accordingly, pre-supposes the existence of good College laws. But if these laws are not enforced—if they remain a dead letter on the statute-book—if transgression is winked at, I ask, of what avail are laws? What beneficial supervision have the wayward and thoughtless? What protection have the considerate and moral? It is plain, that for all practical purposes, an Institution might as well have no

laws; nay, I think it were even better; for then the moral character of the student would not suffer the evil effects of conscious transgression; and the Faculty would not be guilty of culpable inconsistency. Hence neither the existence nor the strict enforcement of law is in any way incompatible with freedom, but both are its condition and warrant.

A good student of a well regulated College is not only really free, but he also feels free. He enters the Institution of his own free will. He assents to the propriety of its regulations and voluntarily obligates himself to comply with them. He approves of good order; is averse to every species of irregular or immoral conduct; and takes delight in the acquisition of knowledge and the pursuits of science. Diligence, regularity and good order are the element of his life. He obeys his own will and gratifies his own wishes; for his will and his wishes harmonize with the established order of the Institution. He is, therefore, under no uncomfortable restraint. He is bearing no burden. There are no chains binding his hands. There is no yoke galling his neck. For the spirit of the laws is the controlling principle of his conduct. He cannot indeed choose between obedience and disobedience. But what of that? Can he choose between living on land and living in water like a fish? Does a young man not feel free, because he *must* inhale the atmosphere? Just as much sense would there be in asserting, that he is not free and does not feel free morally, because he must obey the laws. If the spirit of good order lives in his own bosom, he will comply with the necessary requisitions as naturally and as cheerfully as a fish confines his movements to the waters of a stream. He will be sensible of no more uneasiness and friction than he is whilst his heart forces the blood through the arteries and veins of his healthy body.

I do not assert that every student is or feels free. Any one who would prefer vice to morality, irregular to regular habits, indolence to industry, must feel College laws to be shackles upon his limbs. The more carefully and strictly they are enforced, the heavier and more irksome will they be. It cannot be otherwise. It is so in all the stations and relations of life. To all transgressors, law is like a bit and bridle, or like a

heavy burden on a donkey's back. The way of the transgressor is hard, always hard. Thus the incumbent of any office, who takes no delight in the performance of its duties, becomes a slave to his work. An external necessity forces him along against the hidden inclinations of his heart. In this respect, there is no difference between a student and a professor. The professor, who passes mechanically through the dry routine of his Lectures and Recitations, whose soul does not live in his work, is not free, but may feel his duties to be as unwelcome and irksome as does any self-indulgent student of his class. The sound of the College-bell may grate with equal pain upon the ears of both; and draw them up to the post of duty as by the force of a log-chain. But just in proportion as either student, or a professor, is carried along by strong love to the duties of his station, will he be insensible of any supervision or authority above or outside of him, uttering the stern demands of law. Each delights in the joyousness of breathing the pure air of moral freedom.

I started out with the general proposition, that all good government necessarily involves two principles: authority and freedom. These I have discussed briefly in their relation to a College, in order to show that the reciprocal action of both forces results in the normal formation of individual character and in the proper regulation of a Literary Institution. The general inference which I may proceed to draw from the whole discussion is, that under a judicious administration of College Government, the students learn to govern themselves. The students govern themselves under the direction of a system of laws that they approve as necessary and good. This is true of every diligent, earnest, moral young man in the Institution. He is not sensible of any authority or controlling force that comes in conflict with his wishes and feelings. He sees no high stone wall around him, over which he is anxious to leap. Nay more: College is his classic home; and at the expiration of a long vacation, he returns to its pleasures and duties with as much joy and eagerness as he had hastened away to receive the warm greetings of those loved ones who dwell beneath the parental roof. Punctuality in the discharge of all his duties,

becomes the habit of his life, and he moves along to the entire satisfaction of all his Instructors, forgetful even of the demands of law and of the presence of authority; just as a healthy man will breathe, unconscious of a law of his nature rendering it absolutely necessary. In this way he develops not only the character of an excellent Student, but is also in process of forming the true character of an American citizen. For the union of these two elements, the supremacy of law and the freedom of the individual, sustains the relation of a fundamental principle to the whole structure of Christian society under our Republican Government. At College he learns to govern himself both according to the laws of God and the laws of his physical, intellectual and moral nature. When he enters upon public life and assists in working out the great problems of humanity, he is not only a law-abiding, independent man, but he is able also to govern those who are disposed to transgress the laws and tread just authority beneath their feet. He can rule himself and can rule others.

This is the general idea of College Government that determined the course of my honored predecessors in office, Rauch and Nevin. Time and again, as circumstances rendered it expedient, I heard it fall from their lips. It always authenticated itself as truth to my own consciousness, and I trust has had its due influence upon my life. In my official relation to you, young gentlemen, I intend to carry out this idea. I shall endeavor to walk in the footsteps of my predecessors. There are no general principles to be changed; I need but seek to apply those that formed the character of Franklin and Marshall College to the varying exigencies that continually arise.

It was my intention to consider some further particulars involved in the general view of College Government that I have attempted to unfold. But this address is already as long as I expected it to be; and I do not wish to weary your attention. I shall, therefore, avail myself of some future occasion to speak in detail upon the bearings of the subject.

In conclusion, let me add, that I enter upon my official duties among you, in the belief that you all cordially approve of law and good order. No one shall be the object of suspicion,

Trusting to your good sense and love of right, I shall address your judgment and self-respect, treating you as young men of principle, whenever it may be necessary to take cognizance of any infraction of the laws. To the simple exercise of authority I shall never resort, except when no other course is open. I give you my hand in pledge of sincere devotion to your highest interests, and my heart would ever confide in your integrity and manliness. May the ties that shall be formed by daily intercourse here, increase in strength with advancing life, and unite us in the bonds of a sacred friendship that death alone can sever.

Franklin and Marshall College,
Lancaster, Pa. E. V. G.

ART. III.—THE QUESTION OF THE DAY, IN THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

AMONG the very interesting and important subjects, now engaging particular attention in the Episcopal Church, that which has most prominence, and which, from a general solicitude with regard to it, has been called the question of the day, is that of increasing the efficiency of the Church among the masses. A number of questions in the recent circular of the Commission of Bishops, invite a contemplation of the subject in a variety of bearings. And the venerable authors of them are, most properly, far from understanding by *the masses* (an expression which they do not here use) any particular classes of society. They contemplate all classes and avocations, for the interests of which present ecclesiastical provisions may seem to need some extended adaptation. All the points involved

concern every Christian denomination, which has not an overweening confidence in its own perfect and thoroughly furnished adaptation to the mission of converting the world. And where is there one, which does not require other appliances than it now wields, to grapple with the peculiar difficulties besetting the Church of Christ in these days,—to say nothing of the increase of those difficulties, at a rate of progress, of which the superficial Christianity of the time is unable to take due cognizance?

There are two branches of inquiry, as to ministerial efficiency, on which we here offer some observations, designed to be rather suggestive of reflection, than either instructive or controversial; and these mainly in the direction marked out by certain of the questions in the circular referred to. One of these branches, which may be indicated as *charitable ministration*, we shall attempt presently, as connected with the question: "How can the influence of our ministry be made to reach the multitudes?" * * * * The other comprises the kindred subjects of *preaching* and influence on *Church-attendance*, the consideration of which, first of all, we propose in connection with the following questions (the second, eleventh, and twelfth, in the first series:)

"Could any change be advantageously made in the prevalent character of our preaching? If yea, state what, and by what means. What modes of instruction, besides sermons from the pulpit, have you found specially beneficial and effective?"

"Ought not young men to be seen in our churches in much larger number? Please to suggest means."

"How can the proper influence of our Church over men engrossed in business be secured?"

We do not attempt specific replies to these questions, but merely take notes on their collective topics.

1. Sermons are in general too long. Their usual length not only is an impediment to a sustained interest in them, but contributes less than anything to agreeable associations, in the minds of the many, with an attendance on divine service; particularly among young people, who cannot but connect such occasions less with the idea of privilege than with that of im-

posed discipline. But of course there are occasions, when a subject requires, that a discourse upon it should be a kind of treatise in its way.

The causes of lengthy preaching in ordinary cases seem to be these. One is, that professional culture in this department is rather unfavorable to the compression of matter. Another is, that, lengthy discourses being in vogue, most preachers would rather not risk the appearance of having but little to say, or of being supposed to treat lightly the office of preaching, or to be seemingly doing less work than their fellow-laborers in this form,—it being but too probable that the work of the study, as such, will be popularly rated as much with reference to the quantity produced, as to any other grounds of estimate.

It can hardly be denied, that the several departments of public speaking—certainly the pulpit, and the halls of legislation—exemplify a more than proportionate cultivation of diffusiveness. It is a natural result of the almost universal policy in education, to task the faculties with discussion or with composition, antecedently to the possession of a store of ideas. The aim, in these early efforts, is to acquire a facility in finding something to say,—as if writers and speakers do not find that out soon enough, and if, on occasions of duty, anything should be found which is not *suggested* by the business or subject in hand.

2. Our academic culture tends apparently to the production of too much uniformity of judgment in relation to intellectual types and models of writing—to too much conventionality. We have no personal acquaintance with the process of that culture, but judge of it from its fruits. There is not room enough on our professional platform of taste, for any great variety in the intellectual and literary cast of the theological mind among us. It may be doubted whether we should have any place for a Kingsley, or even a Melville—minds not of the prevalent mould; for it is as foreign specimens that their productions have an interest here. Emerson, too, if he were a Christian divine, and that in every sense, would be nobody; for how could *he*, possessor of "Apollo's lute," submit to the

trammels of conventional homiletics? An ordinary professional judgment, on sermons for delivery in our pulpits, has less reference to their character as reflections of the mind of the preacher, than to the question whether they are after the approved models of sermonizing. Yet the fact that published sermons are scarcely ever read in this country, and that a volume of native sermons is the last thing a book-seller would undertake to publish at his own risk, whatever be their merit, is a sign that the public mind is so familiar with the sameness of their character, as regards form and matter, that, with all its curiosity on the subject of religion, it has little expectation of either adding materially to its ideas, or of forming new associations through such a medium.

3. The preceding observations lead to some remark on the question of a clergyman's use of other sermons than those of his own composition. If the preparation of more than one sermon in the week limits his sphere of usefulness in other respects, undoubtedly the labor of preparing his discourses should be lightened: *provided* that, whatever use he may make of the productions of others for this purpose, if he does it in such a manner as tends to advance his own credit as an original writer, it becomes those who are aware of it to write him down a thief.* We submit whether it would not be a good practice for those of the clergy who deliver more than one discourse in a week to take a volume of useful sermons into the pulpit on the extra occasions. But as this practice has never been common, though it is not without precedent, the advantages connected with it should be enumerated. They appear to be these: (1.) The time of the clergyman could be better divided, for the greater good of the greater number; for it

* On the other hand, those who allow nothing to be original which has been previously said by another, may learn something from the following sentiments of Pascal: "Il y a des gens qui voudraient qu'un anteur ne parlät jamais des choses dont les autres ont parlë; autrement, on l'accuse de ne rien dire de nouveau. Mais, si les matiëres qu'il traite ne sont pas nouvelles, la disposition en est nouvelle. Quand on joue ä la paume, c'est une mëme balle dont on joue l'un et l'autre; mais l'un a la place mieux. J'aimerais autant qu'on l'accusät de se servir des mots anciens: comme si les mëmes pensëes ne formaient pas un autre corps de discours par une disposition differente, aussi bien que les mëmes mots forment d'autres pensëes par les differentes dispositions."

should be borne in mind that, as his *parochial* duties are not confined to the *church*, so his *professional* duties are not confined to the *parish*—unless his personal capacity for usefulness is thus confined. (2.) His mind would be more free—a state better adapted to do justice to the various duties engaging his attention.* (3.) The congregation would be sure of hearing good discourses, on all those occasions when they would otherwise have but the hurried supplement to the main preparations of the preacher. (4.) The laity, few of whom read many sermons, would be made acquainted with those minds of the Church, who being dead yet speak, and with a select corps of contemporary divines who are remote from them. (5.) Those members of the congregation whose minds, more enlarged than that of their pastor, need illustrations of doctrine above the level of his capacity, would thus have advantages, which an attention to *his* productions *exclusively* would not procure to them.†

The only objections to the plan appear to be these: One is, that some members of other congregations may chance to come in the afternoon, expressly to hear the minister of the church, and of course one of *his* sermons. Let them come at the right time for their own purposes. Besides, how common it is, when a stranger has heard a preacher for the first time, and that in the afternoon, to hear it said, "But you should hear him in the *morning!*"—which of course implies that, so far as hearing him to advantage is concerned, you might as well, and better too, have heard him deliver a select discourse of another divine. Another objection is, that hearers may have read several of the printed sermons. Now this objection carries with it more than one answer to itself. While but few are likely to have read such sermons, at the same time, if a sermon has been read to any purpose, its tendency will be to edify the more when *preached*, by virtue of the promises to a faithful *hearing* of the word; for which profitable hearing, the

* Men of questionable gifts are very apt to affect indifference with respect to the diminution of their mental labors. Perhaps they take little trouble.

† If we are here told, that minds of every capacity should have nothing but "the plain gospel," we call on the objector to be consistent, and to exclude everything which is above the simplicity of a Sunday school book.

previous reading will have better prepared the hearer. Besides, the sermons of the pastor himself are likely to be heard again, as they ought to be, if they are good for anything. Indeed, the great divines, who supply many of our popular preachers with matter and sentiment, have left no great number of sermons. The objections to the plan are entitled to no weight, by the side of the advantages.

4. There would be great public advantages from the appointment of a class of Lecturers to discuss subjects which are less usual in pastoral discourses, but which are of incalculable importance to people of various classes,—such as: evidences of divine truth; ethics, as applied to the circumstances of commercial, political, professional, and ordinary life; science, in any way applied to theology, religion, and morals. Such provisions, if extensively promoted, might supersede the necessity for prize essays, as regards subjects which could properly come within the sphere of the pulpit. Or if, instead of that effect, it should have the opposite one, that of promoting a call for such essays, through an increased interest in discussions of that nature, this would be better still. The direct purpose of such institutions could hardly fail to be answered to a considerable extent. They might do much for young men in our cities, by leading many of them to estimate a high moral and religious culture, even as grafted on their secular aims, and as related to any honorable destinies they might hope to fulfill in life. Men of business would have a rich resource for their enlightenment, or at all events for directing and facilitating their search after truth, and the knowledge of duty. And their reasonable expectations from such institutions would doubtless influence their liberality in behalf of the endowment of them.

On the above topics, no doubt better suggestions from other quarters are in reserve; and we await them, with a readiness to yield to them a preference over these, if apparently better calculated to conduce to the ends contemplated.

We now propose attention to the collateral question alluded to at the commencement of this article: "How can the influ-

ence of our ministry be made to reach the multitudes now living without the gospel in our own land and neighborhood, (a) by social intercourse, (b) by extra parochial services, (c) by philanthropic labors, &c. ?"

The remarks about to be here submitted on this question, will have more reference to its general spirit, than to the points particularized in it. And the subject shall be considered mainly in its application to city parishes.

The idea we have of a properly occupied ministry in such fields, contemplates a somewhat equalized division of time and labor, between ecclesiastical duty and the ministration of Charity and Mercy. Doubtless there are many, including even some of those who have the greatest share of pulpit labors, that do thus divide their ministrations. But in general, they regard their pulpit duties, when fully sufficient time is allotted to preparation for them, as enough for their capacity. And when parish duties of every variety are laid on the clergyman, some are unavoidably driven into a corner ; the performance of some, and the previous preparation for others, must be hurried; and that, recklessly of the well-being of the mind thus burthened and harassed. But even allowing that the *mind* is thus warrantably sacrificed, it may be questioned whether the *heart* is likely to be thus duly cultivated; for a mind ever hurried is not a very edifying companion to the heart. In truth, the health of the one is as important as that of the other to the pastoral charge and to the interests of those who are the subjects of that charge.*

The author of "New Themes for the Protestant Clergy," whatever judgment the several points in the scope of his work may call for, appears to us to hold impregnable positions when he observes, that "the hand of charity must accompany the tongue of truth; the latter must enter into the heart, but the former must open the door;" and that, without "a veritable fulfilment of the law of love, the gospel cannot be preached to the poor, as prescribed and intended in the New Testament." The following extract illustrates this view, and embodies perhaps an adequate answer to the question of the commission now before us:

* A discourse on "The Priesthood in the World," by Dr. Wyatt, is richly suggestive, on topics kindred to the above.

"It may be said, the clergy are already burdened beyond their strength, and that they cannot assume such duties as are here designated. True, they are so burdened, and they are constantly sacrificing breath and life to a mistaken system. Two-thirds of their present current duties should be dispensed with, to make room for the ministry of kindness, which would promote health instead of destroying it, and prolong life instead of shortening it. The personal effort required by a ministry of consolation and succor among the poor, the afflicted, the sick, and the imprisoned, would give vigor to the body and nerve to the mind; it would deepen the affections and enlarge the views; it would confer a knowledge of human nature, and an insight into the ways of Providence, which no other clerical training can accomplish. It would show that he who makes such acquisitions, may carry to the study of the Scriptures a commentary shedding a holier and purer light than all the volumes which human intellect, without such experience, has yet devoted to that purpose. A servant of Christ, engaged in the very work in which his Master labored, must acquire the very knowledge and experience which will enable him fully to understand and appreciate the lessons delivered by Christ while so engaged."

It will be said, how greatly people accustomed to hear frequently sermons and lectures would miss them if the number be diminished. We do not believe it, except in the case of idle parishioners, for the most part. Yet, without any diminution in number, these addresses might be partly provided in the unoriginal way spoken of on a former page; and, even if not, the parties interested would be better edified if they took part, as they should, in the ministrations referred to, which, as *connected with* the gospel preached, would be vastly more improving to the heart, than ever so much preaching *without* these collateral exercises. Multiplied occasions for profiting by *all* the means of grace, ought to be highly valued; but it should be observed with what tenacity many professed Christians seem to adhere to the notion, that the *frequency* of their hearing the word is, in itself, the means to be the most trusted for the renewing of their souls, and the building up of their

hopes. The form which the sentiment of such dependence appears to take in the minds of some, is this: that so many occasions of hearing present a greater number of chances for the occurrence of some occasion on which they, individually, may become more seriously impressed. But there is another manner of looking at the subject, which is more consonant with reason, and with the laws of moral and spiritual influence: it is this, that a *frequent ineffectual* hearing of the word of God tends to render people (as some have expressed it) *gospel hardened;* for they hear it so often without effect, that they become proof against its power.

There is, both in *ministerial* and in *lay* life, an insufficient degree of active exercises for the heart. By active ones are here meant such as have external objects, as distinguished from devotional and contemplative ones. Whatever degree of such exercises may be presented by objects of sympathy in a person's own circle, or where he has a personal or a social interest, it is altogether inadequate, as stimulating no self-sacrifice apart from such interests. The defective life alluded to is referable to a remarkable feature in Protestant Christianity, which calls for serious attention. That *intro*-version which an evangelical culture of the affections requires, is practically assumed, by most protestants, to be the whole of experimental religion. But it is a Scriptural condition of the new life, that it should "draw out" the soul. Mere introversion, without this, tends to an exclusive self-concern of the soul, even when properly devoted to the things which concern its peace; and, when it is not so devoted, the affections become self-occupied, for want of appropriate functions *without.* In illustration of this, observe professedly religious people to be as illiberal as others, and a laborious ministry on the part of a clergyman to be no guarantee for an unselfish professional character. The natural effect on the heart of a minister, from a so much more than proportionate attention to the pulpit department of ministerial functions, is somewhat like that of *discipline* without proportionate *cultivation;* for, while *experiences* are abundantly formed, *qualities,* even as influenced by divine grace, are not duly cherished. And it is the same with

the hearers. We hold it then to be a very great mistake in the Protestant mind, that almost all ministerial work of love is convertible into *preaching*,—as if labor in that form which is the most *wearing*, must be the best labor of love, or, better still, as if it were ascertained by *calculation*, that those who support the ministry get from it, in this form, the most for their money; other modes of pastoral service too being but contingent, while this they are sure of.*

Besides, preaching alone on Christian duties is inadequate to the diffusion of knowledge and truth on *social* questions. The actual application of Christianity to the wants of society in such a way as to show that *that*, as practically applied, is the great desideratum of society, is indispensable to give effect to the preaching of the gospel, among all classes; for that collateral feature of the mission of Christ, "to heal the broken hearted," requires such illustration as his representatives can give it, and in forms appreciable by every class.

Again, an indispensable way to the hearts of the people is the manifestation of a spirit of *self-sacrifice*. Now, though the greatest proof of it may be found in a clergyman's wearing himself out by preaching, yet it has not that effect in any proportionate degree; and this is owing to its being an office peculiarly and exclusively professional. For it is known that the lawyer, the statesman, and others will thus sacrifice themselves *con amore* to their respective professions; and that even those engaged in the pursuit of gain, dwell "where pallid study spreads her mid-night wings." Unjust though it is to the ministerial character, to rate no higher its sacrifices in this form, it indicates the policy—not indeed of neglecting, or holding in less account, the office of preaching, but, of manifesting the spirit in question in *other* charitable forms, of a nature to promote and extend the influence of the ministry. This is not the place for examples in illustration of the forms it would take,

* "Custom takes us to church twice on Sunday; but, suppose it were the custom of all whose circumstances admitted of it, to spend the afternoon of the day in works of mercy, would there be less acceptable worship of Him who went about doing good? Would there not be a nearer imitation of his own manner of spending the Sabbath, seeing he so often made it the day for his healing the sick, &c.?"

[MUHLENBURG.

even if the pen could suggest them so well as actual occupation, in a sphere of charitable ministration such as is here contemplated. Many ministers there are, ready for works of charity in any form within their capabilities and opportunities. But, before they could do justice to themselves or to the cause, they must be freed from the burthen of the prevalent routine of pastoral duty, which public sentiment in the Church has established.

In addition to the advantage of thus bringing the ministerial office nearer to the homes and hearts of multitudes, not only of those actually brought into contact with it, but of such as might only know it by the repute consequent on such a manifestation of it,—this sphere of ministry would have more or less effect on the character of the individuals engaged in it; in the case of some an immense effect. Their preaching would be improved and emboldened; for they would be less concerned about the judgment of those who, being "sound, need not a physician," whether for the soul or the body. And the spirit of sacrifice would be drawn out in modes which cannot occur to a person's mind, unless the sphere of action to which those modes are appropriate is accessible and entered upon. It is there too that a minister of Christ would best realize the harmonies of even a fallen and mortifying state of things—as thus the Christian minstrel:

> "The Son of God, in doing good,
> Was fain to look to heaven and sigh:
> And shall the heirs of sinful blood
> Seek joy unmixed, in charity?
> God will not let love's work impart
> Full solace, lest it steal the heart,
> Be thou content in tears to sow,
> Blessing, like Jesus, in thy wo."†

Among the good offices that would naturally fall in with a course of ministerial engagements such as we have supposed, would be that of devising various courses that private liberality (such as desires judicious opportunities,) may take, and submitting them discretionally without anticipating concurrence.

† Christian Year—Twelfth Sunday after Trinity.

Much of the discouragement there is to recommending channels of benevolence, arises from the usual supposition that the mention of such is a virtual application in their behalf,—in a word, *begging.* Consequently opportunities, of which the benevolent would be glad to avail themselves if presented to them, are often lost from an unwillingness to trouble them on such subjects, except in cases where we are bent on pressing certain claims in which we take the most interest; though these may not attract so much interest from those to whom we appeal. The way to get rid of difficulty and false delicacy, alike on the part of those who have objects to recommend to benevolence or liberality, and of those who, having objects of predilection, would rather not have others pressed on them, would be this: to have it conventionally understood that it is the *duty*, both of ministers and laymen, to make known the various interests of which they have particular personal knowledge, as entitled to the liberality of their parish, or of their social circle; and that the mere *report* of such objects implies no *application* in their behalf. If *some* objects should gain a less exclusive attention in this way than otherwise, yet others having as good claims might be the better cared for; and probably none would be quite neglected, for the mere want of an interested and politic advocate. It might be a useful public present, from a clergyman to his parishoners, if at certain seasons he would circulate (by placing in every pew, or otherwise,) a printed list of all the objects which he considers as having a claim to be recommended to liberality, giving prominence to those in which he desires to see particular interest taken. If there are any of private nature, let it be indicated that there are such, awaiting private inquiry after them. In the case of those objects, the amount of contributions to which is required to be publicly known, there is the plate, or any other medium that may be preferred. At all events, however numerous the collections made in connection with this general plan, it could not be complained, as it is at present in many churches, that the begging from the chancel is incessant. If it be said that a counterbalancing subject of complaint may be found in the unceasing mention of some objects or other, we can but reply

that such a practice is an indispensable feature of Christian society, and that those to whose ears such sounds are discordant, are not the proper persons to give tone to that society.

Supposing the clergyman of a parish to have the time afforded by such parochial arrangements as are here contemplated, he would be a competent person for benevolent persons to look to, as a private quarter for information, if not consultation, on the most appropriate modes of dispensing the beneficence within their power and their willing heart. "The liberal deviseth* liberal things," says the evangelical Prophet; and in *devising* them, such persons need sources for judicious and confidential reference; though, whatever plans might be suggested, the adoption of them should never be looked for as a matter of course, nor should a minister ever allow in his own mind the assumption that any such weight is due to his suggestions. Moreover, the minister being, not the depository (unless this is the only convenient course) but the introducer of the beneficently disposed to the objects in request, in this manner any advantages, that could have attended the consignment of appropriated means to ecclesiastical distribution, would be combined with the advantages of a *personal* distribution of them. If individuals are in question, such contact between the giver and the benefited (except in cases where the delicacy of liberality would require the avoidance of it,) would be beneficial to the giver, by exercising his pains-taking to find occasion to do good, and through his witnessing both the call for, and the effect of, his benevolence; and it would raise the spirit of the depressed, by enabling him to behold and to recognize *friends*—not of his own making, for such have failed him, but of the gift of God.

If services to mankind, in such forms as are here submitted to be an expedient department of the ordinary life of pastors, should not appear likely to aid in bringing the ministry nearer and nearer to the homes and hearts of the people in every class of society, while the Church is incorrupt, her doctrine pure,

* *Systematic benevolence* does not fill the idea conveyed by this expression. Perfect as that may be, so far as it goes, the Scriptural idea includes likewise the direction of well-managed benevolence even into *newly discovered* channels, which moreover are to be *sought out*.

and her ministers faithful,—then we have no faith in any attempted means by which the influence of the ministry (with its present gifts,) may be made to reach the multitudes now living without the gospel in our own land and neghborhood.

In closing these remarks, a mere word is sufficient to suggest the importance of experimental preparation, for the theory of ministerial avocation here presented. But, even independently of this consideration, it would seem that, for the ministry of the gospel of Christ, that must be a cold and faint preparation, which does not include the cherished habit of visiting the poor, and the suffering, from whatever cause. It is here submitted with deference, that candidates for the ministry should be put in a way for making this a partial engagement; and that, not only for the timely cultivation of the professional practice of so doing, but also for the expansion of the heart, and an early habituation to Christian intercourse with persons in a prostrated condition, of whatever form. It might happen to some, to discover by such means, in good time, their want of adaptedness, in a sense at all satisfactory to their own minds, to the work of the ministry.

P. B.

Art. IV.—THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Our age is developing principles, which we conceive to have been laid far in the past, and it is important to understand these, as well as the spirit at work in our country, to discover whether we tend to happiness, as a people, or to despair and destruction. The tendencies of the Times are fearful and operate

powerfully, both in Church and State, and it betrays a want of interest, if all these can be overlooked, and we in the spirit of perfect safety say, Peace, Peace, when State and Church are rocked on angry waters that threaten anarchy and dissolution.

Every age has its problem to solve. Great principles, taking their rise far in the past, require to be unfolded and carried out to their legitimate results. This is accomplished in the course of History. These principles, are always powerful and tell with effect upon society. Now they may be, in the end, dangerous and pernicious to the State and the Church, or they may tend to the amelioration of humanity and the bettering of the world. By understanding their nature and character, we may speak of the future, and arise and prepare ourselves to resist consequences which may be fatal.

What then are the principles now unfolding? What is the spirit of our philosophy which rules politically and religiously? Whatever these may be, they are assuredly not of a day's growth. They have been laid far in the past, and centuries have been at work in developing them, and the last results seem now to have been reached. There are but few men in the world, who have given rise to great principles, requiring centuries for their realization, while inferior ones assisted in carrying them out to proper results. Such a mind, vast in its proportions, was that of John Locke. He started a system of thinking, of which we have the legitimate consequences in the awful tendencies and terrible signs which mark our present age.

In the immortal "Essay on the Human Understanding," Locke originated an intellectual movement which has exerted more influence on Government and Religion than any English system since. It proposes for its object the "*study of ideas;*" for anything with which the mind is occupied, when we think, he calls an *idea.* This is carried forward: "1st. By investigating the *origin* of our ideas and the means by which we acquire them: 2nd. By showing what knowledge we possess by means of our ideas and determining its certainty, evidence and extent: and then as there are objects in the mind, which we cannot call objects of knowledge, but the reality of which rests solely upon opinion or faith, he proposes: 3rd. To ex-

amine the grounds and the degrees of our assent in matters of this nature." These are his leading features to which, generally, he remained true. The conclusion at which he arrives is, that Experience is the primary source of all our ideas. Before Experience then, the mind is a blank and is compared to a sheet of white paper, remaining so, until the hand of Experience inscribes ideas thereon. This great teacher gives ideas —furnishes stuff for the mind, which is to be worked up. Now this has regard more directly to the *occasion*, than the origin of our ideas. The source in the system is purely empirical; whereas, the truth seems to be, that the mind comes into contact with the world of experience, that its energies may be unfolded. His views of the principal duties of life, correspond to this empiric, sensational idea. Very much is made to turn on the idea of utility, as good and evil are made the result, rather than the foundation, as in all sound morality is the case, of reward and punishment. His principles and his actual teachings, manifested a leaning toward sensationalism, and included germs which bore the fruit " of Utilitarianism in morals, of materialism in metaphysics and scepticism in religion."

Now where principles, with such tendencies as these, are laid down, and the thinking of any country is brought under their power, it is very easy to see that their influence must be felt, not only in religion, but also in politics. If the thinking pervading the masses, is infidel, and generally there are but few men in every community that do the thinking, it is very clear that every department will be tainted and results will be in accordance with the principles which govern. These facts we have amply illustrated in the history of thought. Locke exerted a powerful influence on the thinking of his country. His principles were eagerly laid hold of by deists to carry out their sceptical opinions. Some caught at them, to establish the doctrine of necessity. Others, again carried them out into Materialism, while others, by means of them, aimed a death blow at all moral distinctions. Because of the Utilitarianism of his system, he drew on him the suspicion of Shaftesbury and the learning of the first men of England. But he had advanced a formidable system, which, from its rationalism, met with fa-

vor, and became very powerful. It found an advocate in Hartley, who attempted to carry the system out to its legitimate results, and was here again taken up by Priestly, a mind objective to an extreme. "He could fix his faith on nothing which had not the evidence of sense, in some way or other, impressed upon it." "All science, politics, religion, philosophy, came under the head of sensational." Priestly carried forward the principles of Locke, where Hartley left off and boldly and openly advocated Utilitarianism and Materialism, from which Locke and Hartley would have shrunk back. Then others came forward to carry on the work, who, true to the system, endeavored to banish *spirit* from the universe, "and trample all religious hopes under the feet of materialistic unbelief." Here we have grinning infidelity. "In politics and morals appears Jeremy Bentham, an uncompromising advocate of the Utilitarian system of ethics." So Paley in morals. These are the principles of Locke carried out to their final results, giving us the Utilitarian view of life, and leading to infidelity and scepticism.

But the influence of Locke did not end here. Its seed was carried into unhappy France, and there is little room for doubt, that all the misfortunes of this unfortunate country had their root in the infidel thinking of the people, and not the result of this sensational philosophy. Here the advocates become numerous. Condillac comes forward as the defender of Locke in France and boldly advocates Sensationalism. Bonnet follows after him, still pushing forward, but afraid to draw the conclusion, which was left for the infidels that followed. Helvetius advocated undisguised selfishness. With him, the hand is the great agent in civilization, "and thus, but for its capability, we should never have risen above the bushes around us." Here self-interest is the true ground of all morality, the Utilitarianism of Paley, and upon this selfish view the whole fabric of individual action and political rights are made to depend. Saint Lambert entered the field of thought and in his system his infidelity comes strikingly forward by wholly excluding the very *name of God.* Condorcet would perfect society by education, and substitute it in place of the sanctions of morality

and religion. The cap-stone to the whole system was laid by Baron d'Holbach, in his "Systeme de la Natüre," in which materialism, fatalism and avowed atheism, all combined to form a view of human nature, which even Voltaire pronounced to be "illogical in its deductions, absurd in its physics and abominable in its morality." The system was now near its end. Voltaire and his school contributed their part, and the whole received its finish in such personages as d'Alembert, Diderot and others. This is strikingly set out in the "French Encyclopedia of Sciences," "where nature in her outward manifestations, is the foundation of all its researches. Man is to it but a mass of organization, mind the development of our sensations. Morality, self-interest, and God the diseased fiction of an unenlightened and enthusiastic age." In a philosophy like this, with the thinking of this infidel type, what could morality or religion expect? How this terrible infidelity acted upon the masses, is seen in the Revolution and the terror that reigned, with which unhappy France was afflicted and from which she has not recovered to this day."*

This was the spirit of thought in France. Its last consequence was terribly infidel. Now this became impressed on every day life. Socially, civilly and religiously the shock was powerful. Society became desperately deranged. Licentiousness of every grade and form was revealed. To this, the literature filled with this infidel poison, contributed not a little. Politically, these ideas told powerfully. Government felt the effect. All seemed to vibrate, and sparks were kindled into flames, and terror, anarchy, revolution and blood-shed followed. To this day, the government is uncertain; for infidelity still, to a terrible extent, rules, and we would sooner be some humble peasant of Switzerland, than the uncertain Emperor of the French people. In religion, at that time, generally, the nation knew no God. Infidelity had sway, and to this very day France is perhaps more infidel than any civilized nation in the world. In England this sensationalism was not so fearfully carried out, but the principles have been laid, and, unless

* In this historical exhibition, free use was made of Morell's History of Modern Philosophy.

avoided, the consequences *must* come. For this, there are fearful indications already.

Our country is a continuation of the old. We have been moulded by it—we have lived upon it—and it is natural, that these principles should have been, to a great extent, transplanted to this country. In America, the nest for every *ism*, these principles seek development. Already, as in France, we are on a fair way towards socialism and infidelity. The former we have abundantly represented in some of the New England States, and particularly in the new-fangled *ism* of the Mormons; the latter we have terribly revealed in the pulpit, from the press—the rostrum—in the Legislative hall. Without doubt, our age is developing the last results of these principles, the end of which is, as in France, infidelity in Church and State. The tendencies of the present time are certainly fearful, and the signs are such, that no one, having any interest in the State and the Church, can overlook or disregard them. Such are the principles and such are the tendencies at work, and their fruits, perhaps will be sad and melancholy, in the extreme.

Civilization carries with it these leading principles. Mind rules the world. Thought rules in the State and in the Church. History moves forward under two forms; the civil and the religious. As social beings we need the State to carry us forward; as religious beings we need the Church to perfect and complete our spiritual nature, and to prepare and fit us for heaven. Now these have principles underlying them, which are developed in their midst, and as they manifest themselves we have the "signs of the times," which we have pronounced fearful. These demand our earnest attention.

THE STATE.

In order to see whether the signs indicate progress or retrogression, it will assist us, if we keep in view the *idea* of *the State*,—her former grandeur, and then look at the view *now* entertained of her. The State is an institution among men for the protection and the welfare of society. Her origin is divine—a power in the world ordained of God. It is the form

in which human life unfolds and develops itself and is needed, even as the Church is needed to unfold the spiritual part of man. "It is the divine will present in the actual form and organization of a world-unfolding spirit. There is, accordingly, an idea corresponding, which, when normally developed, to its outward form, endeavors always to realize itself, and which will do so when all is complete. There can be no proper unfolding of human life apart from the State, which always forms the deep and wide channel of the History of the World. It commences with the human family and the development of the idea of the State is only an unfolding of humanity. It admits of growth, just as society grows, becoming more complete as it nears the end. Now the internal arrangement may be ordered according to human will, as necessity may require; but the State, the outward form, must always remain true to the idea, which is of divine origin. The State proposes a high and noble end—the welfare of humanity and the elevation of society.

Now this was unquestionably the view of our forefathers. They never claimed to have created her, nor called her into being. With them, she was of divine origin, and this finds expression particularly in the patriotic Washington. More than this, they never claimed to originate power. Modern infidelity had not as yet spread its virus, but power was believed to be divine, and with the Apostle, "ordained of God." Our first struggles in the Revolution, likewise show this; all reverently bowed to authority, and the arm of the law was upheld, for it was something fearful to the transgressor. What lay next to their hearts was the building up, or rather the realizing of this State idea, in a form more perfect and complete than ever before, and in a form too, different from any existing form of Government. Their spirit deserves praise. They knew no selfishness. Washington resigned the power into the hands of Congress, that very power, which might have given him a crown. In the Revolution there was but one end in view. All distinctions in politics, and religion were forgotten. There were no sectional interests. Oppression was hated, liberty desired, and for the gaining of this, "they pledged

their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor." With this magnanimous spirit they engaged in the contest and fought side by side—the men of the north with the men of the south, and that to establish a form of Government corresponding to the proper idea of the State, for the unfolding of human life. Not only so, but this catholic spirit was handed down to our former law makers. Clay, Webster, Cass caught it, who could separate themselves from all sectional interests and in the spirit of Washington, still and allay the tempest. This we have abundantly exemplified in the "Fugitive Slave Law," in contending for which, these men mounted far above all sectional interests, looked at these States, as a Union, and legislated for the common good. Here we have the spirit of our forefathers still, a spirit worthy of all commendation. At that day, we see tendencies of an opposite character. Sectional interests were urged—the sky lowered—the political horizon darkened and threatened civil war and blood-shed, when fortunately, by the guidance of these able statesmen these infidel tendencies were met and overcome, whilst right and justice triumphed. Here already we have signs—evidences of the development of infidel thought, the final triumph of which, must ever be looked for with fear and shuddering as fatal to our national existence.

History, however, never stands still. It moves forward. Thought cannot be curbed. Our present age is unfolding now that of which there were indistinct signs among our ancestors. The principles transplanted to our shores, grow and develop themselves. The blossom is seen, and ere very long, ripe fruit may be expected. Things now have changed. Formerly the spirit was the general good. Soon after, great political parties arose, in opposition to one another, but when danger pressed, our statesmen, Clay, Webster, Cass, and others, would forget all political distinctions, and seize the helm and guide the ship of State to a peaceful haven. These parties, so far as they now exist, are still in opposition to each other. In them the Utilitarian principles of Locke are now unfolded. They consult individual interests, whilst the public good is too often overlooked. This spirit sacrifices our best men, and

brings forward those of an inferior order as the guides of our nation. In truth, both our great parties, are rotten to the very core. They are made the occasion, or rather the saddle whereon political demagogues ride into power and office, to look after the "rights of the dear people." Most truly in these parties, we have infidelity against the State exemplified over and over again, and the *divine idea*, as among our forefathers, is gone and lost sight of, we had almost said, entirely. To convince the most fastidious and to show the extensive rottenness of the present political state of the country, we need but point to the endless "*isms*." Never, perhaps, was France, after a full development of all her infidel tendencies, more cut up and divided than our own country. Radicalism, of the most fearful kind, springs up everywhere, and is encouraged. Consequences now are very little regarded, precisely as in France, among the deists and infidels. The thinking of our country, to a great degree, has been of this sensational, utilitarian kind, whose last result, as we have seen, is infidelty. Radicalism pushes forward. The idea that the State is divine, is flung to the winds, and to assert it, is a heresy demanding faggot and flames. Not only this, but this infidel thinking boldly proclaims, "that all power is from the people," whereas inspiration tells us it is from God. Besides, this State spirit begins to manifest a decided tendency of hostility toward Christianity in some forms,* and there seem to be signs that the time may come when God himself will be legislated out of existence in our own country.†

Then, too, in our Legislative halls, the spirit of insubordination is becoming widely prevalent. The submission to authority seems to be very difficult. There is a grasping after power—an exaltation of self—the very soul of the philosophy above spoken of. This spirit has gone so far, that it cannot

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* The late Legislative enactment in New York, interfering with Church property and taking it out of the hands of the Church.

† Take as an example, the confession of some of the New England Congressmen, that the doctrine of the Trinity is disbelieved by a large majority of those who profess to be the followers of Christ. Are not these signs of infidelity and terrible unbelief?

be accounted an honor to occupy a seat in Congress. Wrangling and quarreling are the order of the day. The chamber is often made the theatre for the most disgraceful conduct. Sectional interests, radical measures, backed by the amazing infidelity prevalent, often lead to sad legislation. As it now is, adjournment is often preferable to disgraceful wrangling and disorderly conduct. From scenes, such as our Congress chamber exhibited for the last few years, our forefathers would have shrunk, and have shuddered to have been guilty of them. We hesitate not to say, from what we have seen, that our Congress, especially the Lower House, is a disgrace to these United States. Our Senate is more dignified, but the spirit of our forefathers is gone, and instead, we have the infidelity and radicalism we find all over the land. The idea of the State has fallen far below that of the New Testament, and also as entertained by our Revolutionary patriots. Some foreign spirit has been brought in. Other tendencies appear, and certain unmistakable signs show themselves, giving cause for fear and forebodings the most alarming. We have, it is true, a great country. Great in point of extent—great in point of wealth,—but equally great in point of faction—in arraying one section against the other—great in radicalism of the most hideous kind, and great in the development of a cold infidelity. The signs of the times, from this picture, cannot be anything but mournful. Our ship of State seems already to be rocking, and the bold infidel *isms*, so powerfully, and destructively at work, will rock it to the very centre. The last result, we are fearful, will be utilitarianism developed into grinning infidelity in the State, whilst the French reign of terror and anarchy may be expected to ensue. The signs of the times threaten this, and give the alarm. If the thinking now at work has free course, and is fully carried out, nothing can avert the storm, and this pharisaic land, filled with all hypocrisy, as the greatest country in the world, will become the most miserable and wretched, of which, perhaps, not even France will furnish a parallel. The tendencies, everywhere, are ominous. Society is educated for such mere naturalism, and unless our infidelity can be checked, in our country among the commen peo-

ple—in our Legislative halls, civil war, blood-shed and anarchy must follow. From such awful ends, good Lord, preserve us!

THE CHURCH.

We turn now to another form of History, and that is the Spiritual. This form stands pre-eminent, far above the State, the sayings of our modern infidelity to the contrary notwithstanding, and whatever the State has become, it owes to the Church. The civilization of the world, where it is worth any thing at all, was effected under her guidance. The civilization of Europe came directly from the Church, by which barbarianism was conquered, States formed and government upheld. We owe our civilization to the Church, and where the Christian Church is disregarded and looked upon with suspicion, there are "back tracks" toward barbarism and heathenism. In fact the greater part of our land exemplifies this point. Who are the resisters of our Laws—who are the radicals—who are the daring spirits, setting law and order at defiance, of which we have had, of late, by far too many disgraceful scenes, but Church-haters and avowed infidels. This spirit is increasing, an unauspicious sign. While some lament and mourn over it, others gloat at it, and bid it progress. We find this spirit in our Legislative halls, where efforts are made to curb the power of the Church and her "priests." There is by far too much sympathy with this alarming infidelity—too much, by a great deal, for the safety and welfare of our country—too much, by far, to be called a Christian land. Let us remember unhappy France, where religion, as with us, was sneered at, where God was legislated out of existence; similar signs of which we have in our own country, and that from *native born Americans.* There is more to fear from the devil, when he comes as an angel of light in this infidel and insinuating character, than from the Church under her most imperfect forms; for she, as a whole, has always been the defender and promoter of religion and morality. The contest just now seems to be, if we judge from Congress speeches and the press, whether this infidel thinking shall prevail and bring in a reign of ter-

ror, as in France, or whether civilization shall advance, under the guidance of a higher, holier and better power than human passion and caprice?

What is the Church? Is she an organization designed to overthrow the State and become despotic? This is the view of many, and is allied with the worst form of unbelief. This thinking knows of nothing which it cannot handle, or see, and and is strictly true to its principles. Faith is only a foolish figment of the brain, which it cannot apprehend. It is rationalistic unbelief to an extraordinary degree. This species of thinking does not know that the Church never designed anything of the kind. She always stood and still stands in defence of that which is good and noble. Even during the middle ages, (infidelity may rant and slang as it pleases,) the Christian Church did stand forward as the promoter of science, art, literature and civilization. She does so still. Her tendency—her aim always has been the welfare of humanity here and the welfare of the soul beyond the grave. This is her aim still, and infidelity and unbelief, in all their deadly forms, may rage and persecute, yet her mission will, in the end, be accomplished, when she shall be all in all.

To show the nature of the tendencies of the day, and the discouraging signs of the times, let us but look at her as presented in the New Testament,—by the early Christians, and then examine her present condition. In this sphere, we have signs, over and over again, of sensational thought. We have here materialism—utilitarianism—spiritualism and scepticism all at work, and rapidly on the increase. As already said, America may be the theatre and the actor in the development of these principles, and from the progress we have already made toward nihilism and infidelity, the consequences, it is to be feared, will be of the most fearful kind, unfolding Atheism and unbelief, as in unhappy France. Such, to any unprejudiced mind, are unquestionably the signs now.

Let us look at the Church, as defined in Holy Writ. Jesus Christ came into the world for its redemption. He suffered and died, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and thus became the Founder of a new order of Grace, perfecting and

completing all that had preceded it. He ordained the apostolic office, gave commission to his disciples to teach all nations, and added, "He that believeth," in this supernatural order of grace, in the commission you bear as my ambassadors, and is willing to acknowledge this, and receive the rite of initiation, '*and is baptized,*' shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned," as a necessary consequence of a refusal to own and acknowledge this. In all his teachings he carefully separates his kingdom from the world. We are made to feel that it is something far above sense; that it is not to be seen with the natural eye—nor handled with the natural hand—that it is supernatural, and an object for faith. Hence in the creed we affirm our belief by saying, I *believe* in the Holy Catholic Church. Now this New Testament Church carried powers wholly supernatural—powers laying hold on nature—powers working miracles—powers which opened the eyes of the blind —caused the lame to walk—the deaf to hear—powers that healed the sick—that opened the graves and caused the dead to arise—and finally, powers that could say, "go and sin no more."

The apostles, true to this spirit, entered upon the work. In all their teachings, they brought forward prominently the same idea. Always the supernatural, as an object of faith. Now in all this representation we have no intimation of a power, spiritual in its nature, that was to become tyrannical and rule with an iron sceptre. She teaches submission—obedience to the powers that be. With the apostles, we find a peculiar idea, which history more fully developed. She is here represented as an organic, supernatural power, introduced in the world for the purpose of raising up and saving the human family. Accordingly she stands forth as a unity, living in all her parts, powerful in her idea, and going forward conquering the world. These ideas the apostle presents by the figure of a *building* and a *body*. Heb. 3: 4, 5, 6; 1 Cor. 3: 9; 8: 16, 17; 1 Cor. 6: 19; 2 Cor 6: 16; 1 Peter 2: 4, 5; Eph. 2: 19–22. As to the figure of a body, Eph. 1: 22, 23; Col. 1: 18–20; Col. 2: 19; Rom. 12: 4; 1 Cor. 12: 12, 13, 27; Eph. 4: 1–16; Rom. 12: 4, 5; 1 Cor. 12: 28, 29.

From these passages the apostle ascribes the office of apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor, teacher, &c., to the immediate institution of the Holy Ghost, thus making the Christian ministry of divine origin and authority, clothed with power to administer and carry out the divine functions.

Similar to all this is the idea concerning the Church, entertained and acted upon, by the early Christians. She regulated the faith; for then she was the bearer of life, and to be out of her communion there was "*nulla salus.*"

Now the Church, as thus delineated by the hand of inspiration, is independent of the State. She claims an origin that is divine, and the life that actuates her is far superior to that of the State. She claims nor owns no dependence—owns no king but the King of kings and Lord of lords—that King before whom every knee must bow. As already said, her object is not to tyrannize over any State form, and in her embrace society reaches an elevation it can reach under no other form, and under her guidance humanity becomes complete. She is the author of all that is good—the bearer of life and immortality—the well-wisher of the human family. To reach and carry on this, she possesses *means*—has *functions*, each in its proper and appropriate place. This we have already in the Old Testament, where we have a temple and a temple service—a priesthood and those who offered sacrifices, &c. So under the New Testament dispensation. The Saviour appointed his apostles—they solemnly filled the place of the traitor Judas—ordained elders and laid their hands upon them. This also in the early Church, and so on until now. Here we have an order which is divine—possessing functions which no *unordained* person is able to fill—an order far transcending the common call to become a Christian. All this is by virtue of ordination—the laying on of hands. Thus set apart, ministers become the administrators of the sealing ordinances of the Church—the ambassadors of Christ in a sinful world, calling to repentance and opening the way to life.

Let us now contrast with this idea of the Church, the views concerning her most generally prevalent. There are tendencies now which cannot be mistaken. As already intimated, instead

of being regarded as an article of faith, the Church is looked upon rather as some Jesuitic institution, designing to trample on the rights of the people and rob them of their dear liberty, which, however, is often nothing better than licentiousness. The signs now show, that our age can know of nothing which it cannot see or handle. There is very little faith, after all, and hence to say, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," smacks too strongly of Romanism.* Is not our age materialistic, utilitarian, sceptical? *Spirit* is fast driven away, and the signs show that we tread fearfully in the development of sensationalism in France. This spirit of unbelief is sheer selfishness, and always stands ready with a "*cui bono.*" Sceptical to a terrible extent, when nothing divine is seen in the Church—sceptical, when there is nothing sacred in the holy, ordained ministry—sceptical and full of unbelief when there is nothing divine in the means of grace—sceptical when every one can take the salvation of his soul into his own hands—originate a ministry, delude and deceive followers, and take all else for what it is worth. This is not the spirit of the New Testament—nor the spirit of the early Christians. It belongs all to a foreign system of thought; it belongs to naked infidelity. This scepticism we had in France—this sneering at the claims of the Christian Church and the ministry, so awfully prevalent in our country, is nothing new, and as there, so here, it was not long before its legitimate results appeared.

The Church, as we have endeavored to represent her from the New Testament, and early Christians, our present age seeks to subvert. It has already done so to an alarming extent. The ministry, to a great degree, have also contributed their part in betraying her into the hands of the world. This, we believe, is incontrovertible. The signs in this direction are significant. The present spirit rebels against her in the most violent form. Politics is arrayed against her, and just now,

* Take too the action of the Classis of Schenectady, Reformed Dutch Church, relative to the Liturgy, in use for three centuries, on the administration of Baptism. It smacked Romanistic. Verily, this reminds one of the Preacher *against* the Confession of faith, of the Presbyterian Church, on the subject of Predestination, and that part of the Bible treating on it, which was pronounced to be "*worse than all the coarse print of the confession.*"

her struggle with this spirit, bad in the extreme, is fearful, reminding one of the severe conflicts of Christianity in the age of the apostles. And why all this? Is it not because of our infidel thinking? We have a sceptical age, which hates the divine character of Christianity, seeking to overturn it. Talk of the Church as a divine order—an article of faith—speak of her as the "Body of Christ," possessing functions and means nowhere else found, and to our infidelity and unbelief it is nonsense; yea, worse, it is heresy. Only look at it. She is called a "society"—a clubbing of men together to obtain ends which could be gained just as well without. In this "society" every one thinks as he pleases, and if free thought is interfered with, the individual throws up, and politely leaves and makes his debut elsewhere, or else starts afresh for himself, and others follow after him. Our present age—the infidel spirit ruling, destroys the very scheme of redemption; for this must accommodate itself to every arbitrary notion or whim, and this to infinity. Is not this the spirit of our present sectarianism? Now evidently, this is not the spirit of the New Testament, nor of the early Christians. It is not the spirit of Christianity—it is something wholly foreign to it. It subverts the idea of the Church, and the signs, both within and without her pale, show that a lamentable defection has taken place—how far we are really from the spirit of the New Testament, and how another Gospel has been brought in, and to what a fearful extent we are under this infidel thinking, rooting far in the past. The very fact that she goes by the name of "society," "meeting houses," &c., shows signs which are significant and a defection from her original idea; for to imagine that these two thoughts are one, is a delusion of the highest order, requiring madness to believe it.

Besides this, our present philosophy denies her power; for she is not of this world, but is spiritual. But in truth, of what power is left her, our age would rob her, if it were possible. To talk of spiritual power is nonsense. Infidelity and unbelief must see the rod, lay the hand on it, or else it will not believe. This is scepticism, as in France; sceptical, because it has not the power of faith. To this mournful end there are

several causes that contributed much. One is, every one can do as he sees proper; if one form does not suit, he adopts another. He will not acknowledge a *regula fidei*, which the Church makes, but will rather make this for himself, with an open Bible and his own perverted reason. The other is the endless spirit of division. And who dare resist it, or say aught? Here we all stand on the same platform. Where this spirit prevails, and it does so to a lamentable degree; the power of the Church becomes weakened,—her hands are, in a measure, tied, and she loses her authority. Against these destructive tendencies the early Church manfully contended, and to suffer them to enter her confines was accounted treason to the cause of Christ. Her position now is wholly different and very unhappy. Cut up, as she is, in direct opposition to the prayer of her Great Head—one part arrayed against the other, *where* can she manifest, or *how* display her spiritual power? The New Testament Church is something wholly different. One in spirit—one as to her aim—one Lord—one Faith—one Baptism. Not only so, but there are fearful signs manifested on the part of the State. Endeavors have been made already to legislate for her.* Some of our Congress speeches are radical on the point, and betray an ignorance of her character and mission, which can only come from unbelief and infidelity. What, too, is the spirit—the thinking that would legislate and make laws for her? Is it not decidedly sceptical,—decidedly infidel almost to an extreme? The same scepticism appears in our Legislatures, in some as merit is made of being radical and extreme. Christianity is too often tolerated merely—too often sneered at—too often, alas! treated as a sort of trickery invented by some silly priest, to rob people of their sacred and dear rights. Now all this only shows the complexion of our reigning thought—that it is anything but Christian and religious; that it is the reverse, sceptical, infidel and unbelieving. Consequences, such as these were reached in France, after the sensational philosophy had developed itself and reached its last results.

But these are not the only signs of fearful declensions. The

* As for instance, the New York Legislature.

Body of Christ is not only treated thus, but the spirit is true to itself, and sweeps off all that belongs to her. All her solemn functions—all her sacred means—all her administrators—these all feel the ruthless hand. Infidelity and unbelief sees nothing in the ministry more than in any lay-member. One has just as much right to attend to the functions of the minister as the other. To speak of the ministry, as an order of men, *set apart* by the laying on of hands, for holy purposes, sounds Popish. The tendency is to reduce all to one level, which is the spirit of unbelief and infidelity. This was not so among the early Christians, neither do we gather this idea from the New Testament. What we have now, and such low views are advocated by men in high places, is something foreign, a degeneration to something lower, a progress towards a cold and dreary unbelief, where rationalism and infidelity find a genial home. To say now that this is an advance on early Christianity, as some religious papers do, is pitiful nonsense. It is infidel—treason to the cause of Christ, and just now is a powerful sign of the revelation of Antichrist, denying all that is sacred and dear to the soul of the Christian.

Not only this, but the professions of the friends of the Christian Church, are signs which are alarming, and here a wide field opens up, which we have no mind nor heart to explore. Look, for instance, at the defection in doctrine. Take, as an example, the Church itself. What crude conceptions prevail; what an order, or rather priestly organization for the reaching of ends. It is practically no Church, but a society, such as the Odd-Fellows and Sons of Temperance. It is a kind of grab game played off here, the largest grasps the most; so it appears in the eyes of the world. Now whence these infidel conceptions? Are they not the development of a certain form of thinking, having principles, legitimately carried out, leading to this, the last end of which is unbelief and scepticism. So precisely here. It sees nothing in the Church as divine—nothing that claims faith. It is all brought down into the sphere of the natural, and, with the unbelieving Thomas, must see and handle. This was treason to Christianity in the age of the apostles. It is treason now; for the Church is the Body of

Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all—the very form in which salvation is made present to fallen humanity. To be out of this order was death; for then the formula was: *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, and "he that has not the Church for his Mother, cannot have God for his Father." This we know has been repudiated over and over again, and no wonder, when we are told from certain high places, that we are wiser than our forefathers—than the early Christians—wise sufficient to frame a Gospel for ourselves, to suit the horizon of our present unbelief and infidelity. Take as another example, the idea of the sacraments. In the present age, among one half of the professed Christians, the sacrament of holy Baptism is refused to infants,—in a majority of professors it is undervalued, so that now you hear a general lamentation among all denominations. The sacrament of the holy Supper has fallen far beneath the view of the early Christians, and that of the Reformers. Luther's view now is repudiated, generally, and is regarded by far too *romanizing*. There is scarcely a single confession to be found, which remained true to the idea as brought out in the sixteenth century, and the defection is so glaring that it cannot be concealed. Then, too, look at the idea of duty, as to the sacred office. Without doubt, the primary object of the ministry is to preach Christ and him crucified—Christ is the great theme. But how often is this forgotten. See the subjects of slavery, abolitionism paraded before the people, from the sacred desk, from one holy Sabbath to another, exciting and adding fuel to the flames already threatening. Besides, how eager the people to hear. Sooner would they feed upon such husks, than plain substantial Gospel food, such as you find near the cross of Christ. Very often political questions are discussed as freely in the pulpit as from the stump.

Now all this reveals a dangerous tendency, signs which cannot be mistaken, that our people, and by far too many ministers, are fast reaching the last results of a system of thinking, which, in France, ended in anarchy, revolution and blood-shed, and irreligion, in scepticism and open unbelief. Towards these results, we fear, we, as a people, are rapidly drifting, and who will say that America will not witness this sad catastrophe, if the principles now at work are legitimately carried out.

Witness, in additon, the signs of the times from the public press. Here the infidelity comes out without any reserve. Radicalism of the worst stamp—treason to our national liberties, and death to Christianity. We shall not attempt to characterize the press. Enough, that it itself speaks out at times and denounces itself as "*Satanic.*" The religious press—the tendencies thereof, sicken the heart. Christianity represented by it? Alas! alas! for the cause in such hands. What dreadful stabs! What a malicious spirit! What revenge! and that under the holy garb of religion! What hatred! What dreadful opposition to each other, and all, all, we are told, for love's sake! What pitiful nonsense, to speak of love! Could any earnest mind learn the evidences of Christianity from the religious press? Any serious, sober, earnest mind would be driven, not to Jerusalem, but to dreary unbelief and scepticism. No other conclusion could be reached; for if the power of Christianity, which the religious press professes to represent, is hatred, revenge, dishonesty, any serious mind will turn from it in disgust, with no desire to claim it.

But enough. Sufficient has now been said to awaken fear and anxiety for the future. There is no need to deny facts. Let us honestly acknowledge them, and manfully resist them. Let us look at consequences—let us fear results, and prepare for the contest—assured that the warfare is real and fearful, that we have all a call to engage and to act our part. May the Lord be with his Church. May he bring her friends to see her unity, and to engage as *one* in the struggle with irreligion and infidelity, these fearful Antichrists, and save her,—not only her, but our country, from the awful doom of forsaking God, and make us a God-fearing people. This may God in his wise Providence grant us.

Cavetown, Md. J. W. S.

ART. V.—DR. CASPAR OLEVIANUS. 1535—1587.*

"CERTISSIMUS." Olevianus, when he was asked upon his death bed, whether he was sure of his salvation.

THE Elector Frederick III, appears, in the picture we have just drawn of him, as a decidedly true and pious man, who for a long time endured much care and labor on account of the Church and his beloved Fatherland. He knew no better way of fulfilling his duty and meeting his responsibility, than by the preparation and introduction of his Heidelberg, or Palatinate Catechism, and such a new and fundamental "emendation" of the Church and its then existing worship as should be consistent with its spirit.

To accomplish this important and difficult work, he secured the assistance of two men, at the time only from twenty six to twenty eight years of age. These, though distinguished by diversity, were, nevertheless, in every respect exceedingly well adapted to perform this work unitedly; and accordingly, the peculiar gifts of each one contributed to the formation of the Catechism, and the consequent consolidation of the Reformed Church in the Palatinate.

These two men were Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus; the one a decided and strict disciple of Calvin: the other a thorough, scientific, mild scholar of Melancthon, and hence, were mutually the complement of each other. To the Elector, however, his court preacher, Olevianus, stood in decidely more intimate relationship than the learned professor Ursinus. Olevianus, was not only a countryman of Frederick, but besides this, when he was a youth of only twenty years, he greatly endangered his own life in an attempt to save the life of the Elector's son, who was drowned in the Eure at Bourges; and in return, by his powerful influence, the Elector also had de-

* Translated from the German of Max Goebel.

livered Olevianus from the prison in Trier, and immediately taken the exiled fugitive to himself. Both these pious persons were, therefore, wonderfully united to each other by the ties of mutual gratitude as well as a common living faith; on which account the immediate influence of Olevianus upon the Elector was naturally stronger than that of Ursinus. On this account we must present our picture of him *first*, although he was born, and died, several years after Ursinus. He also is the real founder and regulator of the Palatinate Reformed Church, while the learned Ursinus was the principle author of its book of instruction. As an instance, we may mention that Olevianus labored for and accomplished the introduction of the Calvinistic presbyterial form of government and discipline in the Palatinate, and in our Church in the Highlands, and has thus exercised a most important influence upon the history of our Christian life.

Caspar, of Olewig, a village near Trier, from which his father is descended, called Olevianus, was born August the 10th, 1536, in Trier, where his father was baker, mayor, and senator. His parents were prosperous burghers, who possessed sufficient means to educate two sons, the one in the science of medicine, and the other, Caspar, in the science of law. His affectionate mother seems to have been a peculiarly apt and enlightened women, who, in her Christian convictions, was fully one with her son, and lived with him up to the time of his death. For his education he is indebted chiefly to her father, a prominent butcher.

In Trier the Reformation had already since 1541 and 1549 —thus since the Reformation of Cologne and the Palatinate— some decided, but still only secret adherents which on every occasion in which it showed a disposition publicly to advance, withstood the united spiritual and civil power of the Archbishop. Olevianus appears also, when only thirteen years of age, already to have had some deeper Christian knowledge and insight, especially in regard to God's covenant of grace in the Old and New Testament, which he received from the Lent-sermons of an old pious father. Later, about 1550, in order that he might advance in his studes, he was sent to neighbor-

ing France, where he studied languages in Paris, and the science of law at the celebrated Law Schools of Orleans and Bourges. It is remarkable, how, in this particular, he pursued a course similar to Calvin, who was afterwards his teacher; for he too, very soon united himself there to the "secret Church of God," without, at that time, fully surrendering his heart and life to the truth of Christianity. This he only did later in 1556, in Bourges, when he, as we have already mentioned, was in great danger of losing his life; it was then that he, in the deep anguish of his heart, made a vow unto God, that if he would rescue him from this danger, he would, if called to this work, preach the Gospel to his fatherland. He was afterwards newly strengthened and encouraged to be faithful to this vow, by the exhortations of the venerable Farel of Lausanne. From this time on, he, in addition to what pertained to the legal profession, also studied the Holy Scriptures and the writings of Calvin. In 1557 he became, amid honorable proofs of his learning and moral conduct, Doctor of Laws. In 1558 he visited, for a short time, his native town of Trier; where he found, on trial, that the doubtful practice of law could afford him no satisfaction. He hastend to Switzerland, in order to continue his theological studies. In Geneva, Lausanne, and Zurich, he became acquainted with the celebrated Reformed theologians, Calvin, Beza, Farel, Bullinger and Martyr, enjoying the privilege of sitting with them at table, and what for him, was much more important, he became acquainted, by his own knowledge and experience, with the condition and workings of the Presbyterial Church of Geneva, then in such an extraordinary blooming state. Here he informed his esteemed teacher, Calvin, concerning his distant dearly beloved home, and of his hopes for its conversion to the truth; and he induced Calvin, 1558, to write to the two members of the council, Otto Seel and Peter Sierk, who were secretly well disposed towards the evangelical movement, exhorting and encouraging them to take a more open and decided stand in favor of the spread of their faith, without regard to the unavoidable danger which it seemed to involve.

A fiery youth, only twenty-three years of age, Olevianus

returned to Trier; he was greeted in the most friendly manner and immediately received an appointment as Teacher of Latin in a school, at this time almost entirely extinct. Here he was to explain the dialectics of Melancthon, now in use over the whole of Germany; in the performance of this duty he took occasion frequently to make use of such examples, which would serve quietly and without awakening suspicion or prejudice, to instil evangelical truth into the minds of his scholars. On account of the backwardness of his scholars, he could make but poor progress in teaching Latin; but he began with more success in the German language to teach the Catechism; and although he was not an ecclesiastic, but only a layman, he ventured even publicly to deliver, in his school room, an earnest and decidedly evangelical sermon on justification by faith alone, in which he offered strictures especially upon the prominence given to Saints, and also in reference to the Mass, and Processions. He met in this, with the approbation of many of the inhabitants of the town. True, he was now immediately forbidden to preach in his school; but he nevertheless continued to preach in the Jacob's church, with ever-increasing attendance upon his discourses. This was the means very soon of creating great commotion, dividing the whole town into two parties. The principal burgomaster of the town by the name of Steuss, one of the fraternity of weavers, together with some other fraternities, and indeed nearly half the town declared themselves decidedly for the Reformation. The Elector Frederick, of the Palatinate, and the Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibruecken, sent superintendent Friesberg of Zweibruecken for a short time to Trier to sustain Olevianus, and to assist in carrying forward the young, quickly formed congregation. The triumph of the Gospel, as was the case at the same time at Aachan, could not have delayed, had Trier been a *free* town, with the right of the Peace of Augsburg to introduce the Reformation *without the consent of the Archbishops.* As this, however, was not the case, or the right was at least doubtful, Archbishop John V, succeeded, against the most zealous watchfulness and struggles of the whole town against his tyrannical procedure, in forcing the inhabitants, by might and starvation, into submis-

sion; upon which the "Lutheran" inhabitants could be glad that they were not punished in body and soul, as "seditious, traitors, instigators of incendiary movements and murder," but were permitted to emigrate to the nearest evangelical (palatinate) districts, namely, Trarbach and Beldenz on the Mosel; in like manner could the twelve principal movers in the Reformatory interests, who had willingly gone into prison, and among them, Olevianus, be thankful, that through the influence of the neighboring evangelical princes, and of Strasburg, they were, after a ten weeks' confinement and renewal of their civil obligations, in 1560, again set at liberty.*

Still there were left after this first emigration, three hundred evangelical members, who were, however, also soon after driven from the town, inasmuch as they did not agree to recant. In the same year, on the other hand, the Jesuits were received in Trier, and it remained from this time on *exclusively* and strenuously a Catholic town, inflicting upon itself, however, a wound, by the banishment of its wealthiest and most enterprising business citizens, from which it never afterwards recovered.†

Olevianus was a welcome and important acquisition to the Elector Frederick. Even while he was yet a prisoner, he called him, as Professor of Philosophy, to Heidelberg; and in 1561, already he appointed him Professor of Theology, and then as his court preacher, and president of the church council; at the same time designating Ursinus as his successor in the chair of Philosophy, thus assigning to each one that sphere of labor for which his talents and taste best fitted him; for Olevianus was much better adapted to the post of practical Theologian and Preacher than to the sphere of the learned Professor and Teacher of Science.

From this time on, Olevianus labored with the greatest zeal

* One of the proscribed, John Papst, surnamed Heidfeld, from Wipperfurth, and a disciple of Calvin, was, in 1559, called to Wesel and there contributed essentially toward the introduction of the Reformed doctrine and Church.

† Not until 1817, consequently only after a space of 248 years, was an evangelical service again held in Trier. This was established by Dr. Kupper, at present general superintendent in the Rhine Provinces. The (emigrant) congregation there now numbers about 1500 souls. The whole Archbishopric of Trier remained strictly Catholic, resisting perseveringly all efforts to introduce evangelical worship.

for the complete organization of the Church of the Palatinate, in regard to which he entertained well-grounded hopes, that it might become a nursery of pure doctrine for the whole of Germany. He turned his attention especially to the calling of competent preachers and teachers, of which there was yet a pressing want; and scarcely had he been a quarter of a year in Heidelberg when he requested Calvin to send over the order and discipline of the church at Geneva, in order that he might lay them before the Consistory, which was with the same mind with him, for examination and adoption. Calvin, in his reply, sent him with great cheerfulness, the outlines of Genevan church polity; among other things he gives special prominence to the rules: That baptism should only be administered publicly before the congregation: That only such should be admitted to the Lord's Supper, who, as children (publicly in the church) or as adults (in the annual pastoral visits to the families in company with the Elders) have made a profession of their faith. In order to carry out the discipline, they elected annually from the greater and smaller councils, twelve elders, who, if they faithfully and piously attended to their duties, did not afterwards go out of office unless they were called to fill some other important office. None were brought before this judicatory (consistory) except by a mutual resolution, and after previous admonition, or in a case of *public* scandal. This was done, namely, in the case of blasphemers, drunkards, adulterers, murderers, contentious persons, dancers and actors; the punishments consisted in admonitions, temporary and permanent excommunication, and if the offender, after one year, still remained incorrigible, the smaller council decreed banishment for one year. If, to save his life, any one renounced the Gospel or attended Mass, he was required to submit to public confession and humiliation. The church discipline had farther no connection with the civil powers; the ecclesiastics were also subject to it even as others, and in their case, excommunication included, at the same time also, deposition from office. Finally, Calvin recommended to Olevianus the temperate and prudent application of this church order, because he, as well as his colleague, Beza, feared the impetuosity and enthusiasm of this spirited youth.

Olevianus did not, however, at once proceed in introducing a truly self-sustaining discipline, entirely independent of the civil power. Rather he had at first to be satisfied that things succeeded so far that Synods of ministers (without elders) were constituted, and that in the questions of eighty one to eighty five of the Heidelberg Catechism, and in the Palatinate church constitution, produced about that time, of which he was without doubt the principal author, the *necessity* of church or Christian discipline administered *by the congregation or those ordained and authorized thereto*, was meantime at least acknowledged, whilst, however, no independent Presbyteries, were, as yet, actually established for the administration of discipline. The power of discipline, for the time, however, remained yet entirely in the hands of the civil authorities, as a politico-moral regulation, and the ecclesiastics received only the right of using it in the course of fulfilling their duties.*

However, Withers, an Englishman, and a rigid Calvinist, in 1567, by exciting a discussion about the necessity of church discipline being exercised by the minister and the presbytery, "even against the Prince," occasioned a vehement controversy on this vital question of the Reformed Church—a controversy in which Olevianus took side against his dear friend, Professor Erastus, a cultivated and pious German Swiss physician, who adhered to the Zwinglian doctrine of the union of Church and State. Still, after longer and mature consideration, the views and demands of Olevianus prevailed with the Elector, and, in 1570, though not without violent protest from the opposing party, the Elector actually instituted presbyters in every congregation, entrusting to them distinctly the independent administration of church government; in which arrangement,

* True, the Church discipline was distinctly so defined, that in its administration, "in exclusion from the use of the sacraments," "which is a power belonging to the whole Christian congregation," "there shall be appointed in every place, out of the congregation, several honorable and pious men, who shall from the congregation and in its name, and in connection with the church officers, admonish and exclude scandalous persons." There was, nevertheless, also a special ordinance promised, which accordingly also followed in 1564, which placed the power of discipline not in the hands of the presbyters, which are here not mentioned, but commits it to a superintendent, to the officers, and the consistory. The church order of 1563, also already instituted the office of Deacons.

however, the individual members of the presbytery, who according to their principal vocation were called Censors, were in no case to be elected by single congregations, but were appointed for life by the higher ecclesiastical judicatory.* The blessed fruits which this arrangement yielded are exhibited in the words of a funeral sermon by Tossanus: "Every one must acknowledge that there now exists in Heidelberg, and in the entire Palatinate, order, quietness, and a Christian-like state of affairs, very different from what it has been for several years past."

After the blessed death of the pious Elector, and the immediate reinstatement by force into the Palatinate of the Lutheran doctrine and customs by his son Ludwig, Olevianus had chiefly to suffer the penalty for having been the principal leader in the introduction of the Reformed doctrines and usages into the Palatinate. For during that same year, the new Elector, in the face of the earnest protestations of his councils, suspended him from the office of pastor and professor, forbade him all conversation and correspondence with the learned, as well as holding any private assemblies in his house, and even put him under arrest. Soon after this the Elector also discharged the reigning count Ludwig of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleberg, a zealous reformer, and since 1574, the superintendent under his father. Whereupon Count Ludwig immediately, 1577, called Olevianus out of his embarrassed condition, to Berleberg, "to instruct his sons in the Christian doctrine, languages and useful arts, and along with this also to preach;" perhaps in this arrangement already, the idea of the so-called "Count and Knight, or principal high school," which he and his special friends, the Counts of Nassau and Solms, afterwards actually established

* Beza took occasion to make use of this opportunity earnestly and in a fraternal manner, to warn his friend, Olevianus, against an immoderate exercise of power, beseeching him: "Of course not to change his previous constitutionally ardent spirit at once into mildness, but still in so far restrain himself and be careful that a cause which had already awakened such strong opposition, might be so commended as to be, if possible, rather desired than feared and abhorred; he should especially seek that difference of opinion would not avert the hearts of others from him—for this the devil very much desired!—else, it must be feared, that what he should build up on the one hand would be torn down on the other; whereunto this would lead, *he himself best knew.*"

in Herborn, and to which also Olevianus was called in 1584, floated before his mind. Thus, as a martyr to his convictions, and against his own will, Olevianus once again placed his feet upon Rhine-Westphalian soil, and continued to labor unceasingly and with great success, during the last ten years of his life, in the interests of our Reformed Church.

Since 1530, 1534 and 1546, the Reformation had been introduced into these mountainous regions by the different Counts of Nassau-Siegen, Hadamer and Dillenberg of Solms, Wittgenstein and Wied, who were, for the most part, dependent tenants on Hesse, and belonged to the Wetteranish board of Counts, and were consequently intimately connected with one another. These, it is true, stood decidedly on the basis of the Augsburg Confession and the Concord of Bucer, still—which was of essential significance for the future—they were not of the *Saxon*, but rather of the *Hessian* type of Lutherans, in regard to worship and church government; hence they were more simple in their usages, did not practice Exorcism in connection with Baptism, and had, in addition to this also, a well-ordered Synodical government (without elders) and a church discipline (under censors.)

Now, after the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate had, in 1560, gone over to the Reformed Church, and the Heidelberg Catechism had appeared 1563, these Counts also labored diligently and together, still farther to purify and simplify the church service. This took place especially since 1563, under the influence of Count Ludwig of Wettenstein, who reigned from 1558 to 1605, when he died in his castle in Alten Kirchen on the Sieg, and was ancestor of all those who were of the line of Wittgenstein. "He was one of the most distinguished princes of the sixteenth century." According to the chronicles of Berleberg, he was "a celebrated and learned man, so much so, that his equal could not be found in the Roman empire; he was at home in various languages, namely, Latin, Greek, French, and others, and a good theologian, who could at any time puzzle a Doctor of Divinity. He also protected the Christian doctrine, and was a special friend of God's word, being zealous, which was a peculiarly great grace from God." Hence also he deserved the beautiful epitaph: VERAE RE-

LIGIONIS CHRISTIANAE RESTAURATOR EJUSDEMQUE PROPUGNATOR SEDULUS. When he was yet chief superintendent of Frederick III, he advocated in the most zealous and unwearied manner the interests of the French and Netherland Churches before this illustrious and distinguished Prince. He sought also, as a Christian ruler, in the true spirit and sense of Frederick, animated by living piety, in Christian humility, and with conscientious faithfulness, to care for the Church entrusted to his protection and nurture. He studied in Paris and at other universities—no doubt in Zurich also—was for three years the Pope's chamberlain at Rome, and doubtless brought the love of the gospel with him from his tours. As early as 1569 he entered into a confidential correspondence with Bullinger in Zurich, continuing to ask him for information and counsel in regard to his rights and duties in reference to the best Scriptural regulation and purification of divine worship, namely, as to the putting away of images—and as to the proper use and application of the Church property. After the Count, in 1577, had called Olevianus to Berleberg, the Reformed custom of using *common bread* in the Lord's Supper was immediately introduced. At length also, in 1582, through the special urging of Beza of Geneva,—under whose care he had placed two of his sons, and with whom, after Bullinger's death, he had been, since 1580, in active correspondence—he removed the altars from the church, exchanging them for wooden tables, and generally introduced the Palatinate Church government and the singing of Psalms.

Remarkable is the great influence which the Reformed of France and the Netherlands exerted upon these changes, because all these Counts, namely, those of Nassau, stood in the most intimate alliance with the Hugenots and Genevans. So it was also found necessary to abolish the Lutheran customs: "The Host, private confession and absolution, prayer over corpses, singing in Latin, the Perikopen, bowing the knee at the mention of our Saviour's name, the festivals in honor of the saints, the idols and images, the crosses, and banners, and crucifixes." This was done expressly on account of the Jesuitic intrigues, and also on this account, namely: "because for

several years past there has been a great coming and going of strangers, messengers and visitors, from France and the Netherlands, so that the evangelical felt themselves scandalized by the still remaining superstitious ceremonies: thus also was this work of Emendation undertaken on account of the foreign evangelical Churches, that it might not appear as if there was a halting between two opinions.* Hence, also, after the strict Netherland Presbyterian order of Church government had been permanently established in 1581 in Middleberg, its general introduction was immediately very extensively discussed, and at length, at the General Synod at Herborn, composed (without elders) of the ministers of Nassau, Wittgenstein, Solms, and Wied, while Olevianus was President, it was approved and adopted with only some unimportant changes. In this way these upland regions of both our Western Provinces received a well-arranged and genuine presbyterial and synodical constitution and form of government, which, with the cooperation of most of the faithful and pious sovereigns of the country, had the advantage over that of the Netherland Church, with which it in other respects fully agreed in substance, in this, that it promoted quietness and order, even if it had not the same freedom and life.

Three years after this important Synod of Herborn, Olevianus died of dropsy, only fifty years of age. It was a great loss to the Church, which, at this time especially, needed just such a learned and deeply pious theologian. Besides his pious wife, Philippine of Metz, whom he married as a widow in 1560, he left behind him two sons, Paul and Ludwig, and one daughter who became the wife of Prof. Piscator of Herborn, the biographer of Olevianus.

In his will he gives a beautiful evidence of his firm, joyful, and grateful reliance upon the grace of God: implores God's grace and blessing upon the Palatinate, and the reigning families of Wittgenstein, Solms, and Nassau; commends to them

* Thus *e. g.* there came to Wetzlar, in 1586, sixty families out of Wolloon, and organized there a Reformed congregation, being permitted, however, at first, to use only the French language. This church continued up to the union of 1838. Their last pastor was Menken († 1831 in Bremen,) Smend († 1845 in Lengerich) and Eberhard, consistorial counsellor in Hanau.

the school and printing establishment and the maintenance of the Synod (and visitations) "with the beneficial operations of which they might be satisfied:" provides also disinterestedly for his mother and sister, and then concludes thus: "Herewith I also commend my body and soul to my beloved God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, through the one eternal High Priest, relying upon His gracious covenant and promise that He will to all eternity be my God and the God of my seed, and that he will never deal with me in anger, as he has sworn to me in his oath. Is. 54: 9." Under his signature he yet testifies: "that he continues to repose confidently upon the faith which he taught by preaching and writing." His death-bed was especially edifying; he was resigned, serene and happy, and filled with longings after the Lord. His last word, uttered as he laid his hand upon his heart, was: "CERTISSIMUS!"

As a beautiful testimony of his joyful faith, and of his loving fatherly heart, we may yet record the letter which three days before his death, he wrote to his son, who at the time lay sick at Speier: "My dear son, Paul! With the Patriarch Jacob, I say: I wait for thy salvation, O, Lord; for I have arrived at that point where I exclaim with the apostle: I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ, to whom also I commend and commit thee, as I did in holy baptism, so also I do now when I am about to depart to the Lord. So also I commend your dear mother, your brother, and your sister, to Him and the word of His grace. True, I would gladly have seen you once more, yet I could not urge you to come, as it is very cold, and your leg is not yet recovered. Yesterday I arranged all my affairs, as it belongs to a pious father to do; and our noble Prince John, has ratified, by a document, his liberality towards you, without laying any restraint upon your liberty. I expect hourly to make my pilgrimage to the Lord. Do not undertake to come to me hastily; we will see each other again, according to God's gracious covenant, in eternal life. I commit to thee your pious mother, even as I know your love to her. Care for your young brother Ludwig, as for my beloved one; and, with that wisdom which is constitutional with you, treat him gently. Mind not high things, but condescend to

men of low estate; and so direct your studies that many may be benefitted by them. The blessing of God be with your going out and coming in. Amen. And let your spirit repose upon the free and gracious offering of the Son, expecting the heavenly inheritance only through and in the will of the Son of God. Amen. Signed WITH MINE OWN HAND: Your Father, Caspar Olevianus, of Trier, minister of the word of God. Lord Jesus receive my spirit!"

The efficiency of Olevianus consisted principally in his successful preaching, and in the energetic regulations and government which he introduced in the Church. His vocation was rather in this sphere than as theological Professor or Author; what he has left us in this department, belongs principally to preparations for the Heidelberg Catechism, and in its defence.* We owe him, however, our gratitude in a very important degree, for the blessing which this Catechism has conferred. His services are also especially precious to us, in this, that he, when the Catechism was formed already, in a special treatise, and also in the Formulary of the Palatinate form of Church government, since so important to our Church, brought out the doctrine of "the divine covenant of grace," which has exerted such a peculiarly happy influence upon the Christian life—becoming thus the forerunner of the Christian school of Cocceius and Lampe, by whom this covenant-Theology has been disseminated with such extraordinary success.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

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* In an apologetic sermon of this kind on the omnipotence of God or the holy supper, published in 1575, Olevianus very aptly says: "The sacrament is a *visible oath* (sacramentum) *of union which Christ seeks with us.* In the Lord's Supper Christ refreshes his covenant and precious oath with us, that as he (*a*) has *confirmed* his eternal covenant of grace by his death, he also testifies to us that we belong to that covenant, and *are partakers* of his offering, and (*b*) that we *enjoy* the same unto eternal life as truly as he causes the bread and wine in the sacrament, in place of the oath, to be handed to us." In the same sermon occur also the following deeply mystical words: "A believing soul, in the holy supper, does not adhere to visible drinking, but follows its Saviour into the garden, diligently takes up every crimson drop of his bloody sweat, rises up to his holy wounds, and refreshes and quickens itself well from them against the glowing fire of hell. Yes, it eats with heartfelt faith the entire paschal Lamb, roasted on the cross and crowned with thorns, which brings great comfort to the sorrowing soul. Yea, which is all as cinnamon to the soul, and the nails, which have bored his hands and feet are as cloves and costly spices."

Art. VI.—THE MORAL DIGNITY OF THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE.

"*I magnify mine office.*" Paul.

The office of the Christian ministry is often looked upon by unrenewed men, with feelings of indifference, and sometimes even of contempt. In the estimation of such, it carries with it no importance, and even involves those who are clothed with it, in all that is grovelling and despicable. Such were the feelings cherished in relation to it, particularly by the enemies of the gospel, in the earliest ages of Christianity. The particular circumstances of the Saviour's birth, life and death, as well as the classes of society from which the most of his earliest followers were gathered, as these things appeared in the eyes of the world, were such as to favor this state of mind. It must be admitted also, that there are those to be found amongst the professed followers of the Redeemer, who seem to be influenced more or less by similar feelings and sentiments, and sometimes too even some, who are clothed with the sacred office of the ministry itself, are to be included in this number. All such persons, however, whatever be their professions and relations, have no just views of the nature of the Christian ministry. They do not look upon it in all its important relations and bearings. To those who contemplate it in the light of eternity, as well as in its connection with the present world, it presents altogether a different aspect. In their estimation, it possesses a moral dignity which does not belong to any other office with which man can be entrusted. Such was the view taken of it by the great Apostle Paul. Whilst he had the most humbling views of himself, as "less than the least of all saints," and as unworthy to be called a servant of God, he still gloried in his office as an Apostle to the Gentiles, as one of the highest possible honor. "*I magnify mine office,*" is his striking language on this subject, as addressed to the Romans. The sen-

timent he thus expresses, is one in which every sincere child of God, and especially every minister of the Gospel, should be able fully and cordially to concur. To illustrate and establish its correctness shall be the object of the present article.

The *moral dignity* of the ministry of the Gospel will appear, from a consideration of its *origin*. It is an office of no mere human creation. It owes its existence to something higher than man's devising. It was established by the Lord Jesus Christ himself, the Great Head of the Church. He chose his twelve apostles and sent them forth with the commission: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." His language to them on another occasion was: "Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so I send you." With respect to this office, it may be truly said: "No man taketh this honor upon himself, but he that is called of God." Those who have succeeded the apostles, have derived their authority to preach the Gospel from the same divine source, in accordance with the arrangement established in the Church by the Lord Jesus Christ himself. "And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses," says the Apostle Paul, under the influence of divine inspiration, to Timothy his son in the Gospel, "the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." The ministry of the Gospel thus challenges for itself a peculiarity which does not belong to any other calling among men. They may be the product of the combined wisdom and experience of ages, and carry with them a dignity and importance of the highest character among men. But they are still at best derived from a purely human source, and have no higher dignity and importance than that which is merely human. This, however, traces its origin directly to God himself. The minister of the Gospel, who is rightly called to his office, derives his commission from heaven. Human agency, strictly speaking, is in no way concerned in creating or conferring it.

All that it can do, is simply to give a public recognition to the authority of those who are entrusted with it, in accordance with the regulations existing in the Church for this purpose. Hence also ministers of the Gospel are styled, in an emphatic sense, "ambassadors of God," and "servants of the Lord Jesus Christ." This view of their office, it must be admitted, by every candid mind, gives to it a dignity and importance infinitely transcending that of every other calling among men.

The moral dignity of the Christian ministry will also appear, from a consideration of its *object*. This is not merely of a temporal nature. It has reference to things of a higher order than such as belong to this world only. It is true, that in accomplishing its object, it elevates the character and improves the condition and thus promotes the temporal happiness of man. But these do not constitute the great object at which the Christian ministry aims. They are at best but secondary to its leading purpose. It contemplates an infinitely higher and holier end. The object which it seeks, is nothing less than the salvation of the immortal soul; and this truly includes in it all that is great and ennobling.

Man by nature is a rebel against God, and as such, is not only cut off from all hope of heaven and happiness, but also doomed to an eternal hell. His consequent moral condition is an exceedingly deplorable one. He is involved in a state of the deepest degradation on earth, and must eventually, unless rescued from it before it shall be eternally too late, be reduced to a condition of the most fearful, positive and eternal wretchedness also. It is deliverance even from such a lot as this, that the ministry of the Gospel seeks. In accomplishing its end, it restores friendship between an offended God and rebel man, and thus raises the latter from the lowest depths to the most exalted heights. It accordingly seeks to rescue man from a condition of moral darkness, slavery, wretchedness and eternal despair, and to elevate him to a state of light, liberty, joy, peace and everlasting blessedness.

What great transformations are these which the ministry of the Gospel thus contemplates! And what is there that can

be successfully compared with such an object? Mere civilization is much in itself; national independence also is a great blessing; earthly prosperity, mental culture, scientific discovery, &c., are likewise objects of great importance; and these several interests also are greatly furthered by the very influences exerted by the Gospel ministry. But what are they all compared with the great object at which it aims? They are at best, but as a drop contrasted with the ocean; yea, as a mere point of time compared with eternity. And what opinion must we form of the moral dignity of the office which contemplates such an end? That which protects our property and rights is much; that which guards our health is still greater; but that which looks to the interests of the never-dying soul, infinitely transcends all else besides. What a moral dignity thus attaches itself to the Gospel ministry; and well may every one to whom its functions have been committed, in view of this aspect of its relations and bearings, be filled with a sense of the greatness as well as of the responsibility of his office.

The moral dignity of the ministerial office will be further illustrated, by considering the instrumentalities or agencies, by which it seeks to accomplish its object. These are in full correspondence with its high origin and noble end. They bear no similarity to those which belong to institutions of mere human creation. The instrumentalities or agencies of the Gospel ministry are not carnal but spiritual. They do not operate upon the mere outward man, nor seek to accomplish their end by blind zeal or brute force. They influence the heart and contemplate so to mould man's inward nature as to bring it into full harmony with the principles of the Gospel. The Christian ministry, in accomplishing its purposes, does not call in the aid of powerful armies; nor does it, when true to its original character, even rely upon the coöperation of human governments for the spread of its principles. The most that it asks from any earthly power is mere toleration, or freedom to conduct its operations unmolested. Its instrumentalities are simple and direct, and carry within themselves their power to

effect their purposes. They are all summed up in the preaching of Christ as crucified for the sins of the world. Its mighty engine is the presentation of Gospel truth. Its grand topics are man's fallen and lost condition by nature, and his way of recovery through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, together with all the collateral truths which these important facts involve.

The agencies by which it seeks to bring the truth into contact with the mind so as to afford it an opportunity to work out its legitimate results, are various and diversified, and peculiarly adapted to the accomplishment of their ends. The ministry of the Gospel, so far as it is true to its principles, diligently avails itself of them all.

Education is a powerful instrumentality for promoting the object of the Christian ministry. It embodies, in all its diversified aspects, the formation process by which the human character is moulded. The ministry of the Gospel are fully aware of this fact, and hence are ever found the uncompromising friends of schools. The missionary among the heathen wisely gives himself up, to a great extent, to the labors of the school room, well knowing that if the heathen will but entrust him with the education of their children, his prospects for making at least the rising generation Christians, are most favorable. The same course of policy substantially is also pursued by the Gospel ministry in Christian lands. Their voice is ever heard in favor of education, especially when there is reason to believe that it will be conducted in accordance with the principles of the Gospel. They not only give to schools the aid of their influence, but also frequently engage in conducting them in person, when circumstances seem to call for or justify it. Especially are they found constituting the reigning influence in the management of nearly all our Colleges and higher schools. And all this, moreover, they conceive to be required by their duty to avail themselves of every proper instrumentality to subserve the interests of the Gospel. But whilst the ministry are thus active in advancing the welfare of the schools of various grades, they by no means lose sight of other educational instrumentalities. They accordingly set a high store upon

family instruction, the catechetical class, and the Sabbath school, and diligently avail themselves of the facilities for the propagation of Gospel principles, which these several agencies afford. To these particular sources also they are much indebted for the success which has attended their efforts.

The press is another agency by which the ministry of the Gospel seeks to promote its ends. The employment of this particular agency is rendered necessary by the very prominence that is given to schools and other direct educational instrumentalities. It is requisite to meet a want which they necessarily create. Under the influence of the educational processes to which the mind is subjected, a desire for increased knowledge is created, for the gratification of which it naturally and necessarily looks to the issues from the press; and, of course, the character of the further development of the mind in the gratification of this desire, will be determined in a great measure by the character of the particular publications with which it comes into contact. The press thus necessarily wields an immense power over the human mind. Its influence, it is true, is silent and comparatively unobserved, but, on this account, only the more certain in its results. The mass of mankind seem to be insensible to the great power of the press. The ministry, however, are generally alive to its influence and becoming more so from year to year, and hence eagerly avail themselves of it in their efforts to promote the objects of their calling. They put the sacred oracles of divine truth into the language of the country in which they labor, and then multiply copies of them without number by means of the press, and scatter them far and wide among the people. They also devote much time and labor to the preparation of useful books and religious tracts for the press, which are sent broadcast over the land, and thus serve, to a great extent, to satisfy the growing desire for knowledge and give a healthful direction to its results. The fugitive newspaper is by no means the least important form in which the press exerts its power. Yea, it seems to be that method of its operations which is specially adapted to the restlessness and activity of the present age. Hence, the ministry diligently avail themselves of the power of

the press under this particular form also. Whilst some give their whole time and attention to the publication of religious newspapers, more are engaged in writing regularly or occasionally for their columns, and exert themselves more or less to promote their circulation. Under the several forms adverted to, the Christian ministry seek to employ the power of the press for promoting the great object of their calling, and they find in it no unimportant agency.

The main instrumentality, however, upon which the ministry of the Gospel depends for the accomplishment of its object, is the *pulpit.* It is to this kind of effort that it directs its chief energies, and hence the pulpit is sometimes represented as the only distinctive theatre of the ministry's operations. The term itself has become a very comprehensive one, and includes in it all that is meant by the sacredness and stillness of the Sabbath, the administration of the sacraments, the services of the altar, and the song of praise, as well as the sermon or regular preaching of God's word, followed up by faithful pastoral visitation. This species of agency possesses special facilities for promoting the ends of the Christian ministry. The arrangements, which subsist with respect to it, institute the closest relations between the pastor and the people, and secure their attendance upon the ordinances of the sanctuary at regular intervals as the Sabbath returns, and thus bring them into constant contact with the truths and influences of the Gospel. The circumstances, moreover, in which the preaching of the Gospel thus takes place, are such as to add to it a solemnity and power which it would not otherwise possess, so that the most important results may certainly be expected from this species of instrumentality for promoting the kingdom of God.

Whilst, however, the Christian ministry avails itself of the several instrumentalities which have been pointed out, for preaching Christ and him crucified, and thus accomplishing its specific object, the salvation of the soul, it must be remembered, that, if true to its principles, it does not depend upon the mere employment of these agencies alone for ultimate success. For the realization of its ends, it looks to a higher influ-

ence lying beyond the instrumentalities employed, and unaccompanied by which all agencies whatever, however faithfully applied, will be to no purpose. It is not simply the preaching of Christ crucified, that will result in the conversion and salvation of the soul. To secure this end, it must be the preaching of Christ under the dispensation of the Spirit. It is the peculiar province of the Holy Ghost to take of the things of Christ and show them unto sinners, and cause them to result in the salvation of the soul. Every Christian minister, who has an enlightened view of the nature of his office, is fully sensible of this fundamental truth, and, hence, whilst giving himself to all diligence in the employment of the various instrumentalities for bringing the truths of the Gospel into contact with the human mind, he invariably looks to God to accompany them with the influences of the Holy Spirit, as indispensable to render them effectual.

Such, then, as have been briefly designated, are the instrumentalities which the Christian ministry employs for the accomplishment of its object. They in themselves possess the highest dignity and worth. The education of the youth, the press and the pulpit, are all agencies which can challenge for themselves an importance and power, which do not belong to ordinary instrumentalities, and that calling to which such agencies are attached, may justly be regarded as possessing the very highest degree of moral dignity and worth.

The moral dignity of the ministerial office will be still further exemplified, by considering its *successes*, or the actual results of its several agencies. These extend throughout the various ages of Christianity and are diffused over the several countries visited by it, and are besides often so closely interwoven with the general current of human affairs, as to render it exceedingly difficult to separate them distinctively; so that a comprehensive and yet specific detail of them all is wholly out of the question. There are, however, certain instances of success sufficiently marked to make them easy of designation, and general results also, apparently in natural connection with the common course of events, so striking in their nature as to have

their origin in the efforts of the Christian ministry distinctly recognized by all intelligent observers; and these we shall endeavor briefly to point out, as abundantly sufficient to our present purpose.

The results of the preaching of the Gospel in the first ages of Christianity were peculiarly great and striking. Through the efforts of the Apostles and their immediate successors, vast numbers were gathered into the fold of Christ during the first century; and so greatly were the triumphs of the Cross multiplied immediately after this period, that Christianity, notwithstanding the violent and deadly opposition it encountered, speedily spread itself throughout the various countries around the Mediterranean, and already in the early part of the fourth century, became the acknowledged religion of the vast Roman Empire. Similar instances of success attending the efforts of the Christian ministry, have also occurred in later years. Several are to be found in the history of the various missionary operations upon the Eastern continent. The most striking one, however, is that which occurred in the history of the Sandwich Islands, whose inhabitants have been converted from heathenism to Christianity, through the labors of American missionaries, in the course of the present century. As the general result of the efforts of the Gospel ministry, in the aspect of them now under consideration, it may be sufficient to remark, that, at the present day, Christianity has spread itself over the greater part of Europe and America, and large portions of Asia and Africa, and also over many of the isles of the Sea.

It is not, however, so much the triumph of numbers or the extent of territory covered, as the results upon the character and condition of those brought under the influence of Christianity, that evidences the high dignity and moral worth of the ministerial office. These latter are of the most signal nature both upon nations and individuals.

The character and condition of those nations, which are involved in heathenism, is most degraded and wretched. A fearful description of the state of things amongst them in this respect, in the first ages of Christianity, is given by the Apostle Paul in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, and

the same description, to its fullest extent, holds good of the heathen at the present day. Under the reign of heathenism mankind are involved in the grossest ignorance and given up to all manner of wickedness. As a necessary consequence, anarchy and misrule prevail, liberty, property and even life are insecure, and everything like true peace and happiness are banished from human society. There being no fear of God before their eyes, every one follows after his own desires and seeks the gratification of his appetites and passions, regardless of the interests or happiness of others. Where the benign influence of the Gospel, however, has been brought to bear upon nations, the state of things amongst them is directly the reverse of that just described. Here ignorance gives place to knowledge, and order and harmony succeed to confusion. Human life and human rights are appreciated and protected, and all the blessings peculiar to a state of civil and religious liberty abundantly enjoyed; yea, everything is at hand that is necessary to constitute the most peaceful and happy state of society. The great contrast between the character and condition of a Christisn people and that of heathen nations, is so striking, as at once to present itself with peculiar force to the mind of every one who institutes an intelligent comparison. It is to the very influence of Christianity, brought to bear upon us through the instrumentality of the Gospel ministry, however insensible many seem of the fact, that we are indebted as a people for the highly distinguished temporal and spiritual privileges we enjoy.

The influence of Christianity upon individuals is no less striking than that upon nations. The most thorough transformations in the character and condition of individuals are frequently wrought through its instrumentality. It often converts the vilest sinner into the most devoted saint, and changes the greatest outlaw into the most peaceful subject and useful citizen, and thus also causes in the experience of such, a consciousness of happiness before unknown to succeed to feelings of the deepest wretchedness. To such transformations the Apostle Paul refers, when he tells the Corinthians, [1 Cor. 6; 9–11,] that "neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adul-

terers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God," and then adds: "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God." Similar transformations also are daily taking place in the present age, and some have doubtless occurred within the immediate knowledge of many of the readers of this article, to which their minds will readily recur.

The results attendant upon the labors of the ministry of the Gospel are such, and even more than such, as have been described. Are they not, it may be justly asked, indicative of the most signal success? What results of other agencies can be brought into comparison with them? Where have such numbers ever been gained to any other cause? By what other agencies have such happy influences been brought to bear upon nations and individuals? and through what other instrumentalities have such mighty and glorious transformations ever been wrought? They truly remain without a parallel in the history of nations or individuals. And surely an office which can claim for its agencies such results as these, may justly challenge for itself the highest possible moral dignity, and inspire those entrusted with it, with feelings and sentiments in reference to its character, corresponding with its peculiarly exalted nature.

The moral dignity of the Christian ministry will yet further appear, by considering, in the last place, *its future prospects.* These are most encouraging. The Gospel ministry are not engaged in a work of uncertainty. The successes of the past are in themselves sufficient to warrant the certain expectation of most favorable results for the future. But these do not furnish the only ground upon which the Christian ministry base their hopes of future success. To the testimony of past experience, they have added the express declarations of God, assuring them that their labors shall not be in vain, but result in the eventual universal triumph of the Redeemer's kingdom. The very commission itself which our Lord gave to his Apos-

tles carries with it its own warranty of success. God, moreover, himself declares, that his word "shall not return unto him void, but it shall accomplish that which he pleaseth, and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto he sent it," [Isa. 55: 11.] His promises are, "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea," [Hab. 2: 14 and Is. 11: 9;] "I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far and my daughters from the ends of the earth," [Is. 43: 6;] "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God,"] Luke 3: 6 and Is. 53: 10;] "From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, the Lord's name is to be praised," [Ps. 113: 3.] To his own Son, he saith, "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession," [Ps. 2: 8.] To all this we may add his most solemn asseveration, "But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord," [Num. 14: 21.] With such promises and declarations as these, proceeding from the Great Jehovah himself, the Christian ministry may justly entertain the most confident expectations of success in their efforts to spread the kingdom of God. Assuredly their labor in the Lord shall not be in vain. No other calling among men is furnished with similar prospects for the future; and this fact alone gives to it a moral dignity which does not belong to any other.

What has been thus far presented, though brief in itself, may be sufficient to exemplify the moral dignity of the ministerial office. It may not be out of place to add, by way of conclusion, a few practical observations, such as the subject discussed naturally suggests.

From what has been presented, every Christian community may learn how they should feel and act towards the ministry of the Gospel. To it they are under the greatest possible obligations. Their best interests, both temporal and spiritual, are inseparably connected with its presence and influence. Take it away from them, and all will soon be reduced to a state of moral darkness, wretchedness and death. But few seem

fully to realize this fact; yet it is most palpably true, of which every one can easily satisfy himself, who will avail himself of the proper sources of information. The presence and influence of the Christian ministry in a community are indispensable, not only to the preservation of the morals and the securing of the salvation of the soul, but also to the promotion of knowledge, the cultivation of the sciences and the improvement of the arts. It thus brings into active operation all those influences, by which the true interests of society are advanced as well as the happiness of every individual is promoted. All, therefore, should be careful properly to appreciate the Christian ministry, "esteeming them highly for their work's sake." They should cherish towards them those feelings of interest and regard, which shall prompt them cheerfully to do all in their power to place them in such circumstances as will furnish them with the proper facilities for the accomplishment of their appropriate work. A people can do much towards either furthering or defeating the great designs of the Christian ministry, and are accordingly more or less answerable for its efficiency or inefficiency in subserving its high and holy purposes. By affording them a proper degree of encouragement, they can greatly facilitate as well as succeed their labors of love, whilst by opposition or even cold neglect, they may impair their influence and seriously interfere with their usefulness. Every Christian people should exercise a special watch over their conduct towards those who are placed over them in the Lord. They should amply provide for all their temporal wants, remember them constantly at a throne of grace, attend faithfully upon all their ministrations, listen attentively to their instructions and counsels, and endeavor earnestly to profit by all their labors for their good. Thus and thus only will they evidence, that they properly appreciate the Christian ministry, as an institution of the highest dignity and moral worth, and are qualified for deriving from it, those inestimable blessings which its presence is calculated to secure.

From the subject discussed, we can also learn something of the duties and responsibilities of the Christian ministry itself. As we have seen, it possesses a high degree of moral dignity.

In order, however, that this may be made to appear in its true light, it is necessary that those to whom its functions are committed, be found faithful to all its relations and obligations. The ministry itself have it greatly in their power to obscure or to unfold the true dignity of their office. Upon them also, it in a great measure depends, to what extent it shall subserve its high and holy purposes. These considerations present the responsibilities of those upon whom its duties rest, in the most solemn and fearful light. All, therefore, who are clothed with its functions, should endeavor deeply to impress their minds with a sense of the solemnity and responsibility of their office, and constantly strive so to order their conduct, as fully to comport with its nature and design. It is their duty, as well as their privilege, to magnify their office. It possesses the highest possible degree of moral dignity, and they have just cause to glory in it on this account. They should see to it, however, that their glorying is of the proper character. Some, it is to be feared, magnify themselves instead of their office. They seem to imagine, that the dignity of their office has been transferred to their own persons and found its full embodiment only in their individual selves. This appears to be especially the case with those, who are but slimly qualified, either by grace or education, for the important duties of their office. They accordingly are puffed up with pride and self-conceit, assume airs of importance, and manifest a disposition to lord it amongst, if not over, God's heritage, as though all true dignity and power and moral worth concentrated in their important selves. All such conduct is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian ministry, as well as highly derogatory to its character. Those who are guilty of it, forget that whatever dignity attaches to the Christian ministry belongs solely to the office itself, and not in any sense to the person of any one who may fill it. A very different course of conduct from that just adverted to, is required of those who, with Paul, will properly magnify their office. They must be wholly emptied of themselves and find their all in Christ; live continually near to God, and manifest in all their deportment a spirit of the deepest humility. They must ever keep alive in their minds a sense of the responsibili-

ty of their office, and seek diligently to qualify themselves for its duties by the improvement of their minds, as well as the cultivation of their hearts. They must be constantly watching for opportunities to do good unto souls, and carefully improve them, when and where ever they may present themselves. In a word, they must be instant in season and out of season, ever abounding in the work of the Lord; at the same time, earnestly looking to God for the presence of the Holy Spirit, without whose influences they feel that all their labors will be in vain. It is only by pursuing such a course as this, that the true moral dignity of the ministerial office can be made to appear, and that those who are clothed with it will ever be enabled sincerely to adopt the sentiment of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and heartily exclaim with him, "I magnify mine office."

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ART. VII.—"THE REFORMED CONFERENCE AT FRANKFORT."

THAT an Ecclesiastical Conference, by this name, was held last fall, during the sessions of the "Church Diet," at Frankfort, on the Maine, is known perhaps to but few beyond the limits of Germany. The proceedings of the "Diet" itself, were of such engrossing interest, that anything of minor importance, occurring at the same time and place, engaged but little attention. A Conference of the kind mentioned, was, nevertheless, held, composed of the delegates, clerical and lay, of the Reformed persuasion, who were in attendance upon the "Diet."

The grounds and object of this Conference will be better understood, and more fully appreciated, when it is known, that the Reformed Church of Germany, as well as the German Reformed Church of America, has recently met with treatment at the hands of a portion of the Protestant community, that may not improperly be termed persecution. That any movement of this kind, by one denomination of Christians against another, should be made in the middle of the nineteenth century, in a country favored with an evangelical ministry, and an open Bible, would, a few years ago, have been considered a moral impossibility. Christians were then laboring for, and expecting a day of millenial glory. It was the period of voluntary association for the spread of the Gospel. Not content with the Church and divine ordinances, as sufficient, if even they were admitted to be suitable means, for the speedy establishment of Christ's kingdom, good and wise men resorted to expedients of their own invention, to give expression to the zeal with which they were animated.. The appropriate results of such extraordinary activity, in the way of Christian effort, should have been unanimity, and an enlarged spirit of sincere charity at home, as well as the rapid extension of the Church abroad. It was indeed the reflex of the exertions of the Church extensively that was expected to be most effectual for good intensively, in stirring up the graces of the Christian, and in this way the Church was to be compensated for its work and labor of love. That the desired results have not been fully realized must be admitted. If, in the spirit of emulation, Christians have been provoked to good works, it is much to be feared, that, in some instances at least, they have not been provoked to love.

Of this we have a striking illustration in the experience of the Reformed Church of Hesse. It is at this time an object of unmerited reproach, and if we may judge from present indications, is really in danger of being deprived of important privileges, by the action of the public authorities. This is easily explained. It is in fact nothing more than a revival of the old theological controversy between the two sister Churches of the Reformation, suspended for a time, but never satis-

factorily settled. Recent events in Europe have invested it with new interest and given to it fresh life; and at this time the controlling power in the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Hesse unfortunately happens to be decidedly old Lutheran. The Minister of the Interior is the notoriously bigoted Hassenphlug. Associated with him, as a prominent and influential member of the Consistorialrath, is Dr. Vilman, an estimable man, originally Reformed, but in political sentiment, an absolutist of the highest grade. As the high Church principles of the Lutheran Confession, are, in his estimation, more in accordance with his theory of government, he has identified himself with that interest. This change in his sentiments and Church relations has been brought about in the way of a reaction in his mind by the revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849; furnishing another instance of the disastrous effect of a fanatical zeal for a good cause, upon the minds of upright and reflecting men, and admonishing us of the necessity of a sound discretion in the selection of means for the accomplishment of our ends, lest the evil resulting in one direction far overbalance the good effected in another. This has been evidently the case in this particular instance. Dr. Vilman, an upright and worthy man, in avoiding the errors into which others had been led by their loose opinions upon the subjects of religion and politics, took the opposite extreme, and having a large share in the direction of Church affairs, instead of favoring the confession in which he was educated, he, together with Hassenphlug, has exerted his authority to its prejudice, so much so, indeed, as to give just cause of anxiety and complaint.

At the recent Church Diet at Frankfort, it was deemed advisable, on the part of the Reformed delegates present, to hold a meeting for consultation, in reference to the grievances under which the Church was alleged to be suffering, and with a view to the adoption of such measures as the case might call for. The meeting was held, and after a great deal of earnest discussion, a protest was drawn up and signed, the character of which may be learned from the following extracts:

"Since the days of the most worthy Philip, the magnani-

mous, the Church of Hesse has been always regarded as a pillar of Evangelical Protestantism, and the Reformed Church, particularly, was protected in the profession of her faith, by the powerful arm of the pious Elector. Nor was this protection confined to the Reformed Church of Hesse; it was extended to oppressed members of the same persuasion in other lands.

"We learn, however, with great pain, that events have recently occurred in Hesse, which we are constrained to believe have been the result of systematic hostility to the Reformed Church. It is at least perfectly manifest, that the vested rights and even the Confession itself, of the Reformed Church, handed down by the Fathers, in its long established and undisputed validity, are seriously threatened.

"Even before the validity of the Reformed Confession in Hesse was called in question, Dr. Vilman, a Reformed member of the Consistorialrath, placed in office too by his prince of the same persuasion, for the protection and promotion of the Reformed interest, openly denied in the "Hessian Volksfreund," a paper of which he is the Editor, that there was a Reformed Church in Hesse. It was in fact, as he said, a misnomer, to call the Reformed Church of Hesse by that name. Its existence was altogether imaginary—it was a false idea.

"But more than this. In direct violation of the legal rights of the Reformed Church of Hesse, the Minister of the Interior, in a rescript of March 5, 1854, not only denied that the Heidelberg Catechism was a symbolical book for the Reformed Church of Hesse, the use of which ought to be prohibited in their schools; but also casts the reproach upon this acknowledged Confession of its faith, dear and precious as it is throughout the Reformed christendom, that it is a book calculated to exercise the intellectual faculties, and should be placed in the same class with other books addressed simply to the understanding.

"In view of these startling facts, we cannot doubt that all evangelical Christians in Germany will unite with us in prayer to the Head of the Church, in behalf of our oppressed brethren in Hesse, that the Lord may enable them to hold fast to the confession and faith of their fathers without wavering; and

that He will, by his Holy Spirit, enlighten and subdue the hearts of those, who have thus arbitrarily sought to deprive the Reformed Church of its long established rights.

"Nor were the denial of the legal existence of the Reformed Church of Hesse, and the refusal to tolerate the Heidelberg Catechism any longer in the parochial schools, the only grievances of which they complained. These arbitrary proceedings were justified on the ground that the Heidelberg Catechism itself was unsound in the faith. It was unsound in its views both of the ministry and of the sacraments. 'The ministry,' as defined by Dr. Vilman, 'included the offices of apostle, prophet, pastor and teacher, and was the living and substantial perpetuation of the office of our blessed Saviour himself, and repeated and carried forward in the Church, all the acts which he performed.' To the hands of the ministry he committed his word and eternal life, that they might be effectual to salvation.

"'In the ministry,' it was said, 'is vested the power of the law, the power to bind and to loose.' In one word, and in most unequivocal form, 'the office of the ministry is one of act and efficacy, not just in proclaiming and communicating that which we already know and profess, but in imparting something which we had not, to possess and enjoy, and which without this office, we never could, or would possess.' Such views of the ministry, it was alleged, the Reformed Church did not entertain.

"It was also charged against the Reformed Church, that its views of the sacrament were defective, and that it notoriously gloried in and boasted of the fact, that its confession harmonized fully with the faith of the Reformed Churches of England and America, and that the members of its missions abroad desired permission to maintain Christian communion and fellowship with the missions of those foreign bodies; and it was asked: Whether it was possible for a member of the Church of Lower Hesse, believing in the *true* doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of the Lord in the sacrament, for the sake of the *empty external* honor of belonging to the great Calvinistic Church communion of England and America, to part with his convictions so cheaply?"

For these reasons, first: because it does not in its confessions sufficiently magnify the office of the ministry, and secondly: does not entertain the correct view of the presence of the body and blood of the Lord in the sacrament, it is now sought to dishonor the Reformed Church of Hesse, and to deprive its members of their vested rights and privileges. In reply to the foregoing statements, it was remarked: "That a mere glance at the confessional writings of the Reformed Church would satisfy any candid mind, that the views of the Church were greatly misrepresented." "Every catechumen knew that the Reformed Church holds and teaches the real presence of the body and blood of the of the Lord in the sacrament, although not as is held in the Lutheran Church, that they are in the *bread* and *wine*, and are partaken of *orally*, by all communicants, by the unbelievers, as well as by the believing." "It was equally well known that the Reformed Church regarded the ministry to be a divine institution and insisted that the minister must be conscious of his divine vocation and commission."

In the course of the discussions which took place, Dr. Ebrard asked the questions: "When did the Reformed Church ever deny the divine authority of the sacred office? Has it not always taught that the office of preaching the word and administering the sacraments was of divine appointment, and that the minister, in appearing before the congregation, came in the name and by the authority of Christ? Has not the doctrine of the three Church offices been fully developed from the Scriptures in the Reformed Church? Has not the Reformed Church also held fast to this doctrine, and maintained too, that the Eldership was not a democratic representation of the people, but was of divine origination? He did not know what was yet wanting in the Reformed doctrine of the holy ministry, unless, perhaps, it was the letter *p* in spelling the German word *amt*."

It thus appears, that the Reformed Church of Hesse is persecuted and really in danger of being deprived of her long established rights as a part of the Protestant Church, by the public authorities, for entertaining precisely the same views of doctrine, for which the German Reformed Church of America

has recently suffered so severely; but it is upon different and entirely opposite grounds. In Germany, the views expressed are considered by those opposed to them, as being unequivocally rationalistic, and falling far short of the true standard of the orthodoxy of the Reformation. In this country, they have been denounced as going beyond the mark, and as being decidedly Romanistic. In Germany, it is admitted that the views are contained in the Heidelberg Catechism; but it is affirmed that the Catechism itself is *heretical*, addressing itself, as it is said, simply to the understanding! That this venerable symbol of the Reformed faith is liable to such reproach, and on this account should be deemed unworthy of being tolerated in the parochial schools, will, it is thought, be particularly shocking to those who profess to be *par excellence* the expounders of its true meaning, and act as if they considered themselves entrusted with its special guardianship and care.

It would be interesting to give additional extracts from the Report of the proceedings of the Conference. In the course of the discussions, great sympathy was expressed for the suffering Church of Hesse. There was, however, a diversity of opinion as to the measures proper to be adopted. Some of the divines of Hesse doubted the propriety of placing themselves in opposition to the public authorities, as long as there was any ground of hope that redress could be had by other means; whilst one, or two, went so far as to say that the "Reformed Church of Hesse did occupy a position intermediate between that of the Lutheran and the Reformed Church generally; and that the Heidelberg Catechism had not the same confessional validity in Hesse, that it had elsewhere. This statement was received with evident dissatisfaction, by the most of those present. Had it been simply said, for instance, that the confessional views of the Reformed Church of the Palatinate, of which Hesse Cassel is a part, were not precisely the same with those of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, no exception would have been taken. All, who know anything concerning the origin of the Heidelberg Catechism, are aware that it has a Melancthonian bearing; Calvin himself leaned in that direction—and as it was the joint production of two divines,

the one a pupil of Calvin, the other a pupil of Melancthon, and was prepared for the avowed and well known object of reconciling the conflicting views of the Reformed and Lutheran confessions, it may well be supposed that the ground it assumed would be intermediate and conciliatory. It would not be lower than that of Calvin—it was equally improbable that it would be higher than that of Melancthon. But in the sense intended, the statement was not true, and was particularly offensive.

It may also be remarked in this connection, that in the Heidelberg Catechism the prominent truths of the Scriptures are brought out in their living power—not so much in the form of doctrinal definition, as in the way of facts. By this is not intended, that it deals in vague generalities. It does any thing but this. All that is necessary to believe, is clearly and explicitly stated. Thus, it teaches plainly that man by nature is totally depraved and hopelessly miserable—that he needs a Saviour, who must be both human and divine. It farther teaches that such a Saviour, precisely adapted to man's necessities, has been provided in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that in order to salvation he must be received and embraced by faith. This faith, we are told, is not a mere notion or belief of certain doctrines, however Scriptural or correct; but it is "not only a *certain* knowledge"—an inward conviction, or state of mind—"whereby I hold for truth all that is revealed to me in the Scriptures; but also"—not a vague hope—but "an assured confidence wrought in me by the Holy Ghost," of personal salvation; basing itself again upon the great fact, revealed to us in the Bible, of the threefold personal distinction in the Godhead, of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Here the essential truths connected with the scheme of redemption are distinctly, explicitly and prominently brought into view. Very little is said of them in the way of explication. As deeply interesting and indisputable facts, constituting the sum and substance of the Gospel, they are emphatically addressed—not to our understandings, as is falsely said—but to our faith, and furnish ground strong enough and broad enough for the Church of all ages to rest upon.

But this is a digression. Others present at the Conference

admitted, that in some parts of Germany the Reformed Church was laboring under serious disadvantages, and that it would be difficult to restore it to the prosperity it once enjoyed. In some of the cities along the Rhine, the Heidelberg Catechism had lost its hold, in a great measure, upon the regards of the people. This, however, was owing not to their predilection for religious truth, in one direction or another, but simply to the fact that they were wholly indifferent to the word of God itself. Dr. Thesman of Cologne, a member of the Diet, and a distinguished lawyer, declared that in many of the congregations ignorance, unbelief and ungodliness prevailed to an extent that baffled description. "If you go from city to city, and from country to country, you will be obliged to confess with shame, that amongst thousands, there is nothing to be said of the abuse of the Bible; but the complaint to be made will be that they do not use it at all, and that the ignorance of the people is so great, that they have no conception of the first principles of religion. In this statement, he had no special reference to the less cultivated portions of society. He intended to refer more particularly to the politer circles, as they were called—to those who are ever ready to exercise their wit upon subjects regarded by Christians as sacred, and to talk about things of which they need first to be informed. He had reference, indeed, to many, who were Elders of churches, and when such officers are an "ensample to the flock," it may easily be conceived what the state of the congregation must be! Speak to such men of Ursinus and Olevianus, and they would listen to you with surprise. Such men give themselves no concern about Confessions, or symbolical books. They may have heard of the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Switzer Confessions, in early life, when they were confirmed; but the sacred Scriptures and the fundamental principles of Churches have become obsolete things, and in later years they have had nothing to do with them. So deeply impressed were the minds of some of the Church members in Cologne, with the extent of this evil: the want of a proper Church consciousness, and of a due regard for the Word of God and symbolical books, that, for the purpose of correcting it, they formed themselves into a society, for the

reading of the Scriptures, and the study of the Heidelberg Catechism. The society meets every Monday evening, and is opened with a short prayer offered by the members alternately. The members then place themselves around the table, with the Catechism in their hands and the Scriptures, from which it is taken, before them, and question one another upon it, article by article. Thus far it has been attended with the happiest results—no one is ever absent, and the interest in the exercises is evidently increasing."

Dr. Krummacher also presented a statement of the condition of things in other portions of Germany, equally unfavorable. In the Eastern provinces of Prussia, the "Union" appears to have been of no advantage to the Reformed Church. "There many of the Reformed congregations were among the first to fall from the faith. It is with them, that the confessional consciousness is most extinguished, and least likely to be revived. In the choice of a minister, it is no longer asked, whether he is Lutheran or Reformed. This is so much the case, that he thought it impossible to re-establish the Reformed Church after the model of its original constitution and form. If this is ever to be done, the Reformed Church must ground itself more deeply in the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and make the discovery that it was substantially the same with the Lutheran—must possess herself also of those devotional treasures which the Spirit of the Lord from age to age had communicated to the Church, and connect with the simplicity of her worship a suitable liturgy and forms of worship; and in the last place, must be more deeply impressed with the apostolic idea of the ministry, and attach more importance to its divine authority in the sense of the Bible, than had been generally done heretofore. In those provinces, the Lutheran Church was full of life and prospering—the Reformed, on the contrary, was languishing. It was only upon the conditions and in the way indicated, that the Reformed interest could be sustained in those Lutheran portions of Prussia."

The general impression produced by these statements, coming as they did from highly distinguished men, occupying different spheres of society, and representing different portions

of the country, is anything but encouraging. It seems, that in Germany, as well as in this country, there has been a falling away from a proper Church consciousness, the consequences of which have been very disastrous, so much so, indeed, that in many places there is scarcely an outward show of piety. Here the case is somewhat different. In an external way we have a great deal of religion. But it frequently conceals a subtle spirit of sceptical socialism. It is very careful not to oppose Christianity. It professes to hold it in the greatest estimation. It only seeks to lower the standard by which it is to be measured, and is perfectly content if it is limited to the merely natural. With the supernatural, it desires to have nothing to do, and it will be quite time enough for the Christian to trouble himself with the invisible and spiritual, when he is once separated and removed from the objects of sense, by which he is now surrounded. In this way men may practice the natural virtues, and be refined and cultivated—they may admire and appreciate the beautiful, the good, the true—may talk much about intellectual progress and moral reform and be very active in schemes of benevolence for the improvement of the world; and yet be destitute of the love of Jesus, and make but small account of faith in his atonement. There is a great deal of this sort of Christianity amongst us at the present time, and until the progress of the material influences of the country is checked by some special providential interposition, or some extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit, there will, in all probability, be more of it, before there is less.

What the ultimate issue of the existing state of things, in the Churches both at home and abroad, will be, it is not easy to conjecture. That in the end it will lead to a reaction in favor of Churchly Scriptural piety, is at least to be hoped for. The minds of many are even now greatly exercised in that direction. They are not only aware of the evil of existing tendencies, but they lament and are earnestly laboring to correct it. God will hear their prayers and bless their efforts, and in due time deliverance will come. For this his people must patiently wait, willing to endure reproach and suffer persecution, if need be, that the Church in the end may be the more abundantly prospered.

One thing, however, appears to be perfectly evident: at this time a union of denominations in the Protestant Church is not to be expected. For three centuries back, repeated attempts have been made, under apparently favorable circumstances, by the authorities both in Church and State, to bring the two sister Churches of the Reformation in Germany into closer connection. The efforts of the late king of Prussia, were crowned, as it was thought, with a large measure of success, and the hope was entertained that the desired object would ultimately be accomplished; nor should we yet despair. But it must be remembered, that so far as that effort was successful, it resulted, in a great measure, out of the fact, that, owing to the spread of rationalism, the people had become indifferent to their confessional standards and had lost all proper Church consciousness; and now that a Church feeling is revived, and there is greater concern for biblical truth, and more respect for sincere piety, they are more disposed to fall back upon the principles by which they were originally distinguished. In doing this, a portion of the Lutheran Church, unfortunately, has taken its ancient position of direct antagonism and hostility to the Reformed Church, not even willing to tolerate its existence. This is to be lamented. If the Lutheran and Reformed Churches cannot walk together, what other denominations of Protestant Christendom can?

What then is to be done? There is but one answer to be given to this question, so far as the Reformed Church is concerned. Let the Church hold fast to her confessional faith, under any amount of obloquy and reproach. It is owing to her failure to do this, that she suffered so much within the present century in Germany and in this country, and now by a return to first principles, she may again expect the blessing of God to rest upon her in an increase of her prosperity.

When the Conference was about to close, a minister present rose up and asked to be heard. He commenced by saying:

"Permit me, dear brethren, to add a few words to what has been already said. I will be brief—for if I should take up much of your time, I will run the risk of being left alone.

There has been a great deal said about the Reformed Church.

It appears to me, however, that precisely that which was most appropriate and proper for the occasion, was not said; and for this reason, I wish to say something more.

We are Reformed, and that we are Reformed, is not owing to ourselves, and is neither our merit, nor our fault. We need not be ashamed of being Reformed. If we were, we would put to shame our fathers and forefathers. Nor will we glory in being Reformed. The only one thing of which we may glory, is the cross of Christ. There is, however, one thing, peculiar to the Reformed Church, that we would impress deeply upon your minds, and that is, her *poverty*. In comparison with other Churches, she is poor, and in humble circumstances.

The Roman Church is a glorious Church. She has a crown of greater value, than all the royal crowns on earth, and many a royal crown has been obliged to bow down and submit to it. She is also so rich, that she employs her treasures in extending her traffic into the eternal world. She has such great wealth, that she is magnificently radiant with external glory. And so too is our beloved sister Church a wealthy Church. She has brought out of the rich treasury of God's word a great deal of silver and gold, and has worked it up, not indeed without the admixture of some alloy, into a great many useful vessels, so that she has a well furnished store-house of costly devotional treasures, and a rich hymnology, so rich indeed, that she can afford to be generous, and share them with others. We, on the contrary, are a poor Church. Our gracious Master, it is true, has never permitted us to want for our daily bread, but he has never given it to us in superfluity; we have no overflowing treasury. Our poverty, too, has often been cast up to us as a reproach. But the Lord says: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God;" and thus she glories in this, that she is like her Master, who, "for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might become rich."

The Roman Church is a glorious Church. She has passed through severe conflicts, and achieved great victories, and now can live at ease, and in great splendor. She, accordingly has a great many feast-days, and magnificent processions. And so too the beloved Lutheran Church, has achieved for herself

a great deal in this way, so that her only concern now should be to carefully keep what she has achieved. The Reformed Church, on the contrary, is a suffering, toiling Church, and has not as yet completed her work. It is included in the name *Reformed*, that she must ever continue to endure the pangs of the second birth. Besides, it has pleased the Lord to adorn her with the bloody cross. No Church has shed so many tears, no Church has borne so much reproach—in no Church, has blood been poured out like water as in her. But let it not be forgotten, that the Lord has said, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." And so we rejoice that she has a Master in whose sight the blood of his saints is precious; and that the day is coming, when "from their faces he will wipe away all tears."

The Roman Church is a glorious Church. She makes a great parade of her sanctity, and insists upon her prerogatives and maintains them with the sword. She always speaks of herself as an affectionate mother; but this affectionate mother always holds up her hand in a threatening way, and it is reeking with blood. The beloved Lutheran Church is also a very earnest and zealous Church. Her earnestness is very profound. When she stands up for truth, and is resolved to maintain it, her earnestness is a holy earnestness. She has so much of it in this way, especially in her *damnamus*, that she seems to lay aside her charity. The Reformed Church has no such earnestness, expressing itself in *damnamus*. She once stutteringly attempted it, but it was a strange spirit. On the contrary, the Lord has blessed her with the spirit of charity—the spirit of *amamus*, and she has never failed to cherish and exhibit it. Those, who have come to her from other confessions, stretching out their hands beseechingly—her enemies have been obliged to acknowledge it—have no where found such open hearts and full relief as in the Reformed Church. This may be of small account, in the estimation of some; but the Lord has said: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy;" and our Church glories in this, that she knows him, upon whose mercy our souls live.

The Roman Church is a glorious Church. She glories in

the perfection and purity of her order, her ministry, and her worship. The beloved Lutheran Church attaches great importance to the purity of her doctrines; and purity of doctrine is certainly something of which we may be proud, and properly speak. The Reformed Church is poor in this respect, and has nothing of which she can boast. She believes that light and life ever accompany each other, hand in hand; and that wherever the precious jewel of pure doctrine is possessed, it will be found revealing itself in a pure heart, and a holy life. There has ever been, accordingly, in the Reformed Church, an unsatisfied hungering and thirsting after the spirit of true holiness and righteousness of life, that in this way, we might secure the costly pearl of pure doctrine. The great theologians have, for this reason, held us in slight esteem. But the Lord has said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," and we glory in the Lord who has said it.

The Roman Church is a war-like Church; and every war in which she has engaged, has crowned her with a fresh chaplet of unfading laurels. And so the Lutheran Church is a war-like Church, and wherever she has appeared she has presented herself completely equipped and ready for the strife; and she has had heroes in her ranks, who have bravely contested the battle field. In this respect, the Reformed Church has not been so fortunate. In her midst, the intercessory prayer of her great High Priest has ever been a peaceful, prevailing, heavenly prayer, and her people have ever said, "Amen" to it. From her very midst—from her inmost deepest life, has ever proceeded the voice of *peace*—peace amongst those who are called by the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. From within the bosom of the Reformed Church has ever come forth the cherished remembrance, that her Master is called the "Prince of peace," and that the capital of his kingdom is called "Jerusalem," the city of peace. She has ever sought to cultivate peace. She has ever reached out the hand to those who rejected it, and knocked at the door when it was closed against them. This has been charged against her as a weakness; but Jesus has said, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God;" and we glory in the knowledge of Him, who is called "Wonderful," the "Prince of peace."

At the same time, let us never forget, that we, who are in circumstances so humble, must never think of elevating ourselves to those high places in the Church, attractive as they may be, which others occupy—that we must never think of bringing down and taking to ourselves, that which never as yet belonged to us, although it has been enjoyed by others. There are some high places in the Church, to which especially we pray that God may prevent us ever from aspiring. Let us rather humble ourselves and remain where we are deep, deep down in the vale of humiliation, that we may ever be of the number of those, of whom it is said, that "God giveth grace to the humble." I must, therefore, object to all that has been said of the glory of office. I would rather that we would cultivate the spirit of true humility. I remember, too, a precious passage in our dear brother Krummacher's Elijah, in which it is said, that where the Spirit of God lives and reigns, there the grace of God is manifested in three different ways, and in three different spheres. Nothing is there said of prescribed forms of doctrine—nothing said of particular forms of worship—nothing of the claims of office; but where the Spirit of God dwells and reigns, he reveals himself as a spirit of Reformation, as a spirit of Missions and as a spirit of Union. He reveals himself as a spirit of Reformation; for he proclaims to the people of God, that all things are not what they ought to be, and that the reformation must be carried on and continued until the Church is reconstructed in the Spirit and after the manner of the primitive Church at Jerusalem. Where the Spirit of God dwells and prevails, he reveals himself as a Missionary spirit; for the Lord Jesus has commissioned his Church to be the bearer of the Gospel in all coming time, and has promised that his Spirit shall be with her always to the end of the world. The presence and guidance of the Spirit of God are also revealed as a spirit of Union. The Spirit of God is emphatically a spirit of peace, and as God is a God of peace, he is inexpressibly grieved by the strife in which his people are frequently involved, amongst whom there should be nothing but peace, and to whom their dissensions are a disgrace. It is most desirable that the spirit of union should ever reign in the

Church, and that there should be one fold, as there is but one shepherd. Let us pray that this spirit, in all its bearings, may be more and more revealed in the Church. Then in her temporary humiliation, she will attain to a glory that will never pass away."

The gentleman who made the speech, a translation of which is here given, is Pastor Mallet, of Bremen. His personal appearance is remarkably fine. He has a commanding figure, open expressive countenance, brilliant dark eye, and a silvery voice, that, in its modulations, thrills to your inmost soul in the impassioned and eloquent language which he is accustomed to use. The effect of his speech was electrifying. When he had finished, many gathered around him to express their satisfaction, and to thank him for relieving their minds, in a measure, of the fears and unpleasant impressions produced in the course of the previous discussions.

Mercersburg, Pa. D. E. F.

Art. VIII.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

V. A DAY ON THE ISLAND OF RHODES.

'Deinde Rhodum appropinquamus, ubi tanta est viriditas arborum atque amœnitas locorum, quod est mirabile ad videndum et prosertim Paradisum a Florentinis factum.

Christ. Buodelmonte. Florent.

Having been dismissed from the Greek service in consequence of the revolution at Athens in September, 1843, I went to Smyrna, where I joined a party of travelers, who intended to

undertake a voyage to Syria, in the spring of 1844, and celebrate the Easter festival in Jerusalem. On the 29th of February, we embarked on board the fine Austrian steamer 'Count Kollowrath,' commanded by the Dalmatian Captain Ventile Flanowitch. The tumult and disorder on deck occasioned by the hurried arrival of a number of Turkish officers with their wives and domestics departing for Syria, and a still larger crowd of Greek and Armenian Pilgrims, was highly interesting. The continual shouts and clamors, in the most different dialects, and the general hurly-burly, did not terminate until the signal for departure was given, the anchors heaved, and we, at three o'clock in the afternoon, left the beautiful roadstead of Smyrna.

Running close up to the castle of St. Giacomo, commanding the narrow channel for ships of larger burden, we passed the batteries and stood away westward for the green and hilly Durlachs islands, beautifully studding the large gulf of Vurla. The Greeks call them *νησια τα 'αγγλεσικα*, or the English islands, because the English fleet had its principal station here during the revolutionary war, and the ships generally lie-to and water at the plentiful fountain gushing forth from the rocks near the shore. These little conical islands, forming a group by themselves, are covered with copse-wood and fragrant shrubs. They present a different picture from the rocky, barren and sun-burnt cliffs of the Cyclades in the Ægean, and remind one of the verdant tropical islands of the West-Indies. At some distance from the coast the white domes and minarets of Vurla are seen rising above the olive groves. The ancient city of Clazomenæ was situated farther down in the innermost part of the bay, and was united by a bridge to a small island off the shore. Few ruins are now to be found, the exuberant fertility of the soil and the foundation of the modern town of Vurla having caused them to disappear in the course of so many centuries.

At sunset we doubled the high and eminently picturesque promontory of Kara-Burnu (Black Cape,) the ancient Melæna Acra, with several Turkish villages peeping forth from the woods, covering the steep offsets of the mountain, and steered

south between the island of Chios and the Ionian coast. Night was already setting in, when we arrived on the height of Chios, but the many lights, shining over to us from the shore, indicated that we were just passing the city of Chios, once so wealthy and beautiful, until it was destroyed during the last war of independence in 1822, by the barbarity of the Mohammedans. More than twenty thousand Christians were butchered by the Asiatic hordes, and the fairest city of the Levant suffered a destruction from which it never will be able to revive beneath the tyrannic sway of the Turks.

Although I have undertaken many voyages on the Mediterranean, still I have never met with any company on board so singularly diversified by nations and tongues, so eminently picturesque, and therefore so highly interesting to an occidental traveler, as on this Syrian pilgrimage. The passengers in the first cabin, consisting of twenty-five ladies and gentlemen, formed almost a society by themselves; although among the number were two young French Lazarists, going to their convent in Beyroot, in order to study the Arabic language, and get promoted as teachers at the French School of Aintura on the Lebanon. A Turkish colonel from Stambul, Mohammed Said-Bek, who spoke a few words in French, had likewise his berth in our cabin; but he of course did not dine along with us, and was served by his black slaves on deck, where all the Mhoammedan families were quartered. The Turkish ladies with their black girls were sitting in large wooden cages, built for that purpose, and carefully closed with curtains, while their jealous husbands with their tiresome countenances and long pipes kept the most severe watch over them.

Although the Turks had been disarmed at their arrival on board, still a bearded old gentleman, of high standing, who brought three pretty young Turkesses along with him, had obtained the permission from the obliging Captain, Flanowitch, to place his armed *Tshibouksis*, or pipe bearer, before the virgin-bower. But it happened, during the slumbers of the old gray-beard, that a young Frank traveler approached the harem, and the wind just blowing aside the curtain and showing the beauties unveiled, the mischievous eunuch, with a scream

of horror, instantly snatched his pistol from its belt, when a tumult ensued which did not subside until the captain, hurrying to the spot, had ordered the black to be disarmed and brought off to the main-deck.

Here a number of Greek pilgrims, among whom were many priests and monks from the kingdom of Greece, had their quarter. Some forty Zaporoque, Cossacks from Bessarabia on the Danube, in their sheep-skins and fur-caps, attracted the attention of all the travelers on board. These good-natured nomades, who appeared to be sufficiently furnished with money, would sometimes during the bright moonshiny nights entertain the company with their pretty songs, the religious melodies of which indicated the particular care of the Russian government to promote a general instruction in a melodious church-music. From the four parts of the world, travelers belonging to more than thirty different nations, were united on board this Austrian steamer, among whom almost all the Christians had made the sepulchre of our SAVIOUR the object of their pilgrimage.

Next morning at sunrise we sailed through the extensive bay of Ephesos. Ancient Ionia, renowned for the mildness of its climate, the wealth and beauty of its flourishing cities and its early civilization, now lay stretched out before our view, a dreary and solitary plain, bounded on the east by distant mountains. The clear, dark-blue sky is still the same; but where in days of old Lebedos, Klaros, Ephesos and the other thriving Greek colonies arose in the beautiful plain of the Kaystros, no villages, nor hardly any human being, is now to be seen. We kept on, close to the shore, because the brisk south-western breeze, setting in motion the hollow surge of the Ikarian Sea, forced the captain to steer his course through the Samian strait. The coast all along appeared a perfect desert. At noon, on approaching the island of Samos, we distinguished a miserable village, Giaour-Kioi, inhabited by poor Christians, who may have forgotten their native tongue, like their brethren in the interior of Asia-Minor. The wood-clad heights of Mykale now arose on our sight, and in the distance appeared to melt away with the lofty ridges of Samos. We passed close to the mountain villages of Agios Konstantinos, Karlovasi, and

others almost hid in the far-spreading forests, which cover in part the precipitous eastern shore of the island, the impregnable bulwark of the independent Samiotes against their Asiatic tyrants.

Quite near to the promontory of Mykale, now called Santa Maria, the ancient Trogylium, we discovered the strait Kutzchuk Bogazi, or small entry which divides the continent of Asia Minor from the island of Samos, and which, since the days of the Persian wars, has been the theatre of so many interesting events in Greek history. Its breadth is only seven stadia, or half a mile, but it appears to be more narrow on account of the high peaked mountains skirting it on both sides. We then passed close by the little rocky island, Trogylia, now called Lerina, and doubled the projecting cape, the south side of which sinks less precipitously and in several offsets down on the low and sandy coast of Miletos. Yonder, at the foot of the promontory, the battle was fought, wherein the Spartan King, Leotychides and the Athenian Xanthippos vanquished the fleet and army of the Persians on the same day in which the united Hellenes at Platæa in Bœotia destroyed the large invading army of Xerxes, in September, 479 before Christ, (Olymp. 75, 1.) It is evident from the relation of Herodotus, that the battle was fought on the south side of the mountain, the Persians having dispatched their Milesian auxiliaries to the heights of Mykale in order to secure their retreat to Sardis in Lydia, in case of a defeat. But the Milesians turning their arms against the Persians flying from the field of battle, a dreadful slaughter ensued, and only a few dispersed detachments of retreating Persians were able to force the mountain passes and open their way back to Lydia.

On the northern descent of the promontory stood the famous Panionion temple, consecrated to the Helian Neptune, where the Ionic confederation celebrated their annual assemblies and games. The large southern bay of Samos extends westward; and at a distance of eight miles we were able to distinguish the gigantic column of the ancient temple of Juno close to the shore. This is the most fertile part of the island, and several beautiful villages are seen on the slope of the high mountains,

embosomed in groves of olive trees and charming vineyards, descending all along the terraces down to the plain. Opposite to Mykale arises the Posidonian promontory of Samos, which has attained a historical name by the valor of the Samiotes, during the last war of independence.

The Turks having assembled a large camp near Mykale, in the year 1821, the Admiral Kara-Ali attempted to land his army here on a place called Odondia, (the teeth,) by the Greeks. The Samians awaited quietly on the mountains the descent of the Asiatics, and then rushed sword in hand down upon them, and after a bloody conflict, forced them to fly to their boats. The Turkish Captain Bey, now mustered his fleet along the strait, and cannonaded with all his might the barren rocks of Samos, to the great delight of the Greeks, as he was expending in vain his powder and balls; when all at once, the appearance of the vanguard of the Greek fleet forced him hastily to heave his anchors and stand out for the open sea.

This attack, and another unsuccessful attempt in June, 1825, when the brave Konstantin Kanaris, with his fire-ships, destroyed a large Turkish frigate, were the only undertakings of the Turks against Samos during the last war. The brave islanders now live quietly beneath the sway of their governor, Prince Vogorides, and every where in the Levant is seen their blue-and-red flag with the white cross.

South of Mykale the coast again appears so low that although the steamer passed very near, we did not recognize the site of Priene, nor the mouth of the river Mæander. The only prominent point is a Turkish village, with a mosque situated on a hillock near the shore, where several high antique marble columns, still united by an architrave, present themselves as the only remains of the splendid temple of the Didymæan Appollo at Branchidæ.

Again turning off from the continent, and leaving the high peak of Patmos on our right, we struck across the picturesque gulf of Iasos, studded with many rocky islands, in the background of which the high inland-peaks of Caria, towering in three or four ridges, one above the other, now glittered in all the rosy hues of the setting sun. Twilight was setting in when

we reached the height of Budruni, the ancient Halicarnassos, and we continued our course during the night along the eastern coast of Kos. At dawn of day, on the second of March, we hurried away past Cap Krio, on the Dorian peninsula, and steering in an easterly direction among the small islands of Syme, Telos and Nisyros, we speedily approached the desert and sandy northern shore of Rhodes.

At eight o'clock we doubled Kum-Burnu, or Sandy Cape, and the delightful city of Rhodes, with its walls, towers, minarets and straggling palm-trees; and then all at once the charming environs with the numerous villages, vineyards and groves opened upon us, just as we passed the batteries of the tower of St. Nicolaos, which protect the entrance of the old galley-harbor, Darsena, and came to anchor in the large harbor, the 'Porto di Mandracchio' of the Knights, between the two prominent towers of St. Michael and St. John.

The city of Rhodes is situated on the north-north-east coast of the island facing the high mountains of Caria, at a distance of twenty miles, and arises gently from the shore, forming a crescent, enclosing the largest of the harbors. The old bastion of St. Pietro, formerly armed with immense guns, but now lying in ruins, and the high square tower of St. Michel separate this eastern harbor from the northern galley-port. The upper town (*la haute ville*) ascends westward to the Palace of the Grand Masters, which by its treble walls and bastions in its high situation formed the castle or citadel of the city. It is still separated by a transverse wall with round towers from the lower town, (*la ville casse,*) where in the times of the Order of St. John, the Greek subjects, the Jews, and all the married citizens and retainers of the order, lived. Even to this day, the Jews have their quarter in the eastern part of the city, toward the Bazaar and the large inner harbor, while the whole Greek population, together with the foreign consuls, inhabit the pretty villages at a distance of a mile encircling the fortress. The Christians have permission to enter the castle only after sunrise, and on penalty of the bastinado are obliged to leave it again at sunset

The Turkish commandant occupies the ruinous palace of

the grand-masters and the adjacent buildings. Hassan Pasha, the governor of the island, has his residence outside the gates on the galley-harbor, in a large irregular Turkish serai.

The general view of Rhodes, as it is seen from the port where we anchored, is highly picturesque; nay, you would suppose yourself suddenly transported back to the times of the Knights of St. John; the whole line of walls and fortifications extending along the inner harbor being preserved almost in the same state wherein the city three centuries ago surrendered to the victorious arms of Sultan Suleiman the Second, on the twenty fifth of December, 1522.

This harbor, 'Il Porto di Mandracchio,' has the form of a horse-shoe, and is divided by a small mole for boats and the roadstead for ships of larger burden. The galley-port is smaller, but better protected. It is formed by an immense mole, constructed with extraordinary expense and solidity by the ancient Rhodiens, and is now termed Molo di San Niccolo. The entrance is obstructed by a barrier of rocks, so as to admit the entry of only one ship at a time, but it offers perfect safety against wind and waves. If it were kept in good repair, it would still be an excellent refuge for the light ships of the Archipelago; but the fatal indifference of the Turks has suffered the sands to accumulate until the mouth has been gradually choked up; and now-a-days merchant vessels can only enter after being obliged previously to unload their cargoes. Barks and small vessels enter without any difficulty, and anchor opposite the palace of the Pasha.

The other harbor is larger; within the two projecting turrets even frigates of thirty guns find a convenient anchorage ground, although they are sometimes exposed to the violent north-east storms, and then are in danger of being dashed against the walls of the city or the rocky coast. During the sway of the Order of St. John, both harbors were shut with huge chains in time of war, and the Grand-master, Zacosta, imposed in the year 1462, a tax on all goods and merchant-men, which was called "chain-money," (*diritto di catena,*) and was employed to augment the fortifications of the harbors. One of these strong chains, more than a hundred fathoms in length, is still shown to the traveler in the vaults of the ancient Hospitium.

The walls surrounding the large harbor in the form of a bow, are built of fine squared free-stone. They have strong and well-secured battlements, projecting parapets and round flanking towers. Between the largest of these is situated the ancient gate, (Porta di Santa Caterina,) now walled up. It is ornamented with the armorial bearings of the order, and the Grand Master Emeri d'Amboise, with the date A. D. 1512. The present entrance into the city is through a postern near the Turkish custom-house.

The Saracens of Egypt having obtained possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem in consequence of the destruction of Acre (Ptolemais) in the year 1291, the Knights of St. John or Hospitaliters sought a refuge on Cyprus, where the Knights Templars had already obtained large estates, and King Henry the Second of Lusignan, now likewise invested them with the town and castle of Limisso. There the order erected a new convent, armed a fleet, and escorting the pilgrims to the holy land, carried on a successful warfare with the Saracens.

Yet the enterprising warriors were dissatisfied on the island, being involved in the feudal dissensions between the king and the Latin barons. They found their sphere of activity too circumscribed, and desired to establish an independent dominion, which they shortly afterward effected, when the Grand Master Fulco de Villaret, with the assistance of the Pope and the King of France, conquered Rhodes. The richness of the soil and the purity and salubrity of the climate of this beautiful island, caused it to be considered in antiquity as consecrated to Phœbus Apollo, and as the birth-place of the Heliades. During the thirteenth century it had remained in the possession of the noble Genoese family of Gavala, and then devolved on the Greek empire of Constantinople. But during the weak and turbulent reign of Andronicus the Younger, Turkish and Saracenic corsairs from the coast of Asia Minor and Syria, established themselves in the island, united with the Greek inhabitants, and extended their piratical expeditions over all the adjacent islands of the Ægean.

In the mean time, Pope Clement the Fifth, proclaimed a new crusade in Europe, with the pretext of conquering Jeru-

salem and the holy land from the hands of the Saracens; and in the spring of the year 1310, large bands of warlike noblemen, particularly numerous German knights, assembled at Brindisi, in southern Italy, whence a Neapolitan fleet transported the crusading army to Cyprus. There they united with the Knights of St. John and unexpectedly landed at Rhodes. Defeating the Saracens in several naval combats, they laid siege to the city; but the Crusaders, being disappointed in their hopes of conquest in Syria, now abandoned the Knights of St. John, who were thus obliged on their own part to sustain a fierce contest with the Greeks. At last, on the Day of the Virgin, August 15th, 1310, they stormed and took the city of Rhodes. With the holy banner of the order in his hand, the brave old Fulco de Villaret was the first knight who ascended the wall; and after the conquest of the capital soon followed the surrender of the strong fortress of Lindos, on the eastern shore of the island; but it was not until after an obstinate warfare of four years with the Greeks that the knights obtained the quiet possession of the whole island. They then extended their conquests to the surrounding Archipelago of Syme, Chalkis, Nisyros, Kos and the strong fortress of Halicarnassos, on the main land of Caria, fortified them with castles and garrisons, and thus laid the foundation of the glorious dominion of the Order of Rhodes, which for more than two centuries held the sway in this part of the Archipelago, and formed the bulwark of Christianity in the Levant against the rising power of the Osmanlis.

During the first year subsequent to the conquest, the harbors of Rhodes were only defended by the ancient Saracenic tower, in a later period called "Tower of St. Michel;" but in the year 1353, the brave Grand Master Deodat de Gozon, the renowned champion of the Dragon, constructed the extensive fortifications along the interior harbor, uniting the city with the ancient mole; and the subsequent erection of the strong tower of St. Nicolaos at the mouth of the galley-port in the year 1461, perfectly secured the harbors from every attack on the sea-side. The defense of these maratime walls was entrusted to the care of the Castilian knights by an order of the

Grand Master Zacosto ;* and still many Spanish coats of arms are seen on the towers, among which I remarked the escutcheon of Don Hernando de Heredia.

The city of Rhodes, generally so dull and silent, presented on that day a scene of unusual life and bustle. In the morning three Hydriote vessels arrived with full cargoes of pilgrims for the Holy Land. Having obtained permission of the Pasha to buy provisions in the city, hundreds of men, women and children were now seen to row on shore, shouting and singing.

After breakfast, our own party of ladies and gentlemen followed the example, and went on shore, where we suddenly found ourselves in a press of Turks, Christians and Jews, crowding about the Bazaar. Shops and tents had been pitched on the outside of the walls, where the vociferous Greeks were exhibiting the delicious fruits and productions of the island, while all the coffee-houses were occupied by taciturn Turks, gravely smoking their long pipes.

At the gate we enjoyed the ridiculous sight of a Turkish guard of regular infantry in European regimentals, sitting cross-legged at the entrance, their muskets leaning against the wall, while their lieutenant seemed to take a comfortable nap in the shade. Nothing looks more unwarlike and awkward than these poor Turkish recruits, in their slight dresses and misshapen trowsers, with bare feet stuck in their down-trodden slippers. How often have I seen officers on service in Constantinople sitting before the guard-houses knitting stockings! A "progress," certainly, in modern Turkish civilization.

Inside the gate, we arrived at a fine square, surrounded by chivalresque buildings and high shadowy plantains. On the right stands the well-preserved hospital for sick and wounded knights, which the Grand Master Anton de la Riviere built in the year 1436 from his own private fortune. Opposite is seen the large convent of the order, highly ornamented in the Gothic style, with two front sides facing the square and the Street of the Cavaliers. The marble stair-case is still in good

* Coronelli *Isola di Rodi. Venezia*, 1687, p. 119.

repair, but an entry was not permitted, both buildings serving at present as barracks for the Turkish garrison. From this square the famous Street of the Knights, (*la Rue des Chevaliers,*) leads westward to the Palace of the Grand Masters. It runs on four hundred paces in a straight line, having fourteen paces breadth, and being paved very neatly with a mosaic of small black-and-white stones. Elevated foot-paths run along the sides. In this street arise the dwellings of the principal knights and the auberges of the eight nations or tongues into which the order was divided.*

It proved to be a happy circumstance that we found in our own company a knight of the modern order of Malta, a British captain, who being deeply versed in the science of blazonry and the history of the Middle Ages, explained to us every coat of arms still ornamenting the ancient palaces. The noble, venerable-looking street, with its well-preserved Gothic buildings, seemed to be quite solitary and deserted; not a single human being was to be seen, and without any great stretch of fancy one might have imagined that the city had just been surrendered and abandoned by its brave defenders.

All the houses are solidly built of square lime-stones. The cornices, architraves and high oval windows are richly embellished with festoons, wreaths of flowers, leaves, and other arabesques or Gothic decorations. The coat of arms, neatly carved in white marble bas-reliefs, in the very best style of the *cinque cento*, stand every where above the principal gate-way or beneath the windows on the front side. They are admirably preserved, owing to the profound respect with which the Turks still observe the command of the magnanimous Sultan Soleiman on the capitulation of the city, expressing his admiration of the heroic defence of the knights, and ordering his pashas carefully to preserve the city in the same state in which it was surrendered, as a glorious memorial of the invincible strength of his arms.

The windows are now closed up with boards, or shut with

* The seven ancient Tongues were those of France, Germany, Auvergne, Aragon, England, Provence and Italy. In the year 1462, during the dissensions in the order, the eighth Tongue, Castile-Portugal was created.

Turkish verandahs, indicating that the buildings are still inhabited by Turkish families. The interior of the halls and apartments is said to present many interesting traces of the olden time, such as gilt mosaic ceilings, wainscotted walls, inlaid pavements, Gothic chimney-pieces and niches; but the Turks did not permit us any where to penetrate into their sombre retreats to make inquiries ourselves.

Many travelers have compared the chivalresque buildings at Rhodes with the gigantic palaces of Florence or Siena, which resemble strong castles defended by keeps, towers and battlements. This appears to me to be an erroneous comparison, and according to my opinion the Street of the Knights is more like a dark, narrow avenue in an ancient German city, such as Nürnberg or Augsburg. The houses at Rhodes are rather small and low; they have only two stories. The by-lanes are very narrow, dark, and every where supported by vaults and arches, in order to resist the violent earthquakes from which the island frequently suffers. In general it is evident that the religious knights during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, carried on a more secluded and monastic life than their successors at a later period at Malta.

Many armorial bearings of the proudest names, that are glittering in the history of the order may still be seen on the ancient palaces. Thus we remarked on the left, at the entrance of the street, the escutcheon of Fabrizio di Carretti, the noble Italian, who, with the most brilliant courage defended the tower of St. Nicolaos during the first siege of the Osmanlis, in A. D. 1480, and afterward was elected Grand Master. (1513—1521.)

On the right you meet the arms of Villiers de l'Isle d'Adam, d'Amboise and Mont-Begon. Then follows the great Auberge of the French Tongue, with the lilies and the well known device "Montjoie Saint Denys," the battle-cry of the French warriors in the combat. Above the arms stands the date, 1495. Farther up the street appears the escutcheon of the excellent Pierre d'Aubusson, quartered with the cardinal's hat. Now follow the mansions of other French and English knights, such as Clermont de Nesle, de Touars, de Cheron, de Lastic,

de Bourbon,* and the Spanish, Portuguese and English Hotels, the latter representing the three lions and lilies. The knights from Auvergne and Provence had their quarters at the upper end of the street, and we recognized here the arms of de Castro, de Montpensier et Roger de Pins. Through a Gothic arch, crossing the road, we went to the palace of the Grand Masters, which, like an extensive and strong castle, is surrounded by massive towers, and rests on the outer wall of the city. It is now a mere ruin, but earlier travelers describe it, as a magnificent building, in the stern and austere style of the middle ages, and the interior is said to have surpassed the most renowned baronial castles in Germany or England, as to the splendor and romantic beauty of its interior courts, stair-cases, halls, armory and other apartments. The principal entrance is still embellished with the arms of the order, and many others of private knights are seen on the two turrets of the eastern wing. It now forms part of the harem of the Turkish commandant of the fortress, and we, therefore, could not get any permission to visit its precincts; but an aged Turk offered to take us to the Church of St. John the Baptist, lying nearly opposite. On the surrender of the city, the Turks triumphantly plundered and destroyed all its ornaments and converted it into a Mohammedan mosque, though it appears to be abandoned at present. The principal aisle is formed by eight fine clusters of slender Gothic columns; four others surround the high altar. On the pavement are seen remains of the sepulchral monument of the brave Fabrizio di Caretti, the last Grand Master who died in the island.

We now descended to the lower town and made some purchases in the Bazaar, which on that day was found rather still and deserted, all the Greeks and Jews being busily employed with the Christian pilgrims in the harbor. Part of our company then returned on board the steamer, while I proposed to some friends, who took a particular interest in the history of Rhodes, to investigate more at leisure, the famous field of battle of the Christian heroes during both the memorable sieges,

* Perhaps the author of the eloquent and spirited description of the second siege by the Turks in 1522.

and then to make an excursion to the Greek villages in the orange grove. But how were we to procure horses in such a hurry? Some pale and starving Jews, who had followed us like our shadow, offered to furnish us with saddled mules, and we ordered them to wait for us at the Athanasian gate, formerly called "Porta di Santa Maria della Vittoria," whence the road ascends to the delightful Rhodini in the rose-gardens, while we in the mean time continued our wanderings along the glacis of the fortress. We therefore returned to the castle, and on the west side proceeded to the Ambrosian gate through a low passage, enclosed by high and massive ramparts. In this place the walls of large squared free-stones, the deep moat, cut out in the solid rock, the advanced ravelins and out-works uniting with the principal city-wall by means of a draw-bridge, give the plain evidence, that these accumulated fortifications, which were still strengthened by the numerous cannon of the palace of the Grand Masters, formed the key to the whole defensive system of the city. Here at the Ambrosian gate, on the towers of the castle, the knights of the German Tongue, led on by the Tyrolese Christoph Waldener, gloriously defended their station against the thousands of storming Turks during the last siege of 1522.* Their brave commander fell; but being supported by the French knights on their right, and by those from Auvergne on their left, they victoriously repelled all the repeated attacks of the enemy.

The gate, with its armorial bearings and crosses, is in good preservation. Every where we saw traces of war. Marble balls of immense magnitude and burst falconets lie still dispersed here and there in the ditches, partly filled with rubbish, and by a wooden bridge we at last arrived on the sloping bank or glacis, outside the fortress. The eye now meets with numberless Mohammedan tombs, with small columns, surmounted by roughly-carved turbans, and sometimes having a guilt inscription. The sepulchres stand by thousands around the fortress, just as if they were to exhibit to posterity a monument of the

* A porta Ambrosiana ad portam usque divo Georgio sacram, infractum rober Equitum Germanorum, vexillis aquilaribus splendens pugnabat. Fontanus de Bollo Rhodio, An 1527, cfr. Coronelli, pag. 117.

prodigious loss of human life which this conquest had cost the Sultan. In Constantinople and Smyrna the Mohammedan burial-grounds are planted with thickets of sombre cypresses, and constitute the favorite walks of the gloomy and taciturn Turks. At Rhodes, on the sun-burnt, rocky level, are seen only a few straggling olive-trees or some shrubs of vitex agnus castus, here and there overshadowing a tomb; but at a distance the dreary landscape is relieved by the pretty villages Epanomaras and Turkambelas arising from out the luxuriant vineyards and orange-groves.

From the Ambrosian gate* the road runs south-west for four miles through gardens and olive plantations to the swamp, where, according to tradition, the young Knight Deodat de Gozon from Provence, in the year 1342, in a dangerous combat, killed a serpent or crocodile, which for a long time had been the terror of the inhabitants and flocks of the neighborhood. It is generally supposed that an egg of a crocodile had been transported with the ballast of a vessel from the banks of the Nile in Egypt, and had developed itself into the monster mentioned in the history of Rhodes. Already in antiquity huge serpents were frequent there, and the oldest name of the island was Ophis.

Three miles farther on arises the mountain Phileremos, where ruins still are seen of Jalysos, one of the most ancient Doric cities in Rhodes. During the middle ages a Greek fortress stood on the summit of the mountain, which after an obstinate siege, was surprised and taken by some adventurous Knights of St. John by means of a stratagem,† and the celebrated Church of Our Lady of Phileremos, to whose image many miracles were ascribed, and numerous pilgrimages performed by the Latin and Greek Christians of the Eastern world.

We would fain have visited these interesting ruins and enjoyed the delightful panorama from Phileremos, extending far away over land and sea, but the departure of our steamer the

* Porta Ambrosiana, qua iter ad montem Phileremum est. Fontanus.

† See the Chronicle of the Knight of d'Engleure, in Michaud's Correspondence d'Orient, Vol. iv., page 23.

same evening, hindered us from making so far an excursion. We, therefore, followed the fortifications on the south all around the city, and having passed the bastions of Auvergne and Spain, (Aragon,) we arrived at the principal theatre of the most sanguinary assaults of the Ottomans during the last siege, the projecting English bastion on the south-east of the city, where the confined breadth and the shallowness of the moat and the want of outworks indicate the weakest and least defensible part of the fortress.

The siege having continued for two months with great exertions on both sides, the Turks here on the south-east of the English bastion sprung a mine, traces of which are still apparent, with such success, that dense columns of Janizaries on the fourth day of September, 1522, mounted the breach and forced their way to the upper platform. But here they were repelled with the loss of many officers and three thousand men, by the Grand Master in person with his chosen knights. During the following days the attacks were repeated with as little success; but on the twenty-fourth of September, the most tremendous battle was fought, when all the Pashas, at the head of eighty thousand Turks, at the same time stormed the battered and almost demolished bastions of the Spanish, Italian and English Tongues on the south and south-east of the city. Knights and citizens, women and children, hurrying to the rescue, fought with unparalleled bravery, and after the utmost efforts, the old Isle d'Adam and his few surviving companions, at last succeeded in forcing back the enemy. Fifteen thousand slaughtered Turks filled up the breach and the surrounding moats. Still the fate of Rhodes was decided on that day!

The small band of devoted defenders, abandoned by the warring and wrangling monarchs of Europe, and suffering from want of ammunition and victuals, having for more than six months stopped the progress of the victorious arms of Suleiman, were at last obliged to retire to the interior part of the town, to yield up to the enemy the Spanish bastion, and a few days later to surrender the fortress and depart from the island.

We now arrived at the Athanasian gate, called "Porta della Vittoria," to the memory of the brilliant victory which the

Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson gained there at the Italian bastion against Mesih-Pasha on the twenty-eighth of July, 1840. You still see the ruins of the chapel of the Santa Maria della Vittoria, where the Grand Master Villiers de l'Isle Adam, fearing a repetition of the attacks on the less protected and more exposed Italian bastion, chose his head-quarters during the second siege.

The last eastern gate in the Jews' quarter, near the inner harbor, is now walled up. It was formerly called the Cosquinian gate, (Porta Cosquinii,) and is often mentioned in the Rhodian war.* On this gate the Grand Master hoisted the flag of truce, and through it the Janizaries, five days later, broke into the city in spite of the capitulation, and began their depredations.

Though many valuable works have been written on the memorable events at Rhodes, by eye witnesses and contemporaries, as well as by later erudite historians, nevertheless the most unaccountable uncertainty reigns in the different narratives as to the denominations of the gates, bastions and towers, the defensive stations of the eight Tongues of the order, and the particular incidents during both the Turkish wars. Very contradictory views are to be found in the works of the distinguished historian, Baron de Hammer, who, although having been himself on the spot, supposes the harbors to be situated on the south of the city, while in reality they lie on the north and north-east. Then he places the above-mentioned Mount Phileremos on the east, supposing it to be identical with the pretty hill of the hyacinths (*Symbylli*) and thus erroneously fixes the Ambrosian gate, from which, according to Fontanus and Coronelli, the road went in a south-west direction to Phileremos, at the Cosquinian gate in the Jews' quarter on the east side of the city.

That thus the whole plan of defence by Baron de Hammer, and others, blindly copying him, has been strangely misplaced, is evident from a highly interesting document by Coronelli: the detailed distribution of the bastions and towers among the

* A village still termed Coskinu (Κοσκινου) lies four miles south of this gate, on the eastern coast of the island.

eight divisions or tongues of the Order,† stating, that the Tongue of France held the right wing of the line of defence from the high tower of St. Michel at the mouth of the great harbor, along the bastion of St. Pietro and the whole western line of the walls as far as the palace of the Grand Masters. Then followed the Knights of Germany, Auvergne, Aragon, (Spain) England, Provence and Italy, eastward round the fortress, while the last and youngest Tongue, that of Castile-Portugal, created in the year 1461, was entrusted with the defence of the gate of St. Caterina, and all the fortifications on the great port (Porto di Mandracchio.) This distribution of the bastions and consequently the movements and attacks of the Turks, coincides perfectly with all the accounts of Breydenbach, Fontanus, the Chevalier de Bourbon, and the often unjustly censured Abbe de Vertot.

Before the gate, we, according to our agreement, met the small lively mules, and accompanied by a Greek *agojatis*, or driver, trotted briskly along the commodious road, paved with gravel, to the beautiful hill on the south east of the city, which the Turks call *Symbylli* (Hill of the Hyacinths) and the Greeks *Rhodini* (the Rose-bower.) It lies two miles from the fortress, and is surrounded by pretty gardens and vineyards, intermixed with olive groves and numerous lemon, orange and granate-trees. Beneath the deep shade of the plantains and fig-trees, on the bank of a cool purling brook, the lazy Turks, during the heat of summer, spend the day with their pipes and coffee. There in the paradise of Rhodes, nature had just invested all the brilliant colors of spring. The light green foliage of the trees did not yet afford any shade, nor were we in want of it, and the genial warm and vernal sun appeared to us very pleasant in comparison with the unsettled and rainy winter at Smyrna.

The straggling village, Epanomaras, inhabited by Greek Christians, runs along on both sides of the road. The houses lie embosomed in the gardens and enclosures, and everywhere are the vines on ledges drawn across the entrance, and thus

† Ripartimento delle poste del Zacosta dal quale si comprendono le fortificazioni di Rodi: Coronelli, page 116.

form natural avenues and vaulted alleys. The buildings are solidly set up with squared lime stones from the adjacent quarries; they have vaulted windows and projecting battlements, ornamented with small angular towers from the times of the Knights of St. John, and look very picturesque. No where in the Levant have I seen such prosperity, cleanliness and comfortable order among the Greeks as here in Rhodes, and on all hands the kind people called out to us in their well-known and hospitable address: *Καλως οριζατε, 'αφενδαδες!* Welcome to you, gentlemen!

On the hill, above the village, we dismounted at the delightful source, which is led from an ancient aqueduct to a Turkish fountain, and then gushing into a large, glassy reservoir, refreshes the cool and pleasing spot. High waiving plantains spread their boughs over the elegant mosaic pavement laid out with white and black stones, which border the tank, and gaily painted kiosks on slender Saracenic arches, invite to enjoyment and repose.

It happened to be the festival of St. Gregory, and as the Greeks, though generally very temperate and abstemious in in their habits, never celebrate any feast of their saints without a banquet, we met with a merry party from the neighboring village, who with song and music were engaged at their dinner. We were in a great hurry to return to town, but still accepted of the kind invitation in the usual Greek style, to take coffee and a pipe, *a la Turque*, with them.

Our conversation turned upon the antiquities found in the gardens around. Traces of the ancient Doric city of Rhodes, marble altars, with inscriptions and fragments of columns or architectural ornaments, are walled up in the buildings and enclosures. In the adjacent mountains are seen ancient quarries and artificial grottos. On the west of the present city are considerable ruins of an aqueduct from the middle ages, and at different places south of the gardens you may trace the substructions of those famous city walls which successfully withstood the battering engines of Demetrius Poliorketes. The Sweedish naturalist, Professor Hedenborg, who for several years has been established in the village Neomaras, and is an

admirer of antiquity, has opened several ancient sepulchres, and formed a little collection of vases, sepulchral oil-lamps of terra-cotta and the like. The villages, Epanomares, Turkambela and Neomaras, extend in a semicircle around the fortress, and are inhabited by twenty thousand Christians. The Latins have a church and a convent of Franciscans. In the fortress live seven or eight thousand Turks and three thousand Jews, and in the rather thinly populated villages of the interior only three or four thousand Greeks and Turks.

With some reluctance we took leave of the good pepole on the pretty hyacinth-hill, and through the luxuriant maze of the gardens, rode on to the village Turkambula, and the Greek church of the Panagia Elemonitra, from the height of which a most beautiful landscape opened to our view. Northward, beneath the hill, lay the green enclosures of the vineyards, from out of which many a slender palm-tree reared its lofty crown. Yonder the numberless turbaned sepulchres stretched along towards the walls of the city. Farther on the castle of the Grand Masters, the cupolas and minarets of the mosques, and the gigantic towers of the harbors presented a beautiful relief against the green mirror of the sea and the distant blue mountains of Caramania.

We then returned to the castle, dismissed our muleteer, and walked down to the harbor. The only remarkable ruin of the ancient Doric Rhodes we saw was the mole or dyke so well described by Diodorus Siculus, which forms the northern galley-harbor already mentioned. Through a vaulted gate beneath the bastion of St. Pietro we went northward to the navy-yard, where at our left, on a round turret, is seen a well preserved bas-relief, representing a knight in complete armor, and behind a latticed wall a number of fine old cannon, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not far off stands a large Turkish *tshesme*, or fountain, whose light Saracenic arches rest on foundations of ancient marble altars. The north-western city walls are high, and as well kept up as the fortifications on the interior harbor. They are without moat and out-works; but being sheltered by the batteries of the towers of St. Nicolas and St. Michel, and bravely defended by the French cavaliers, they repelled victoriously all the attacks of the Turks.

On a wooden bridge we passed a canal, which, by means of a subterranean vault from the interior part of the city, opened a communication with the galley-port. Fontanus relates that during the siege traitors in the city, through this conduit sent the enemy intelligence about the losses and disabled situation of the garrison. On this canal formerly stood a chapel, called *Fanum Johannis Colossensis*, and this suggested the idea, that the famous Colossus of the Lindian artist Chares, which was destroyed by an earthquake in the year 222 B. C., was placed across the canal; although there hardly can be a doubt that it stood on the great mole at the entrance of the galley-harbor.*

Opposite to the palace of Hassan Pasha, the governor of the island, are situated the ancient dock-yards, (*Ταρσανας*,) which now appear to be in the same state of neglect and abandonment as all such public establishments of the Turks. During the late war of independence frigates were still built here; but now-a-days the wharfs seem to be abandoned, and only some small xebecks and barks lay in the yards for repairs and caulking.

We then went out upon the large mole, so famous in antiquity for its solidity and beauty. Immense blocks form the base. In different places columns and other fragments of marble from the ancient foundations appear on the sands, which by the negligence of the Turks now cover the fine and solid pavement and firm parapets still existing in the year 1483, according to the interesting drawing published in the travels of Breydenbach. We passed five or six windmills now standing on the higher and less exposed parts of it, and approached the strongest and most renowned bulwark of Rhodes, whose gallantly-defended walls resisted all the attacks of the Ottomans.

This powerful fortress stands three hundred paces distant from the walls of the city, at the mouth of the galley-port, on the northern point of the mole, on an elevated platform. The double lines of its batteries are still mounted with numerous cannon. On the walls of the circular tower are seen inscriptions and the coat-of-arms of John, Duke of Burgundy, who,

* Turris Nicolea, super molem dextro cornu ante portum admirabili antiquitatis arte et sumptu in mare projectam, qua stetisse ferunt *Colossum illum Solus*, etc. Font., Lib. II.

in the year 1461, furnished the Grand Master, Zacosta with ten thousand ducats in order to finish these extensive fortifications of the most important barrier of the city. I wished to ascend the tower, but the Turkish sentinel at the lower battery ordered us to stand back, with the impolite address "*Jasak Diawri!*" (Stand off, you infidels!) This rudeness the traveler meets with every where at Rhodes, where he cannot obtain permission to visit the walls or other interesting historical buildings. At sunset the city is shut. No Christian dares to pass the night within its gates, on the penalty of the bastinado; and even on Friday, during the Mohammedan worship, no Greek is suffered to appear in the streets.

When Sultan Mohammed el Fatich, (the conqueror,) in the year 1480, ordered Misih-Pasha, with a hundred thousand Turks, to Rhodes, this general directed the whole force of his arms against the castle of St. Nicolas, hoping by its reduction to be able to attack the city from the sea-side. But the Grand Master Pierre d'Aubussen instantly caused the mole to be fortified with breast-works and baricadoes, confided its defence to the brave Italian knight, Fabrizio di Caretti, with a chosen band, and placed an ambuscade of mounted knights and bowmen in the inner harbor, who, through the gate of St. Pietro, might rush forward on the mole and attack the enemy in the rear, if he should attempt a descent upon the quay.

The first assault against the tower, which the Turks undertook from the sea, in landing-boats and rafts tied together, miscarried altogether, as a similar enterprise in antiquity by Demetrius Pollorketes on the same spot.* The Turks fled in disorder, with a loss of seven hundred slain. The furious Pasha then, on the nineteenth of June, made another attempt from the shore against the mouth of the galley-port by means of an immense floating bridge or ponton, artificially constructed, from which his columns of janizaries mounted to the assault of the outward walls of the tower. But here they were encountered by the Grand Master, who, sheathed in steel, himself led on his bravest warriors. The Osmanlis again suffered a most

*Vide Diod. Sic., 20, 87-90.

signal defeat; two thousand five hundred corpses floated for many days along the coast, and covered all the avenues; and the Pasha, after the above-mentioned repulse at the Gate of Victory on the east side of the city, was obliged to raise the siege and depart from the island.

There on the spot I at last obtained a clear and complete view of those interesting events, which are represented very indistinctly and confusedly by the modern historians. Both Abbe de Vertot and Baron de Hammer confound the tower of St. Nicolas on the northern extremity of the mole with the ancient tower of the Saracens, or of St. Michel, on the right-hand of the inlet to the great harbor, and thus appear to have inferred the occupation of the galley-port and out-works by the Turks, and their victorious advance to the inner harbor; a circumstance which in itself would have been of the highest importance, but is contradicted by all the most distinct and detailed accounts of the contemporaneous historians, the eye-witnesses of the siege.

The same fault has been committed by the greater part of modern travelers,* who already at a distance, on the approach to Rhodes from the sea, with admiration behold the high picturesque Saracenic tower, beneath the batteries of which they are going to anchor, and pay no attention at all to the more distant and now less imposing tower of St. Nicolas, which though of far greater importance in a historical point of view, has now been almost destroyed by the fury of the wars and the still more destructive earthquakes of latter years.

The first mentioned tower is still termed *Arab-Kylesi* (Stronghold of the Arabs) by the Turks, who interposed no obstacle, when, on our return to the great harbor, we desired to ascend it. At present it serves as a light-house. Having been built during the middle ages by the Saracen corsairs, it was repaired and fortified by the Knights of St. John, after the conquest of the island in 1310, and according to the warfare of the times, furnished with battering engines, (*trabocchi* and

* Vide Choiseul-Gouffier's "*Voyage Pittoresque en Grece*," Vol. I, page 61. The engraving gives a faithful representation of the Saracenic tower, but the subscription refers to the "Tour S. Nicolas."

mangani or *manganelle*,) and considered as the principal defence of the great harbor, (Porto di Mandracchio,) the huge chain being drawn across the inlet from its lower batteries to the opposite eastern turret of St. John.†

This magnificent quadrangular structure, solidly built with large free-stones, has four round turrets on the battlements and an octagonal beacon on the upper platform. On the south front is seen the escutcheon of the Grand Master Guy de Blanchefort, representing two rampant lions in gules. We ascended to the platform on a fine stair-case of one hundred and sixty-eight steps, and enjoyed a most delightful view of both the subjacent harbors, the city, with its numerous walls and towers, and all the charming environs. The site of the ancient Rhodes, in a circumference of ten miles, enclosing all the modern Greek suburbs, the gardens and vineyards, is distinctly traced from this place.

The sun in the mean time set behind the Cum-Burnu; from the minarets re-echoed the wailing evening-prayers of the Imaums; the Christians left the fortress, and the volume of dark smoke arising from our steamer announced the moment of our departure. We descended, highly gratified with the happy hours spent in this interesting city. On our arrival on board, the anchors were heaved, we left the harbor, and standing away to the south-east during the twilight of the mild vernal night, passed along the snow-topped mountains of Caramania toward Cyprus.

Lancaster, Pa. A. L. K.

†Therefore, it is called by Coronelli, Dapper, and the more ancient authors, "*Torre del Trabocco.*" Vertot has "*Tour S. Michel.*"

Art. IX.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

NO. I.

FOR PIOUS ADULTS.

I AM the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.

I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so also them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.

Meanwhile none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself; for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's: for to this end Christ both died and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

And now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

Therefore, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; even so saith the SPIRIT; for they rest from their labors.

O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ!

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

[An address may be made here.]

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord; and with whom the souls of the

faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh are in joy and felicity; we give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors. And we beseech Thee, that we, with all those who are departed in the true faith of Thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O Thou ever-blessed Mediator, who wast dead but livest forever, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, and who hast knit all thy saints in one communion unto life eternal, in that mystical body of which thou art the glorious and ever-living Head; grant us grace so to follow thy blessed saints of thy holy Church, who have gone before us, in the faith and fellowship, that we may come to those unspeakable joys, which thou hast prepared for all that love Thee from the foundation of the world.

O Holy and ever-blessed Spirit, who art one with the Father and the Son, and who dwellest in all thy saints, to comfort and quicken them; do Thou, we beseech thee, comfort us in the prospect of death, and in the hope of the resurrection of the just, and abide with us, that these mortal bodies may be quickened, and fashioned like unto the Saviour's glorious body to the inheritance of the life everlasting.

O Holy and adorable Trinity, Father, Son, and Spirit, Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of our bodies and spirits, we humbly confess our sins, and acknowledge them as the cause of our misery and death, and that, on account of our sins Thou art justly displeased. Yet, through infinite mercy in Jesus Christ, we implore thee, blot out our transgressions, wash us from our iniquity, and cleanse us from our sins. O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts: shut not thy merciful ears to our prayers; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death to fall from thee. But keep us in everlasting

fellowship with the Church triumphant, and let us rest together in thy presence from our labors, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased ALMIGHTY GOD, in His wise providence, to take out of this world the soul of our deceased BROTHER, we, therefore, commit HIS body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust: looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

[Here a hymn may be sung, while the grave is filling]

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all evermore. Amen.

NO. II.

FOR INFANTS.

Man, that is born of a woman, hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down, like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay.

All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth. We are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding. For what is our life? It is even a vapor, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away.

As touching little children, Jesus saith, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little chlld, he shall not enter therein.

Weep not, saith the Lord, the child is not dead, but sleepeth. While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; for I said, Who can tell whether God will be gracious to me, that the child may live. But now it is dead, wherefore should I weep? Can I bring it back again? I shall go to it, but it shall not return to me!

The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.

Glory be to Him who is the Resurrection and the life; who quickeneth us, while in the dying state, and after we have obtained the true life, doth not suffer us to die any more.

Glory be to him, in the Church which waiteth for Him, and in that which is around Him, for ever and ever. Amen.

[An address may be made here.]

O Almighty God, our Father in heaven, who, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast ordained praise, and madest infants to glorify thee by their death: mortify and kill all vices in us, and so strengthen us by thy grace, that by the innocency of our lives, and constancy of our faith even unto death, we may glorify Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O holy and compassionate Saviour, who didst thyself become an infant sanctifying infants, and who didst comfort all parents with the blessed words: Of such is the kingdom of heaven; draw us, we beseech thee, to thyself, that we may receive the kingdom of God as a little child, and that our desires may ever ascend to where thou art and where our departed children are, that so our hearts may be with our treasures. Teach us the vanity of all earthly things, so that we may be led to number our days and apply our hearts unto wisdom. And as thou art the Great Head of thy body the Church, and as all power is given unto thee in heaven and on the earth; keep us in everlasting fellowship with the Church triumphant, and let us rest together in thy presence from our labors.

O Holy, and ever blessed Spirit, who art one with the Father and the Son, thou Comforter of the Saints, abide with us forever, sanctify us in soul and body, quicken us for every duty and every trial, and seal us unto the day of eternal redemption, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O Holy and adorable Trinity, Father, Son, and Spirit, Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of all thy saints; we humbly confess our sins, and acknowledge them as the source of our misery and death, and that, on account of our many sins thou

art justly displeased. Yet, through infinite mercy in Jesus Christ, we implore thee, blot out our transgressions, wash us from our iniquity, and cleanse us from our sins. O Lord God, most Holy, O Lord most Mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts: shut not thy merciful ears to our prayers; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death to fall from Thee.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased ALMIGHTY GOD, in his wise providence, to take out of this world the soul of this deceased child, we therefore commit its body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust: looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

[Here a hymn may be sung.]

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all evermore. Amen.

ART. X.—THE BIBLE AND THE CATECHISM.

THE professed members of the German Reformed Church in this country are at present more united in the praise of the Heidelberg Catechism than they ever seem to have been before this time. The more this excellent work is used in catechisation and in determining the true doctrine of the Reformed Church, the more we appear to become aware of its merits.

And this is justly considered a matter of congratulation. But while we rejoice in this, it will also become a duty of prudence, to compare the merits of this book with those of the Bible, lest the possibility of a conflict between our love for the Catechism and our reverence for God's revealed Word might interrupt the course of prosperity, which has thus far accompanied the increasing popularity of our Catechism. If we would prevent the authority of the one from trespassing upon the domain of the other, we must ascertain their boundaries, and try to make these appear so prominent and plainly discernible, that even those, who are less experienced in theological science, will be guarded by them from being carried too far in acknowledging that authority, which, after all, is only secondary and subordinate to the absolute authority of God's Word. Such a a course will, at the same time, serve to silence the clamorous objections and insinuations of arbitrary sectarians, who pretend to be the only true followers of the Bible.

The Heidelberg Catechism is an excellent book. Its mild and conciliatory language is the more remarkable and praiseworthy, as it comes from an age of fierce warfare, of troubled consciences and of bitter persecution. When Lutherans and Calvinists were filling with their anathemata those churches and cathedrals, hardly wrenched out of the hands of popery; when an ill-directed and worse governed zeal was sowing the dragon's teeth among the good seed of the Gospel; when the most learned theologians of the Protestant parties were ransacking the dirt of literature, to find the most opprobrious possible epithets for their opponents; when clouds of civil war threatened looming at no great distance—then it is, that we hear the Heidelberg Catechism beginning to teach its peace-bearing lessons. Whilst Roman Catholics teaching the merits of good works are condemned by Lutherans, who will hear of nothing but of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism standing up between these two extremes, builds the necessity of good works upon the only true basis of Faith in Jesus Christ. Whilst sacramentarians make salvation dependent upon the use of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in opposition to Fanatics, who neglect these same sacraments as superfluous

in view of the fulness of the Holy Spirit's working, the Heidelberg Catechism avoids either extreme, by setting forth how the Holy Ghost confirms, through the sacraments, the faith established by himself. (Qu. 65.) Whilst tender consciences are tossed to and fro between the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, abhorrent to natural good sense, and the shallow exegesis of Zwingli, leveling the powerful: "This is my body," to poor: "This signifies it," the Heidelberg Catechism extracts the thorn from the one and restores divine power to the other, by making the created elements the bearer and seal of God's promises. Whilst the German nation released from the one extreme of Roman Hierarchy, was permitted by their Lutheran liberators to rush headlong into the other extreme of Erastian anarchy, devoid of all spiritual government, the Heidelberg Catechism advocated a wholesome Church discipline as far from profane disorder as from clerical despotism.

Nor does this noble tendency, to reconcile dissenting parties, carried away to unreasonable extremes by the passions of warfare, degenerate, as it is only too apt to do, into indifference for truth itself. But as long as troubled souls pant for comfort in life and death, so long will the answer to the first question ring triumphantly in the believer's ear in all the exuberance and fulness of its joyful testimony. As long as Christian humility protests against the self-confidence and self-sufficiency of the human race, that dreams it is capable of healing its own wounds and of adorning itself with self-acquired virtues, so long will pious souls rejoice in confessing with the Heidelberg Catechism, that our human nature, poisoned by Adam's fall, conceived in sin, (Qu. 7,) utterly unfit to do anything good (Qu. 8,) must be thoroughly regenerated, before it can in any way please God. As long as frivolous generations slight the solemn warnings of a just God, so long will earnest men love to unite with the Heidelberg Catechism in declaring and proclaiming that God frowns terribly (Qu. 11 and 12) on our sins and will certainly punish them in time and eternity. But why should we attempt to gather the brightest gems of truth from this sparkling diadem? We know, because we have read it, and all who do not know, will know when they read, that whatever

Christian truths are dearest to believing souls, are certainly all found recorded in the expressive and unmistakable language of the Catechism.

It is then no matter of much astonishment, to hear it said, that the Heidelberg Catechism is the best literary production of the German Reformed Church. We do not hesitate to believe it. And when in a theological discussion we do not feel disposed to yield to any human authority, for we have a right, and assert the right, to hold fast peculiar views of our own, even if they are contradicted by quotations from Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, or even Neander, we are always ready, as soon as a quotation from the Heidelberg Catechism is produced, that covers the questionable ground, to reconsider and finally to renounce, whatever contrary opinions we have expressed or held. Shall we then hesitate to admit that the Heidelberg Catechism is a work of divine inspiration? We, who ascribe to it so superior an authority in our Church? an authority inferior only to that of the Bible? We certainly have no right to proclaim any human work superior to all other human works, except it be, that we perceive in it the traces of divine co-operation. For human works are undergoing a continual development from lower grades to higher perfections, and thus all our literature is, with the progress of time, advancing from perfection to perfection, and it must not be expected, it must be considered unlikely, it must be called an insult to the present age, to assert that a human work, written three hundred years ago, should be superior, better adapted to our wants, than the best literary products of the present time. Why then is it that, in the face of principles, so generally understood and admitted, we crown with superior authority the Catechism, written by Ursinus and Olevianus? Is it respect for the authors? If that be the case, why do other works of the same authors, Ursinus' larger and smaller Catechisms, his two apologies for the Heidelberg Catechism, his "Corpus doctrinae Christianae," or Olevianus' "Gnadenbund Gottes"—why should these not share in the same respect? But they are hardly known at present. It is a vain task to seek for human causes of the superiority of the Heidelberg

Catechism. There are none. Neither its age, nor its authorship, nor any human influence has made it superior to all other books of its kind. As surely then, as it is superior, so certainly must it owe its superiority to Divine Influence, since human genius was not the cause of it. And thus we arrive at the conclusion, that it was written under the guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit.

Still we would fain protest against this. Not that we doubt the excellency of the Catechism, but because we are accustomed to reserve this honor to the Bible. We believe that the Bible was written by Divine inspiration. If we admit the Catechism to the same honor, it would look like profane intrusion. If we say, that both books are divinely inspired, where is the difference? Perhaps you answer: The Bible is the basis of the Heidelberg Catechism. But if the only prerogative of the Bible, is, that it is the basis of the Catechism, then we might do well to deposit the Bible quietly in our libraries, and disseminate only the Catechism, reserving for the Bible the subordinate duty of proving our catechetical exposition of truth, when proof is called for. But ah! the unanimous voice of all Protestantism would answer an abhorrent "*No*," to such insinuations. Let Roman Papists bury and hide their Bibles, but no human work, nor human authority shall stand between us and our God or His revelation.

It was the Elector of the Palatinate, a petty prince, in scanty purple, who ordered the Heidelberg Catechism to be written. It was God Omnipotent who commanded the Bible to be written. The prophets, when, being set apart by God, to speak His Word, they doubted their competency for so high and responsible a mission, were confirmed by the power of working miracles given them by God for this very purpose. And the multitude, when they saw their works, doubted not the divine authority of their instructions. But Ursinus and Olevianus did not pretend to miraculous power. Nor was it anything of this kind, that secured confidence in their teaching. It was scholarship, ingenuity and amiability of character, that commanded the respect of others. The source from which the authors of the Bible filled their vessels with truth,

was the direct inspiration of God; the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism gathered truth from the Bible and from other human works. They wrote after a careful study, especially of the Lutheran and the Genevan Catechisms. To illustrate The explanations of the Decalogue, as we now have them in our Catechism, are mostly compilations from those two Catechisms. Thus in the explanation of the first commandment Luther says, that we are to fear, honor and trust God, with which the Heidelberg Catechism combines the more scientific, though less hearty commentary of Calvin, thus forming his well known exposition. The seventh commandment is by Luther explained as having reference to matrimonial life. Calvin sees in it a general rule of chastity—both ideas are united in the Heidelberg Catechism.. There was a time in the history of the human race, when the Heidelberg Catechism was not; consequently there will be a time in our history when it will not be. But there was no time since man's creation, when the Bible was not. For although the instructions that God gave to Adam, when He walked in Paradise in the cool of the day, were not written down, still they were not forgotten, but handed down from generation to generation, until embodied by Moses in the Book of Genesis. They were the Bible of the patriarchs. And from their time to the last day, men will search the Bible for truth. But as certainly a time will come, when the German Reformed Church will not be a separate branch of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, so certainly the day will be, when the Heidelberg Catechism, having fulfilled its great mission, will become a mere historical document. The Bible is acknowledged as supreme authority, wherever the name of Jesus Christ is honored; but the Heidelberg Catechism, however excellent a book, cannot gain the entire confidence of any but Reformed Christians. The Heidelberg Catechism finally, as it is the book of only a certain age and of a certain class of Christians, is adapted only to certain purposes of instruction and orthodoxy; but the Bible being the book of all ages and of all Christians, is adapted to all religious purposes, to edification, instruction, to comfort and to warn, for private reading and for liturgical services. And for this the best authority I can offer is found

in the words of an old converted priest, on one of the South Sea Islands. Says he: I have hinges all over me; if I wish to handle anything, my hands enable me to do so. If I want to utter anything, the hinges of my mouth enable me to say it; and if I desire to go anywhere, here are hinges to my legs, to enable me to walk. Now I perceive great wisdom in the adaptation of my body to the various wants of my mind; and when I look in the Bible, I see there the proofs of wisdom, which correspond exactly with those which appear in my frame. (G. Spring: "The Bible not of Man," page 229.) Yes, you simple copper-colored old man, you were right! Just as far as human tools, which answer for those few purposes only, for which they were made, are inferior to the human frame, created by God for such a multiplicity of purposes, so far inferior is the Heidelberg Catechism, which serves only for instruction, to the Bible, that does not only instruct members of the Reformed Church, but all Christians, in Lapland and in Africa, in London and in Pekin; which does not only instruct, but also comfort them, warn them, exhort them, edify them, and which does it not only to Catechumens, or to people of a certain age, but also to the sage Patriarch of the ministry, the learned Doctor of Divinity, the negro slave on the plantation and the heathen in Hindostan.

Besides, it is not only a comparison with the Bible, that causes us to see the inferiority of the Heidelberg Catechism; but even when we consider it in itself, we do not fail to perceive such statements in it, which we, even while we bow to them in submission, should wish to see differently expressed. Thus, when the Catechism tells us that we are naturally inclined to hate God, we feel somewhat dissatisfied with the expression; for we know, that however lost and depraved, we have yet some sparks of divine life in us, though slumbering under ashes and cinders. And although we know, from other passages of the Catechism, and from reference to the text of Scripture quoted by it, (Rom. 8: 6,) that this expression means to say, that we are, *according to the flesh* inclined to hate God, (*Κατα το φρονημα της σαρκος*,) still we feel a desire, that the sentiment had been expressed more unmistakably. When in

the explanation of the Apostolic symbol, Christ's descent to hell is said to signify his anguish and pain felt when dying for us, we are apt to think, that however true this be, it is not sufficient. Individually, we would wish more had been said, that the benefits of Christ's death might be considered as open for those also who died before they had an opportunity of embracing them in faith, although we would not feel authorized to make this exegesis binding, by giving it a place in our Catechism. And further, we hesitate to confess with Ursinus, that we derive comfort from the idea that Christ, on his return, will commit to eternal punishment all His and *our* enemies. And although we say Amen to it, we would prefer not to be forced by our conscience, to give our assent. Nor is it the matter only, contained in our Catechism, that fails in some instances to gain our complete assent. We cannot even approve altogether of the method in which this matter is disposed of. The object for which the book was composed, is two-fold. It was to serve as a doctrinal platform, on which the various religious interests of the country could unite, and it was to be a text-book for the instruction of children. Now we do not mean to deny that the Catechism does not subserve these two purposes, as well as could ever be expected, and better too, but the connection of the two objects is an insurmountable obstacle in the way of perfection. No man can serve two masters well, the less so, the more different the two masters are. And we can certainly not expect that one book should solve the two contradictory problems of instructing children and of guarding the orthodoxy of Churches as well as two separate books could do it. And this has in a manner been often acknowledged by the Reformed Church of America. The great number of Catechisms, written for children by ministers of our Church, some of them acknowledged as superior for this purpose to the Heidelberg Catechism, demonstrates that we are accustomed to look upon the latter as not being well adapted to such a purpose. Besides, ministers of the Reformed Church in Germany have often expressed their preference for the Smaller Lutheran Catechism as a first instructor. They say, that the Lutheran Catechism introduces all questions of expla-

nation by the word "What," whilst the Heidelberg Catechism often makes use of the question "Why," thus showing that the information given by Luther is more positive, whilst that of the latter is dialectic. If that is the fact, we must certainly allow the former to be better adapted to small children. Furthermore, as a Catechism is *intended* for catechumens, i. e. persons who have not yet professed their faith or joined the Church, we must necessarily suppose that the person who is represented in the Catechism as answering the questions, has not yet become sufficiently strong in faith to justify their immediate reception into the Church, but that they need a preparation and confirmation. But how does this agree with the answer to the very first question? We must undoubtedly say, that a person who can give such an answer needs no further instruction as a catechumen, but is prepared at once to enter into full communion with the Church. But this task of detecting supposed faults in our Catechism is little to our taste. Nor is it apt to lead to any new results. For at no time has our Church considered the Catechism as perfect. Although we shall always be prepared to say that the Catechism ought not to be altered, and that it ought be in its unaltered state, the symbolum of the German Reformed Church, which we are willing to follow and to defend as our beloved standard; still we are not so fanatic as to consider it absolutely perfect, just as we do not consider our Church as perfect.

However, we are now involved in an apparent contradiction. In the first part of this essay, the position was held, that the Heidelberg Catechism is divinely inspired, as the Bible; in the second, we force ourselves to acknowledge that it is inferior to the Bible, and imperfect. Still we cannot retract. We cannot see a flaw in the chain of conclusions, by which we established these two positions. We are then placed in circumstances similar to those of the English and French forces before Sebastopol. We must either face the place or retreat, without being able to do either. Thus we must either maintain the divine inspiration of our Catechism or reject it. Still we have by our arguments rendered it impossible to do either. In such a situation, I think, we are permitted to follow the

illustrious example of the Allied Powers. They, in their embarrassment, commenced to negotiate. We will do the same. We will open negotiations. We will explain terms.

Inspiration may be of two kinds. When God is about to inspire men with truth, He may do it either through the medium of natural facts, or He may do it directly, without making use of created things. Now when He inspired the authors of the Old Testament He did not lead them to find truth in the manner provided for the human race generally by the laws of this world. Moses did not learn how the earth was created by geological researches, nor was it legislative experience and genius, that enabled him to promulgate his laws. David was not affected with poetical predispositions to enable him to sing his psalms, for he was very practical; nor did Isaiah judge future events from a careful study of history. If that had been the case, we might still say that they were inspired by God; for all knowledge of truth comes from God, but we would not be able to say, that their inspiration was of a miraculous kind; it would then, on the contrary, be a very natural one. But if anything is done by God in a miraculous manner, this is understood as being a direct act of His supreme will, by which He does something out of the natural way, setting aside the general laws of nature. Thus we come to distinguish between direct and indirect inspiration. And inasmuch as no miracles are connected with the writing of the Heidelberg Catechism, we shall be justified in saying that its inspiration is a natural, indirect or mediate one, while that of the Bible is immediate, direct or supernatural. In this manner it would appear that a durable peace can be concluded between the Bible and the Catechism, if it was not for another difficulty. The Catechism would seem to be ranged too low. It might be said that all books, as far as they disclose truth, are indirectly inspired, and so they are; but what then becomes of the superiority of our Catechism? For we stand or fall with this sentiment, that our Catechism is superior, as a Catechism and symbolum, to other human books. To defend this position, we must again distinguish different kinds of indirect inspiration. And well we may. For there is a great difference between the media that

God makes use of to enable us to discover and proclaim the truth. And in the same degree as some media, through which we are led to learn the truth, are superior to others, the views also we obtain of the truth, are superior. He who sees the city of New York only in the light of the moon, will have an inferior view of it, to that of him who sees it by daylight, because the medium through which he perceives it, is inferior to that of the other. Applying this to literature, so far as it may be said to be indirectly inspired by God, we must admit that those writings will be superior, which have been inspired through superior media. We must further admit that the media or means, by which we can at present expect to be inspired with truth, are prayer, faith, study, &c. All these means are accessible to the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism also. But besides these, they enjoyed other advantages. There was at the time of the Reformation a genuine revival of religion going on. The flush of victory over the Papacy and error was animating all pious minds, filling them with a spirit of joyful faith in Christ Jesus, who gave the victory with a spirit of zeal, of energy, of earnestness in the work of salvation. Besides this, the authors of our Catechism were under the influence of a spirit of peace, and desirous of union, a spirit produced by the state of religious affairs in the Palatinate, where Lutherans, Calvinists, Zwinglians and Melancthonians were thrown together in such a manner as to be mostly desirous of being reconciled and united with each other. The Heidelberg Catechism then was composed under the influence of a spirit of revival of genuine faith and of a spirit of evangelical union. These were instruments that God made use of, to inspire its authors with truth, and these two media of inspiration have never co-existed to the present day. There were indeed times of general revival, but without that desire for union. And there were times of a general desire for union, but without the revival of Christian piety. We may, therefore, vindicate the superiority of our Catechism by maintaining that it was inspired through the medium of such great causes as have never existed since then. Wherefore it must be considered superior to any product of human literature we possess.

And this gives us a safe and precise distinction for books in general, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Bible: Good Christian books are divinely inspired in an indirect manner by means of general and common dispositions. The Heidelberg Catechism is divinely inspired in an indirect manner, by means of dispositions superior to those of common occurrence, though not supernatural. The Bible is divinely inspired in a direct manner.

Tiffin, Ohio. H. J. R.

Art. XI.—SHORT NOTICES.

THE CHURCH-MEMBER'S MANUAL AND PRAYER-BOOK; *Containing a Description of the Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul; Expositions of the Nature of the Church and of Christianity; and also Forms of Prayer; together with Directions and Suggestions in Reference to the Duties of Practical Piety; to which are added Historical Sketches of distinguished Persons in the Church. By J. Stoneberger, Minister of the German Reformed Church, Patton, Mo.: Chambersburg, Pa. M. Kieffer & Co.* 1855. *pp.* 396.

To every Christian, a good Church-Member's Manual must be an acceptable book. To be such, however, it is necessary that it be pervaded by the life of Christianity, and embody such counsels and furnish such directions, as are suited to the wants of the Christian, in every variety of circumstances in which he is liable to be placed in his passage through this present world. We have acknowledgedly many excellent devotional works in the English language, such as those of Doddridge, Henry, Baxter, Pike, &c., from the perusal of which the pious heart must be edified, and can derive much profitable instruction. At the same time, it has been felt by the ministry and membership of the German Reformed Church generally, that something more than what is possessed in all these acknowledgedly excellent works, was needed, in order fully to meet the religious wants of our people. The German Reformed Church, whilst she partakes of much in common with her sister denominations, has, it must be admitted, a life distinctively and peculiarly her own. As one of the original Churches of the Reformation, she is very naturally and properly concerned to preserve and perpetuate in their purity and original integrity, the customs and usages handed down to her from the fathers of

the Reformation; and as a *German* Church, she feels it necessary, in order to be true to her mission, as well as to promote her real interests, to maintain in *spirit*, if not in *language*, the life and genius which are distinctively her own. Accordingly, she looks upon the incarnation as the great central fact of Christianity; entertains exalted views of the Church, as a divine institution, the mystical body of Christ; lays great stress upon the sacraments, as, in an important sense, grace-bearing ordinances; and also gives special prominence to the various educational processes of religion, as naturally flowing out of her view of the nature of the Church and its divine ordinances. To her consciousness, Christianity is emphatically a *life*, having its source in Christ, the great Head of the Church, and, at the same time, needing appropriate aliment to perpetuate it, and also to maintain it in healthful activity, which is to be found only in the various provisions of grace committed by Christ to His Church.

A Church-Member's Manual, to be adapted to the wants of the membership of the German Reformed Church, must be written in the conscious experience of the reality of these great and important truths. Its stand-point must thus be that emphatically of the Church. In such case only, can it properly serve to maintain Christianity amongst our people, in its true spirit and life, as these are found to express themselves in the midst of the means of grace as enjoyed in the German Reformed Church. Such a Manual as this, we are gratified to be able to say, is, in our judgment, that whose title is placed at the head of this notice. Mr. Stoneberger is, we firmly believe, destined to enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of having produced a Church-Member's Manual, such as is in every way suited to the wants of those for whom it has been especially prepared, and as is calculated to exert an important healthful influence, in giving complexion to the future religious character of the membership of the German Reformed Church.

The book makes no pretensions to learning, nor to superior elegance and grace. This would have been incompatible with its principal design. At the same time, however, it contains much important truth and wholesome counsel and instruction, suited to the wants of the Church-member, very happily and forcibly expressed. The great facts and principles of Christianity are presented in terms which are intelligible to the most ordinary intellect, but, at the same time, acceptable to the most cultivated taste. The very life of Christianity breathes throughout all its pages. They are pervaded by an unction which cannot fail to make the most favorable and happy impression upon every truly pious heart. No one, who has been privileged to taste of "the powers of the world to come," can rise from its perusal without feeling edified and comforted. It is just such a book, as we would like to see placed in the hands of every member of the Church. "Although the work is designed for the members of the German Reformed Church in particular," to use the language of the author in his truly modest preface, "any evangelical Christian will find matter for edification in its perusal."

Our limits will prevent us from giving a specific outline of the contents of the work. It may be sufficient to say, that, whilst it treats of the nature of the Church and its divine ordinances, and of its various other institutions, it specifically sets forth the duties of the Church-member growing out of his relation to these, as well as those which devolve upon him in view of the various other relations he is made to sustain in life.

F.

HISTORICO—GEOGRAPHICAL ATLAS OF THE MIDDLE AGES; *containing a series of six general Maps. Re-published from the great Historical Geographical Hand-Atlas of Dr. Charles Spruner, with a concise explanatory description, by Adolphus Louis Kœppen, Professor in Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. New York: Appleton & Co.* 1855.

IN a former number of the Review we noticed Professor Kœppen's Historical Geography of the Middle Ages, and recommended it as a most useful guide to all persons who take an interest in historical studies. The Atlas is designed to serve as an accompaniment to the Geography, and may be regarded as its necessary complement. The latter, interesting and animating as it is in its descriptions, would indeed lose much of its value, if it were not for the ocular illustrations of the former, and every person who has supplied himself with a copy of the one, will naturally desire to possess the other also. The principle upon which the Atlas is constructed is a philosophical one, and shows, at the same time, good historical taste and judgment. It is historical in its form as well as its contents, consisting of six different views of Europe as it stood in so many different periods of time. Owing to the changes taking place in the aspect of European society, during the Middle Ages, no single map could of course give the student anything like a correct view of the world during that interval of time. Nothing remained fixed and permanent, except the everlasting barriers of nature. One tide after another of inundating barbarians swept away the traces of a former state of things, and gave rise successively to new arrangements among the nations of the great European family. The difficulty in representing this moving mass of human society, is to select suitable epochs as points of observation, from which the most extensive views can be gained, and where there is no likelihood of confounding the one with the other. Every view ought to be a distinct one, and in order to be distinct, each one ought to show a real progress on that which preceded it. In this way a faithful historical Atlas is an excellent method of representing to the eye the history of the times, and of impressing upon the memory the different stages of national growth or decline. The Maps of Spruner here re-produced by Prof. Kœppen, are formed in this way, and show the progress of the European family from its formative period in the fourth, down to the fifteenth century, when the boundaries of nations

became fixed, and Europe assumed the form, which it has since essentially retained. Too much praise, we think, cannot be bestowed upon the manner in which the historical problem has been solved. The six beautiful Maps here before us present a most beautiful historical panorama, similar to those panoramic views of distant countries and routes, with which the art of painting and drawing has recently supplied the lovers of beautiful scenery, who prefer enjoying it without leaving their homes.

For the benefit of our readers we shall give a short account of the different Maps.

The first presents a view of Europe and the world in the fourth century. The Roman Empire still retains its old iron-like features, but already it has shown that its "iron is mixed with miry clay." It maintains its sway over the nations of the East and the West, but the Northmen have swelled the tide of migration, and threaten a universal deluge. As yet our forefathers are inhabiting the forests of Germany and Scandinavia, and though not prominent in the picture, they are ready as soon as an opportunity presents itself, to issue forth in countless myriads to take a prominent position on the theatre of history. The resources of the Empire seem inadequate to resist the swarms of barbarians that appear on its borders, and hence it is divided into the eastern and western. The seat of Empire is removed to the shores of the Bosphorus, the new city of Constantine, by which the barbaric flood is stayed for a while, but not driven back. In this Map the reader has a view of the splendor of the Roman Empire, but it is splendor in decline.

The second Map in the series presents a view of the world two centuries later, during the times of the Emperor Justinian, at the beginning of the sixth century. The face of society has undergone an entire change. The barbarians, who had already broken through some barriers during the first period, have now come in like a flood, and carried everything before them. One branch of the Roman Empire, the Western, has passed away, whilst the other preserves its ancient frontiers only against the most fearful odds. Upon the ruins of the old world, new nations have sprung into being and formed themselves into kingdoms. The kingdom of the Ostragoths extends over ancient Italy; the Vandals have established themselves along the shores of northern Africa; the Visigaths in Spain; the Franks in Gaul; and in the far off isle of the Britons, still on the borders of the world, an insignificant kingdom has taken its rise, whilst in the background of the picture other barbarous nations are seen crowding forward to take their place on the arena of Europe.

The third Map gives us a view of Europe in the eighth century. Here a new phasis, a new picture of the world presents itself. In the North, Charlemagne, a German by descent, arises, and by his mighty genius, moulds the various heterogeneous nationalities into one vast Empire, which begins to rival the old Roman Empire, which had passed away. In the South, the Mohammedan power suddenly makes

its appearance, extends its arms over a large part of Asia, the north of Africa, passes over into Spain, and besieges Christendom from the east and the west. The crescent and the cross rival each other in civilization, and commence their conflicts for the mastery of the world. Whilst these important movements are going forward on the continent, the British isles play an insignificant part on the plain of history. Their wars at this time, according to one of their own historians, were not of much more historical importance than the battles of so many kites. During this period, the Eastern empire still stands, but is surrounded and besieged by innumerable warlike tribes, that look upon it with lustful eyes, as the prize held out to their courage and valor.

The three remaining Maps delineate in succession other equally important changes in the aspect of European affairs from the eighth to the fifteenth century, embracing the interesting period of the crusades, when the north and the south, Christian and unchristian nations, fought in deadly conflict for the spread of their respective creeds. The sixth and last Map brings us down to the present era; already Europe presents a modern appearance, and is readily identified as substantially the same as that which it has been for the last three centuries. The Mohammedan faith, originating in a species of wild fanaticism in the barrens of Arabia, has become an immense political power, extending from India on the east, to the waves of the Atlantic on the west. It has robbed Christendom of more than half of its territory, embracing some of the fairest lands the sun has ever shone upon. It has erected a barrier on the south of Europe, apparently impervious to Christian arms, and not content with that, it has taken possession of Constantinople, one of the capitals of Christendom, and threatened Rome, the other. In its sanguinary course it has burned down thousands of Christian churches and erected in their place the temples of its own flat, monotonous worship. The places rendered sacred by the labors of the Saviour, the Apostles and the Fathers, have fallen a prey to the false prophet, and been desecrated by the unhallowed feet of his followers. This equilibrium of the two contending powers, we may remark, is substantially the balance of power in the old world even at the present time, and it remains to be seen, whether it is destined to be maintained. The allied armies are professedly contending for it, but we doubt very much whether they will ever secure it, even though they should come off victorious. The colossus of Mohammedanism is already effete, and it must soon fall, whether by the arms of the Russian or of the Allies, it is altogether immaterial. The crescent must wane, whilst the cross arises sublimely victorious above the confusion of its enemies. From present indications, at no distant day, a new balance of power and a new arrangement of nations will be formed in the old world, in which the Christian element shall in all directions be the predominating one. This will give the future historian abundant material for the construction of a seventh chart of the world, which we hope and pray may be the best and the last.

It remains for us merely to add, that the Historical Atlas is got up in the best style, and that in itself it would be an ornament to any library. To clergymen, who take an interest in historical Theology, it would be of great value and assistance in their studies.

T. A.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES; OR THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE. *By M. Baumgarten, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and Professor in the University of Rostock. In three volumes, pp.* 456, 459, *and* 383, *large duodecimo. Translated from the German, first two volumes, by the Rev. A. J W. Morrison, Curate of Little Wittenham, Berks; Translator of Ritter's History of Philosophy; Guericke's Manual of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, &c.; and the third, by the Rev. Theod. Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburg.*

GERMANY has come to be regarded amongst all intelligent persons as the principal seat of theological and classical literature for the last quarter of a century and longer. It is not without just cause, that such a view has come to prevail. The Germans are emphatically a literary people. Their leading minds seek distinction in this particular direction, and hence devote themselves, with untiring diligence and unabating energy, to literary and theological research. Nearly all the works of theological and classical literature, distinguished for any depth of thought or thoroughness of research, which have issued from the press for years past, have proceeded from a German source; and even the few productions of this character, which have had their origin elsewhere, have, in most instances, been greatly indebted to the Germans for the material which has been wrought up in them. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that men of learning and character should place a high estimate upon the treasures of knowledge, which are to be obtained from this particular source.

The celebrated publishers, T. & T. Clark of Edinburg, Scotland, have fallen in with this prevailing idea of the learned; and hence, have been engaged for several years past, in publishing what is termed "Clark's Foreign Theological Library," which is made up of translations of the works of the principal divines of Germany. Quite a number of most valuable works, such as Olshausen's Commentaries, &c., have in this way been made accessible to the English public. The three volumes, the titles of which are given above, form the second, third and fourth volumes, of a new series of the Theological Library, which has recently been commenced. They are most able commentaries upon the Acts of the Apostles, and contain a fund of information, which must prove invaluable to every student of the Bible and of the history of the Apostolic Church. No minister of the Gospel, who can raise the means to purchase them, should be without these volumes, or of any of the others included in the "Library." A

congregation would consult their own interests, were they to procure them for their pastor, where the ability to purchase is not possessed by himself. They are to be had from Smith & English, Booksellers, 36 North Sixth Street, Philadelphia.

F.

VISITS TO EUROPEAN CELEBRITIES. *By William B. Sprague, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. pp.* 305. *Smith & English, Philadelphia.*

THIS is a very interesting volume. The author made two tours to the continent of Europe, in 1828 and 1836. In these tours he sought acquaintance with the most distinguished men, and especially divines, of the countries he visited. Of the interviews he had with them, he took copious memoranda at the time, including an account of each individual's appearance and manners. The material thus provided has been very properly suffered to remain in the author's diary, until nearly all the persons to whom it relates have passed away. It is now brought out from its concealment, and thrown together in the form of a volume. The matter thus given to the public will be generally well received and read with interest. The observations are judicious, and often highly instructive as well as entertaining.

F.

THE TEACHER'S LAST LESSON: *A Memoir of Martha Whiting, late of Charlestown Female Seminary. Consisting chiefly of Extracts from her Journal, interspersed with Reminiscences and suggestive Reflections. By Catharine N. Badger, An Associate Teacher. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. pp.* 284. *Smith & English, Philadelphia.*

THE subject of this memoir was a teacher by profession. In early life, she gave marked indications of her peculiar talent and taste in this direction. She was encouraged and successful in her favorite pursuit. From small beginnings, in the midst of untoward circumstances, she attained to eminence in her profession. To her instrumentality, the celebrated "Charlestown Female Seminary" is mainly indebted for its existence, as well as for the prominence it has attained as an institution of learning. She was, however, withal eminently pious, and it is this circumstance especially that gives a peculiar charm to her character. She early professed religion in the Baptist Church, and maintained a promiment position as a truly meek and devoted follower of her Saviour to the hour of her death. The memoir of such a person cannot be read without interest and profit, especially as it details mainly in her own language, the workings of evangelical piety in a highly cultivated mind.

F.

ANNUAL OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY: *or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art for* 1855, *Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Metereology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities; A Classified List of Patents; Obituaries of eminent Scientific Men; Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year* 1854, *&c., Edited by David A. Wells, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. pp.* 394. *Smith & English, Philadelphia.*

THIS volume embodies, in as brief a compass as possible, all the important discoveries which have been made in the various departments of the Arts and Sciences during the past year. Its preparation must have cost its author an immense amount of labor and research. The work is an invaluable one for all engaged in Scientific and Mechanical pursuits, and, at the same time, may be of great service to all intelligent practical men.

F.

CHRISTIANITY VIEWED IN SOME OF ITS LEADING ASPECTS, *By the Rev. A. L. Foote. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. pp.* 182. *Smith & English, Philadelphia.*

A series of six discourses makes up the contents of this volume. In them Christianity is successively viewed as a Life, a Work, a Reward, a Culture, a Discipline, and a Fellowship. We have read them with much interest, and, we trust, not without profit also. In the midst of this rationalistic age, in which the tendency to strip Christianity of its mysteries and reduce its solemn realities to the level of the mere human understanding, is so prevalent, it is truly refreshing to meet with a work like the present, and that, in a quarter from which it would be least expected, in which the religion of our Saviour is presented in its more attractive and real life-forms.

F.

THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1855.

ART. I.—THE PARABLE OF THE LEAVEN.

Matthew 13 : 33.

THE phrase, "kingdom of heaven," has several significations in Scripture. At one time, it carries our thoughts to the place where God sits enthroned in visible glory, surrounded by the family of the blessed. At another, it is descriptive of the state and economy of the Church under Christianity, opposed to the Jewish and Mosaic economy. Then again, it denotes the reign of grace by which Christ rules in the hearts of men. I see no reason at all for doubting that as used by our Lord in this parable, it relates to Christianity in its workings with the race. Nor is there even the semblance of evidence in the parable itself to justify the interpretation which Vitringa and others have put upon it, as though it were a representation or foreshadowing of the corruptions which should arise in the Church or the heresies which should vitiate the Gospel. Leaven is often used in the New Testament as a figurative expression for designating an efficient power whether for good or evil It is used in a bad sense, Luke 12 : 1, where it is made the image of the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, and Gal. 5 : 9, where it represents the injurious influence of false doctrine, and 1 Cor. 5 : 6, where the corrupting power of bad example is likened to it. It is indeed most frequently used in the Scripture as the symbol of something evil. True it is, also, that under the image of a woman, there seems to be represented more than once in the Word of God, an apostate Church with its ministers.

But then though the substance here mentioned, is generally used in a bad sense, it is not always so, and even if this were not the case, no satisfactory reason can be imagined why it should not be employed to denote what is good. "The great features of the figurative language of Scripture," says Trench, "remain no doubt fixed and unalterable, but it is not thus stereotyped in its minor details, so that one figure needs always to stand for one and the same thing. The devil is "a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," (1 Peter 5: 8;) yet this does not hinder the same title from being applied to Christ, "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," (Rev. 5: 5;) only there the subtlety and fierceness of the animal formed the point of comparison, here the nobility and kingliness and conquering strength."

Besides, in the Scriptures the Holy Spirit is frequently referred to in such terms as these: "As a mother comforteth her son, so will I comfort thee." "Under the apple-tree (a name by which Christ was denoted) thy mother brought thee forth; there she brought thee forth that bare thee." "My beloved is the only one of her mother." "Ye must be born again of the Holy Ghost." If farther evidence is necessary to prove the baselessness of the interpretation now under view, we have it in the fact, that "if it could be said that at any time the whole Church was thus penetrated through and through with the leaven of false doctrine, the gates of hell would, indeed, have prevailed against it, and from whence it should ever have become unleavened again, it is difficult to understand."

We conclude, therefore, that the parable relates to the propagation and not to the corruption of Christianity. And we shall aim to show how aptly this propagation, or diffusion, is represented by the comparison which the Saviour makes, as that diffusion has respect to the world at large, and to the individual believer.

As we recollect that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," we have at once before us the small and slight beginning of our holy religion, in the form now contemplated. Christianity was humble in its origin. It had to encounter the

prejudices which attached to it in the minds of the learned and the mighty because of its first promulgation in a land that was conquered and enslaved. Its Founder was of lowly birth, and his life, which was covered with reproach and contempt, was terminated by crucifixion. Its friends and advocates were principally publicans, tax-gatherers, and fishermen, destitute of the ordinary means of influence and power. Its marvellous revelations fell strangely on the popular ear. Its authoritative announcements arrayed against it the pride of those who had been accustomed to mould and direct public sentiment both in things sacred and secular. Its plainness of style and form presented no attraction to those who delighted in nice disquisitions, and rhetorical flourishes, and noisy and gaudy parade. Its holy demands kindled toward it a hatred which increased in violence as the abstract truth became potent by exemplification in those whom it had emancipated from the dominion and pollution of sin. Like its Author, and for the same reason, it was despised and rejected of men. Every thing rose in opposition to it. It had to battle with the prejudices and the passions, and the institutions of the people, and even with the civil arm. But resistance though there was, the leaven spread, and at length made its power widely to be felt. "Its noble philosophy, notwithstanding the feebleness of the instruments employed, settled itself in the conviction of the loftiest intellects, while the voice of mercy which it uttered, the love of Christ which it proclaimed, spread gladness and hope through myriads of despairing men. Its morals checked the progress of social corruption, its benevolence set the captive at liberty, and gave protection to the oppressed. Its manifested immortality controlled one world by the revealed solemnities of another. Paganism fell prostrate before it, like the Dagon of Philistia, and lay broken and mutilated on the very threshhold of the temples where it had been adored."

Now, as it was with the heavenly kingdom in its smaller and unpromising commencement in the world, so precisely is it with its incipiency in the heart of the believer. It generally begins by a word of truth reaching the conscience. A ray of light finds its way into the darkness of the inner man, and

perhaps some trifling circumstance gives rise to consequences infinitely important. There is often, at such a time, a thrill of life, which a chilly, death-like habit of the affections scarcely perceives, a tendency towards God which is felt, but which is almost borne down by the attractions of earth. As sometimes a spark lies smothered for a while, and after a long interval bursts out, and begins to burn, so with the Holy Spirit, which is the sanctifying power in humanity: the spark may have reached the sinner's heart, but the deceitfulness of worldly cares or pleasures, or the remains of unsubdued sin, so stifle it, that the signs of religion are scarcely visible, till at length some providential event occurs, which fans the spark into a flame. It is a great mistake to imagine that conversions, as far as the agency of the truth is concerned, are generally effected by elaborate reasonings and argumentative demonstrations, either in the pulpit or the volume. I believe that the experience of God's peeple in every age, if it could be ascertained, would abundantly sustain us in this position. I believe that in such a case it would be found, that in the large majority of instances, it was not a series of propositions logically linked, and eloquently presented, that roused the soul from its slumber, but some single thought, some solitary sentence, whether from the pen or the tongue. Simple sentiments, brief statements, perhaps a few syllables, would be seen to constitute the leaven for three measures of meal.

Not only was this leaven small in quantity, but it was likewise a foreign importation. It was not naturally in the substance to which it was applied, nor derived from it, but taken from elsewhere, to mingle therein. To affirm this of the Gospel, is but to assert what is in the strictest sense true. We grossly disparage its claims, and as glaringly betray our ignorance of its nature, when we undertake to assign it in whole or in part an earthly or human origin. It is the mystery which was hid in God before the foundation of the world. It is the day-spring which hath visited us from on high. Like the natural light to which it is so often compared, it had its source away from us, and above us, and independently of us. This is a point that admits of no dispute. That which man by his

natural power cannot understand when it is revealed, never could have taken its rise with him. It came from the "Father of lights." It "came into the world," as did its pre-existent Author. It descended from the region where all is life, into our earth, where all is decay, that it might infuse vitality into our diseased and shattered humanity. If Socrates, by his philosophy, brought men down from heaven to earth, by drawing their attention from the study and contemplation of the heavenly bodies, to the consideration and end of man, and his duties and relations in this life,—Jesus Christ brings us from earth to heaven, by teaching us a Divine Philosophy, by lodging amongst us a new and living power, to vivify us, and raise us from the seen and temporal, to the spiritual and the everlasting.

Thus, too, is it with the grace which is identified with the Gospel, in its personal operations. It is something alien from us,—something that is introduced into us from without. It is not the unfolding of any powers which already existed in us, but a new production, one, too, having so little affinity for any thing that dwells within us by nature, that when it is received by us, it occasions a ferment or contest that lasts for life; for the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh. When this grace is effectually communicated to the soul, there is not, indeed, any new faculty created; but there is the introduction of a new and powerful principle, under the influence of which, all the natural faculties are exerted in a different manner from that in which they were formerly employed. Such a principle, we say, is *communicated* to the soul; for this is the true idea of regeneration. The change which it involves, is not the excitation, or awakening of some gracious principle, which lay hid before in nature under the oppression of ill habits, as corn lay hid under the chaff, but was corn still, not a beating up something that was concealed in nature, not an awakening, as of a man from sleep, but a resurrection, as of a man from nothing. It is not, says Charnock, a stirring up of old principles, and new kindling of them, as a candle put out lately, may be blown in again by the fire remaining in the snuff, and burn upon the old stock; or as the life, which,

retired into the more secret parts of the body, in those creatures that seem dead in winter, is excited and called out to the exterior parts by the spring sun. Indeed there are some sparks of moral virtues in nature, which want blowing up by a good education, the foundation of these is in nature, the exciting them from instruction, the perfection of them from use and exercise. But there is not in man the seed of one grace, but the seeds of all sin: "I know that in me, that is in my flesh, dwells no good thing." Some good thing may be in me, but it ariseth not from my flesh, it is not from any seed sown by nature, but it is another principle put into me, which doth seminally contain in it all grace, it is putting a new seed into the soil, and exciting it to grow, an incorruptible seed.

Leaven is of an assimilative nature. It communicates its own property to the meal with which it comes in contact. It does not destroy its identity, but alters its qualities. That Christianity is the one all-renewing power of the world, we have only to glance at the inefficacy of all other expedients for man's moral and spiritual elevation, to be satisfied. What has it availed for this purpose, that Philosophy has had its ages of trial, and Science has erected her thousand temples, and worldly wisdom, from her high academic chair has delivered her myriads of lectures on the beauty of virtue, and the hideousness of vice? I go farther and ask, is the Divine Law itself able to produce that reformation in man which he needs? Let the voices of the past answer these inquiries. Let the condition of the world answer them at the time when Jesus sent forth his disciples with their divine remedy, for abounding depravity—a time when though philosophy was at its height, and reason had achieved her proudest triumphs, and arts were in their maturity, and eloquence was most finished, and poetry most harmonious, yet the principles which were operating were only such as dissocialized and oppressed socicty, or, if there was benevolence, it was benevolence which delighted in palaces, and temples, and theatres, and aqueducts, the ruins of which now meet the wandering eye of the traveller, instead of alms houses and asylums for age, infancy, and misfortune, and if there was kindness, it was kindness which placed slaves at

the sole mercy of their owners, to be tortured or killed, as their savage tempers required, and if there was religion, it was a bald, barren, heartless system, having no precepts of forgiveness and charity, and leaving revenge and hardness of heart among the very virtues. Let the journalists of the Moravian missions answer them, who tell us that as long as their teachers sought to move the heathen by mere moral reasonings, or even by the terrors of God's holy law, they failed; but when led by continual disappointments, to insist upon the dying love and tenderness of Christ, in many instances the stubborn idolater at once acknowledged the power of the appeal, and became a convert to the gospel. Let the testimony of Brainerd answer them, who, when speaking of his triumphant mission among the Indians, says, that his chief object was to lead them to a view of the "corruption of their hearts," and "at the same time to open to them the glorious and complete remedy provided in Christ for helpless, perishing sinners, offered freely to those who had no goodness of their own to recommend them to the Divine acceptance, and that when these truths were felt at heart, there was no vice unreformed, no external duty neglected: drunkenness, the daily vice, was discarded, and scarcely an instance of it known for months together." Let, too, these inquiries be answered by the total failure of the Jesuit missionaries in China, who are represented as having, through fear of offending the taste of a people much attracted by pomp and splendor, attempted to conceal the ignominious death of Christ, and to display him exclusively in all the dignity and majesty of Divine power.

Yes, the Gospel is the world's grand renovator. "Neither art nor science, nor religion in general, as faith merely in a higher state of being, nor even the divine law itself, is able to produce that reformation in man which is wrought by the leaven of the heavenly kingdom." I need but hint at the mighty and marvellous attestations of its mission, which meet the eye at every point of its beneficent progress. Besides the external conversion of the Roman world, there was also the eradication of the innumerable heathen practices and customs and feelings, which had enwoven and entwined their fibres round the very

heart of society, effected by its power,—the power with which it has ever since gone forward transforming society into the likeness of itself, destroying idolatry, substituting peace and affection for revenge and blood, exchanging the swamp for the rural village, giving sanctity to the dearest ties of nature, throwing its gentle protection over the poor and the oppressed, and leading men to live under the consciousness of a soul to be immortal and a body to be incorruptible, and as members one of another—as constituent parts of a fallen race, which nothing but sin could curse, and nothing but God's blessing can save.

And as it is with Christianity in its general application, in this respect, so likewise is it in that which is particular. Divine grace comes into actual contact with the soul. It is not a thing that lies in the surface of a man, or consists in outward forms, or empty shows, or fruitless talk, but it is something that gets into the heart, and is most intimately inherent there. It is a principle that is conveyed into "the spirit of our minds," —the centre and source of our being. It is alterative, too, in its efficacy. Chemists tell us that a very minute portion of some things will, to an almost incredible degree, transform the mass into which they are put. So is it with the divine power, which is compared to leaven. It works a change in the subject of it. He is "a new creature," because he has come to be "in Christ." The change he has experienced is so great, that all things which were old, are said to be done away, and all that remains to be made new. The man is a new creature, because he has had a thing of new production put into him. Is he physically changed? No, he has the same body, senses, tongue, eyes and ears. Is he intellectually changed? No, he has not another understanding, memory, imagination, or genius. Is he socially changed? No, he is still a husband, father, master—the same in his relations, condition, business. And yet he is another man, a new man. He is regenerate. He has something of the holy and heavenly nature of divine truth in him. His mental faculties are changed in their use, and sanctified. His physical powers are now sacred to new purposes. He occupies his various relations in life with a new spirit, he is godly in them all. He carries on the same business,

but now he abides with God in his calling. Whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does, he does all to the glory of God. If he was covetous, now he is liberal, if he was prayerless, now he is devout, if he was not vicious before, now he abhors from disposition what he once only shunned from selfish motives, if he was moral, now his morality is evangelized, and whatsoever he does "in word or deed," he does all in the name of the Lord Jesus. I grant that there is not a perfect uniformity in this change as it is produced in different individuals. In each case the original complexion or constitutional peculiarity remains. The *man* is seen in the *Christian*. Like water, which partakes a little of the nature of the soil over which it runs, his very religion takes a kind of hue from his natural temperament, whether it be phlegmatic, sanguine, choleric, or melancholic. This very fact, however, falls in precisely with the metaphor in hand; for flour remains flour, only it is leavened. It accords also with the aim of Christianity; for whilst it does produce a community of saints, one faith, one love, one hope, the same humility and self-denial in all the members of the Church, it does not propose to produce identity of thought, temper of mind, and inclination, just as it does not propose to produce identity in the forms of life, of government and constitution. "The human heart is the immediate object upon which the power of Christianity works, it enlightens the understanding, purifies and ennobles the feelings, sanctifies the will, the earthly frame gives way to the heavenly, and the man lives no longer for the earth, but even now he lives in and for that life which is in heaven."

The Gospel, like the leaven, is diffusive. The power which it exerts, reaches to the entire man. Without undertaking to determine precisely the meaning of the Apostle's terms in his prayer for the holiness of the Thessalonians, (1 Thess. 5: 6,) that God would sanctify them wholly, in their spirit, soul and body, whether he intended, as is generally supposed, by the first, the soul as rational, by the second, the soul as sensitive, and by the third, the corporeal body, it is evident from this prayer that grace must be universally diffused through the subject of it. As sin has vitiated and depraved the whole man,

extending itself to all the powers and faculties, the remedy must be coëxtensive with the disease, and the restoration with the ruin. The rational soul of the Christian may only be formally the subject of the change that he experiences, yet as sin is by a sort of participation in the sensitive soul, and in the external senses and parts of the body, so must holiness be too. Grace, enthroning itself in the heart, must diffuse its energy and vital influence through all the parts and powers of the man, and leaven the whole lump. I now refer, however, to the diffusion of the Gospel from one man to others. As that which is once leavened becomes leaven to the rest, so every individual who has experienced in himself the efficacy of the Gospel, becomes, for the circle in which he moves, a leaven to work still farther. The presence of a pious man in the neighborhood tells in a marked degree upon its character. Many a district has undergone a species of moral renovation, through the introduction within its circles of a God-fearing individual. From such an one, as he lives consistently, there emanates amazing power to check, reprove, and attack, and not unfrequently is that power the agency, which God employs, to win the profligate and the worldly to himself. The influence of Christians, however, is not of a mere negative kind. If their religion is *conservative*, it is also *extensive*. Like the leaven, its natural tendency is to spread itself. This it does in the domestic and social spheres, and especially is this the case in the great missionary enterprise of the Church. What is this enterprise but an irresistible evidence of the tendency of Christianity to diffuse itself? The abettors of the pagan religion never founded missions, and endured trials and sufferings to propagate their system. Neither has infidelity, with all her strong desire to subvert Christianity, made any sacrifices for this purpose, or sought to remove the gloomy superstitions overhanging the nations. But Christianity can point to the tears, and prayers, and gifts, and toils, and voluntary privations, and tombs, of her subjects and votaries. And if I were asked for a warrant for the Church's grand missionary movement, I should feel that I had said enough to satisfy the most sceptical, if I had but repeated the words of heaven's great

Missionary, in which He speaks of the leaven which the woman hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

The kingdom of heaven, as is taught in the figure before us, works silently, gradually, and outwardly. Like leaven, which commences from the centre, but reaches an external development, the Gospel, in its renovating power, though it begins in the invisible spiritual world, ends not there, but brings about, also, a mighty outward and visible change. We learn this from the Acts of the Apostles, and from that interesting portion of Church history which treats of the spread of Christianity. The Gospel was hidden in the mass on which its influence was to be exerted. It was deposited there, accompanied by that unseen power, without which no second causes, not the insidious list of Gibbon itself, nor even the evidence of miracles or prophecy, could have given it currency in a world which hated it for its very truth and excellence, (we mean the power of the Spirit,) and in that mass, a little below the surface of society, it worked mightily. This operation, however, did not long remain latent. It soon showed itself in its happy influence upon the world, and in the astounding changes in faith and practice which it effected. The concealed force which was working, ere long made its elevating power to be felt, in the gentle and gradual, but effective insinuations of itself into the fountains and channels of society. Hence it is, that we find society gradually rising in its moral strength and dignity. According to Tacitus, there were, about thirty years after the crucifixion, a great multitude of Christians in Rome, notwithstanding its distance from the province of Judea. Pliny, who presided over the province of Bythinia in the beginning of the second century, testifies that in that country the Gospel could boast of numerous disciples. And Justin Martyr, about thirty years after Pliny, says: "There is not a nation, either of Greeks or Barbarians, or of any other name, in which prayer and thanksgiving are not offered up to the Father and Maker of all things, in the name of the crucified Jesus."

Now in all this, we have an exact counterpart of the workings of Christianity upon the human soul. Religion in the individual is a hidden activity. Its source and principles are

unintelligible to natural men. The Christian's life is "hid with Christ in God." The manna on which he feeds is hidden manna. The new name in the white stone which he has received, is known to no one but himself. Religion in the individual is also a silent influence. It is, in this respect, much like the sap that is drained in by the root, and secretly and silently ascends up the trunk of the tree, and diffuses itself to every branch, so that we see that it lives, but don't see how. Yet it is the law of this new life to work from the inward to the outward. It evinces its residence by its agency. This is not only real but visible. As it flows from principle, so it is exemplified in practice. The grace which the believer has received, instead of lying within him as a dead, powerless thing, brings him under the dominion of holy habits of mind, and urges him on to active, outward obedience. It spreads in every direction, pervading every relation he sustains, and making him characterized by the work of faith, and the labor of love, and the patience of hope, and the fruit of the Spirit. This progress and development, however, are *gradual.* The Christian, indeed, as far as he is stationary, is censured and condemned by the image before us, but it is equally certain that to derive comfort from it, it is not necessary that we should be everything at once. The effect of leaven in the meal, is not produced at once, but by degrees. So is it throughout the world of nature. There is the babe, the youth, the man; there is the blade, the ear, and the full corn in the ear; there is the acorn, which grows to the wide-spreading oak, and the dawn, which brightens into the effulgence of noon. And so must we believe it is in the world of grace, unless we would despise all analogy, and offend against the generation of God's children, and overlook what is said of Christians as "renewed day by day," and "going from strength to strength," and being "changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord."

As leaven ultimately attains its object, and leavens the whole mass, so shall it be with Christianity, in its issue both universal and particular. "Our Lord," says Luther, "wishes to comfort us with this similitude, and give us to understand,

that, when the Gospel, as a piece of new leaven, has once mixed itself with the human race, which is the dough, it will never cease till the end of the world, but will make its way through the whole mass of those who are to be saved. And, just as it is impossible for the sourness, when it has once mingled itself with the dough, ever again to be separated from it, because it has changed the nature of the dough, so is it impossible for Christians to be ever torn from Christ. For Christ, as a piece of leaven, is so incorporated with them, that they form with him one body, one mass." And where in the whole compass of Revelation, shall we find two truths more plainly exhibited, and more firmly established, and more richly fraught with consolation, than these? The whole mass is to be leavened. The bringing in of the top-stone is secured by the same hand which laid the foundation. Religion will "perfect that which concerneth us." "He which hath begun a good work, will perform it." Is it so that "the righteous shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger?" Is it so that "he has life, and shall have it more abundantly?" Is it so that the path of the just is as the shining light,—the sun, which never made a dawn, without carrying it into full day, and which none can drive back or stop in his course? Then must it be that the Word of life which has been received by the mystery of regeneration into the believer's heart, and claims every region and part of his being, as its own, shall not there cease its effectual working, till it has brought the whole man into obedience to it, so that he shall be altogether a new creation in Christ Jesus. There is no divination or enchantment against him. He is destined to be upon a level with the angels of God, he will be presented faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy.

The same issue of triumph awaits Christianity in its bearings upon the race. The difficulties in the way of the universal spread and prevalence of the Gospel may not be denied. We cannot close our eyes to the obstinacy and perverseness of the human heart, to its deep-rooted and bitter malignity against God and everything that is pure and holy, and to the fascinations of caste, and the confusion of tongues, and the power of

systems whose principles are wrought in the very frame-work of society. But what then? The obstacles to be overcome are no greater than those which have already been, and He who hath declared the decree hath omnipotence to execute it.

> "Is anything too hard for thee,
> Almighty Lord of all;
> Whose threat'ning looks dry up the sea,
> And make the mountains fall?"

It matters not how much the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing, the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed, the King will not prove to have been set in vain upon the holy hill of Zion. It matters not how much statesmen and philosophers may pour contempt on the expectation; for we are as firmly persuaded as we are of God's faithfulness and almightiness, that the day shall dawn upon our world, when humanity shall be released from its burdens and when with one grand doxology ascending to Him whose throne is in the heavens, the nations shall acknowledge the empire of Jesus,—

> "Bring forth the royal diadem
> And crown Him Lord of all."

Even as now we see the holy banner of the cross waving on the citadels of Zion, and crowds inhabiting her, so we believe she shall be filled with multitudes of every tribe, and kindred, and tongue, each of whom, and all of whom, will demonstrate the declaration of the faithful and true Witness, that "the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened."

Lancaster, Pa. A. N.

ART. II.—A PLEA FOR THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

IN the midst of every community, there are those to be found, who have no proper ideas of the nature and importance of the Christian Sabbath. They look upon it as differing but little, if any, from the other days of the week, and as having obtained whatsoever distinctive character it possesses, from the mere arbitrary arrangements of men. In their view, it might be readily dispensed with, without serious loss to the individual or to the community, and hence they cherish for it no special sentiments of sacredness or regard. It is, however, not thus regarded by all. There are those, distinguished for their intelligence and virtues, who esteem this day, with its distinctive privileges, as above all price. Their feelings in relation to it are such, as to enable them, in the language of the prophet, to "call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable." There must, therefore, be something connected with this day, which, in the view of such persons, constitutes a sufficient ground for challenging for it this special regard. To set forth this ground, and to succeed it with such remarks, by way of improvement, as the nature of the subject may suggest, shall be the object of the present article. A discussion of this practical character, the writer does not conceive to be inconsistent with the design of this Review.

The ground upon which is claimed the special regard for the Christian Sabbath to which we have referred, will be made most readily to appear, by considering it in its relations to man in a *physical*, *intellectual*, *moral* and *religious* point of view. We shall, accordingly, proceed to look at it in these several relations, though our remarks, in each case, will designedly be made as brief as possible.

The relation which the Sabbath sustains to man in a *physical* point of view, is vastly more intimate and important, than many, especially amongst those who are unaccustomed to close

observation, are disposed to imagine. When properly observed, its direct and necessary tendency is to prolong human life and essentially promote physical happiness.

It is the opinion of the best physiologists of the age, that in order that the human system may be able to perform its functions so as to secure a continuation of healthful and vigorous action, throughout the period allotted to human life, it is indispensably necessary, that, at least one day in seven, should be regularly appropriated to cessation from labor, in addition to the rest afforded by the regular intervals of night. This opinion, moreover, is fully corroborated by actual experience, so far as opportunity has been afforded for obtaining it. It is found, that by a continuation of active labor, without any other intermission than that afforded by the regular intervals of night, the human system will soon run down and thus the period of life be materially shortened. This result is perfectly natural in the circumstances supposed, and that it does actually take place, will be readily admitted by every careful observer of human affairs.

In the respect just referred to, the Sabbath is especially favorable to the laboring part of the community, which, to a great extent, is made up of the poor. Were it not that its proper observance requires an entire cessation from active labor one day in seven, it would be the lot of the most of such persons from various circumstances, to experience all the evils resulting from uninterrupted effort. In the case of the poor, the pecuniary circumstances of some would be considered to be such as to compel them to labor without intermission, if they were permitted to do so, whilst others, whose circumstances might not be so straitened, would doubtless be shut up to the same course in many cases, by their employers, even if it should be under the plea that the success of their business requires it. The Sabbath thus effectually shields the poor against at least one species of oppression, to which they might otherwise be subjected by the rapacious employer.

The moral influence of the Sabbath upon man, which shall be more especially considered under a succeeding head, has an important bearing upon his physical condition. Many diseases

which greatly shorten human life, are contracted by immoral indulgences, which the influence of the Sabbath tends to prevent. This fact is too manifest to admit of the least doubt. Every one, who is at all acquainted with human affairs, knows, that, as a general thing, every sensualist, whether he be a glutton or a drunkard or a debauchee, materially shortens his life by means of his sinful indulgences.

But the prolonging of life is not the only result, which the proper observance of the Sabbath secures to man in a physical point of view. It also greatly contributes to his physical happiness. Nothing tends more to make life miserable than disease, especially when it results from some violation either of the physical or moral laws of our nature. When the human system is disordered, the regular animal functions being interrupted, the body necessarily suffers pain, and the mind, in consequence of its intimate connection with the body, also suffers with it. The experience of every one fully corroborates this statement. The few shortened days of those whose health has been destroyed through too incessant an application to labor, are consequently spent in misery. And who has not been witness to the extreme wretchedness, in which many have been compelled to drag out their abbreviated lives, in consequence of diseases contracted by such indulgences as the morality of the Sabbath prohibits? Were the Sabbath, therefore, to be properly observed and permitted to exert its appropriate influence, much suffering and unhappiness would be prevented, as well as human life prolonged.

The foregoing remarks are sufficient to exemplify the claim of the Sabbath to the peculiar regard challenged for it, as grounded upon its physical relation to man. The exemplification of the same claim, as based upon its relation to man in an *intellectual* point of view, shall next receive attention.

The intelligence of a people is regarded by all as indispensable to general happiness. In proportion as it predominates in a community, is it elevated in the scale of social organization and fitted to subserve the great purposes of human existence. An intelligent and an ignorant community form as

striking a contrast in various points of view, as is capable of being presented to human observation. In many respects, they are direct antipodes with regard to their influence upon the state and the result of the social organization. Intelligence constitutes a general blessing, whilst ignorance proves a general curse.

But few seem to be properly sensible of the intimate connection, which subsists between the institution of the Sabbath and the intelligence of a community. It is not hazarding any thing to assert, that just in proportion as the Sabbath is appreciated and observed by any community, so will its intelligence be found to be general and extensive. A careful examination of the results, as they have been developed in the history of every community, it is presumed, would fully corroborate this sentiment. And this will not excite any surprise, when we consider the character of the intelligence communicated, and the facilities for imparting it, afforded by the institution of the Sabbath.

The instruction communicated by means of the institution of the Sabbath, is of the very best and most important kind. Its direct tendency is to qualify man for the great purposes of his being. It furnishes him with the only correct information with regard to the origin of all things and the design of their creation. It only teaches him the precise nature of his various relations to God and his fellow-men, and of the duties devolving upon him in consequence of those relations; and, at the same time, presents the only proper motives to a faithful compliance with his obligations. In connection with what has just been adverted to, a great variety of other information is imparted, having more or less bearing upon the great objects of human existence.

The facilities for imparting this instruction, as afforded by the Sabbath institution, are peculiarly great. The Sabbath, as a day of rest from all servile labor, furnishes regular intervals of leisure for studying the word of God, and reading devotional books and other works imparting information relative to our duties to God and to man. A faithful appropriation of the hours of leisure which can be spared from those more espe-

cially employed in private devotion and the public exercises of the sanctuary, to such reading and study as that referred to, would enable any one of ordinary talents to acquire a vast amount of information in the course of a few years. Indeed with many, especially amongst those whose circumstances in life are straitened, such moments of leisure constitute almost the only opportunity afforded them for the cultivation of their minds, and if an examination were to be faithfully instituted, there would doubtless be a greater or less number found in every religious community distinguished for their piety and intelligence, who are mainly indebted to a faithful improvement of such moments of leisure in the way designated, for whatever distinction they may have thus attained.

The Sabbath School is peculiar to the institution of the Sabbath. Its connection with the intelligence of a community is intimate and important. The youth are regularly gathered into it from Sabbath to Sabbath, and instructed in everything that relates to their duties and obligations as intelligent and immortal beings. The period of life, of which it avails itself for imparting its instructions, is also the most favorable to the accomplishment of its objects. In childhood and youth the mind is tender and peculiarly susceptible of instruction, and is besides free from the great disadvantage in the way of improvement, of being already occupied by ideas and sentiments previously imbibed. The amount of information acquired by the regular scholar of the Sabbath School, and especially of the Bible Class frequently attached to it, is almost incredible. Many of the present generation are greatly indebted to this institution for the distinction they may have attained for intelligence and piety, and to it many will doubtless yet owe their prominence in the same point of view, in generations to come.

The most prominent medium for communicating instruction, as afforded by the institution of the Sabbath, is the public preaching of the Gospel. This is especially the case in those communities, which are blessed with a well educated as well as pious and devoted ministry, which, by the way, suggests an important consideration in favor of seeking out and appreciating such a ministry. . The minister of the Gospel is, in an

important sense, the instructor of the people. For this purpose he is especially called to his work, and in those cases where a well cultivated mind, is insisted upon as a necessary qualification, he brings to it, in addition to a heart largely imbued with the Spirit of Christ, all the advantages to be derived from a regular and thorough education. Thus fitted for his calling, the faithful minister appropriates the leisure afforded him from other duties during the week, to extending his knowledge and preparing himself for the services of the sanctuary, and on the Sabbath regularly presents his hearers with the results of his labors. In circumstances like these, a community is furnished with special opportunities for growing in intelligence as well as piety. A stated season is thus fixed for attending regularly to the improvement of the mind, which would not be enjoyed in the absence of the Sabbath. The productions, however, of a well cultivated mind, sanctified by the presence of pure religion, which are presented at such seasons, whilst they afford improvement as well as entertainment to the most intelligent, at the same time contain much from which even the most illiterate are capable of deriving profitable instruction. That these results may effectually take place, it is, of course, necessary, that the instructions from the pulpit, be listened to attentively, and with a disposition to receive the truth in all meekness and a solemn purpose to profit by it.

The institution of the Sabbath as a means of intellectual improvement, is, in every respect, such as has been described. Blot it out of existence in any community, and you take away from it an important instrumentality for the promotion of general intelligence. To deprive a people of the Sabbath is to subject them to a loss even on the score of mental improvement, for which it is impossible to provide an adequate substitute. Such then being the relation of the Sabbath to man in an intellectual point of view, it may well challenge for itself the particular regard claimed for it. Every one who glories in the improvement of our race, will not fail to "call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable," when he remembers the intimate connection this day has with our best interests in the respect just considered.

The relation of the Sabbath to man in a *moral* point of view is more obvious and readily admitted than either of those already considered. Nevertheless, it is very doubtful, whether the true nature and extent of its bearing in this respect, is as generally known and appreciated as it ought to be.

The Bible, the book from which the institution of the Sabbath is derived, and which constitutes the text-book of all the instructions peculiar to it, may justly be pronounced the only source of correct morality. The system of morals which it embodies, even in the judgment of the most celebrated infidel writers themselves, is the most pure and excellent which has ever come to the knowledge of man. The best to be found among the most cultivated of heathen nations, are mere emptiness compared with it, and whatever excellence they may possess, it is believed, can, in most instances, by careful investigation, be traced either directly or indirectly to the influence of the Bible.

This system of morals furnishes the basis of the greater part of the discussions of the pulpit and of the instructions peculiar to the Sabbath, and is closely interwoven with them all. Its principles are from time to time distinctly unfolded and powerfully enforced. The distinction between right and wrong, as derived from it, is faithfully delineated. Vice is presented in its true character. Its fearful consequences are pointed out in all their extent, and every possible argument employed to make it hated and shunned. Virtue, on the contrary, is depicted in its living beauty. Its distinguishing nature is clearly exhibited, so that its practical application may be easily understood by all. Its happy results, moreover, are distinctly described, and every variety of considerations presented enforcing the exemplification of its principles in our lives. From very infancy even until old age, the mind is familiarized with these instructions, wherever the Sabbath is faithfully observed. The principles of pure morality must, in such circumstances, become incorporated with the very frame work of the human mind in the earliest stages of its development, and grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength, even as it ripens into its utmost maturity. When a community is brought under

such moral influences, it would be strange indeed, should not the highest possible tone of morals prevail. And that such a result does actually take place in the circumstances contemplated, experience fully corroborates, so far as fit opportunities have been afforded for its proper development. Those communities, which are most distinguished for their observance of the Sabbath, are also invariably most distinguished for their morality. The relation of the Sabbath to man in a moral point of view, it will, therefore, be admitted, likewise furnishes a striking exemplification of the ground upon which it claims to be regarded as "a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable."

In accordance with the plan marked out for this discussion, in exemplifying the ground upon which a special regard is challenged for the Sabbath, it yet remains to consider it in its relation to man in a *religious* point of view. This is doubtless its most prominent and interesting relation.

The Great Author of our being well understands the nature of man and knows his proneness to forget even those things which have the most intimate connection with his best interests, and the consequent necessity of furnishing him with something that has a direct tendency to remind him continually of his relations and obligations, and thus keep him in the way of duty as well as of interest. Such a memorial as his condition requires, has been furnished in the institution of the Sabbath. Its most prominent design is to promote his spiritual interests. In its institution, he is provided with a stated season, returning at regular intervals, for attending to his religious duties and thus preparing himself for that eternal state of being, to which the present is but the mere precursor. The Sabbath is accordingly, wherever it is properly observed, exclusively appropriated to the purposes of religion. In every case, in which its hours are otherwise employed, they are diverted from their legitimate object.

The Sabbath furnishes a delightful season for private devotion. Whenever it is faithfully improved, a due proportion of it is spent in communion with God in our closets. The soul there holds special and intimate intercourse with the author of

its existence, and draws large supplies from the store-house of his grace. The influence, which such communion with heaven exerts upon the general frame and temper of our minds, is most happy. It gives rise in our bosom to feelings the most joyous, and, at the same time, throws a heavenly cast over the whole tenor of our lives.

The prayerful study of the Holy Scriptures, and the careful perusal of such works as are calculated to advance the soul in religious knowledge and holiness, form an appropriate part of the duties of this day. Some of its hours spent in such employment as this, are attended with great profit; as it is the purpose of God, that his children should not be ignorant of the great truths and principles of his word, and the knowledge of these is indispensable to proper religious cultivation itself.

The public exercises of religion are more especially peculiar to the Sabbath day. They bring the people together at stated intervals in circumstances the most solemn and interesting, and lead to the formation of friendships the most lasting and endearing, and the cultivation of Christian fellowship the most intimate and sweet. They, moreover, furnish the only opportunity for attending to the public acts of religion specifically enjoined; and constitute the grand medium through which the ministry communicate instruction. The truly pious man repairs with joy to the house of God on the Sabbath, and there expects to find food for his longing soul. He eagerly drinks in the sincere milk of the word, and retires to the place of his abode instructed, refreshed and comforted, from the exhibitions of divine truth there enjoyed; and thus finds himself strengthened for the further prosecution of the duties devolving upon him in his earthly pilgrimage.

Such as described, are the special purposes to which the Sabbath is devoted. Closet and other religious duties are, of course, to be attended to during the week in connection with our business engagements; but the Sabbath is given exclusively for exercises purely religious. It is indeed to the regular return of this day as a season of devotion, that even the duties of the week are indebted for all that imparts to them real zest and life. Were the return of the Sabbath to be intermitted,

the engagements of the world would soon engross the whole of our attention and leave no room for acts of devotion. It is only the uninterrupted influence of this day, that prevents such a result. Without this stated season for devotional exercises, the great purposes of religion could not be subserved. Yea, its existence is indispensable to the very perpetuation of religion itself. Remove the Sabbath from any community, and not one century will elapse, before it will have become involved in as thick a moral darkness as now envelops any of the heathen nations. The results, as they have taken place in the history of various nations since the establishment of Christianity, abundantly demonstrate this fact.

The statements just presented are, we presume, sufficient to make it manifest, that the relation which the Sabbath sustains to man in a religious point of view, is such as justly to entitle it to be regarded by all as "a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable."

Having thus briefly exemplified, as proposed, the ground upon which a special regard is challenged for the Christian Sabbath, we shall proceed to make such improvement of the subject as its nature suggests.

1.) In the first place, it furnishes us with an irresistible argument in favor of the divine origin of the Sabbath. The whole Providence of God as developed in the history of every nation and individual, furnishes incontrovertible evidence of the fact, that he, in all his arrangements with man, consults his true interests and happiness, and whatsoever has a direct tendency to produce these important ends, can invariably be traced to him as their source. The Sabbath, in view of the several relations it sustains to man, as exemplified in the present discussion, is manifestly designed to promote his highest interests for time and eternity. It has an influence attached to it, when properly observed, which is beneficial in the highest degree. Such an institution can be derived only from a source that is infinitely wise and benevolent; and it is in every way worthy of so distinguished an origin. It is, therefore, both a natural and necessary conclusion, that the Sabbath has been instituted by God.

2.) In the second place, the subject we have been discussing, furnishes us with a striking exemplification of the great value of the Christian Sabbath. In all that has been said, there is not the least exaggeration; yea, rather, the whole is, at best, but a meagre description of the invaluable blessings secured by the proper observance of this day. It is but speaking the truth with every necessary qualification to say, that, if a community can only be kept right with regard to the Sabbath, it will be right in everything else essential to its prosperity and happiness. Such is the necessary influence of the proper observance of this sacred day, that wherever it is appreciated and improved as it ought to be, there will there be, as a natural consequence, every attention to morals and intelligence, and every thing else promotive of human happiness. Just in proportion as any people value and observe the Sabbath, will they be found to be intelligent, moral and happy. The correctness of this proposition has been abundantly verified by actual experience. Who has ever heard of a habitual Sabbath breaking nation, which was, at the same time, distinguished for its morals and intelligence? And on the other hand, who has ever heard of a community in which the Sabbath is carefully observed, whose members are not, at the same time, remarkable for their intellectual attainments and correctness of conduct? The same experience is true with regard to individuals as well as communities. It would be as much of an anomaly to find a conscientious observer of the Sabbath, who is, at the same time, an ignorant and immoral man, as it would be to find a habitual Sabbath breaker, distinguished for his intelligence and virtuous conduct. Such considerations as these should lead every lover of our race to set the highest value upon the Sabbath. Feelings of the warmest gratitude should be cherished towards God for its institution, and every suitable instrumentality employed to secure its proper observance, and thus make it promotive of the great ends it is designed to subserve.

3.) In the third place, the subject of the present discussion teaches us the great necessity and importance, that the Sabbath be properly observed. Whilst this institution is calculated to secure all the blessings ascribed to it, it must be remem-

bered, that a proper observance of it is indispensable to such a result. Upon this presumption only, all the beneficial influence attributed to it, has been predicated. A habitual violation of the Sabbath will necessarily defeat all the purposes of its institution. It is only in proportion as it is properly observed, that it subserves its invaluable ends. This result is perfectly natural as well as necessary. How important and necessary, therefore, is it, that it should be sacredly observed! And how careful should we be to observe it aright ourselves, and to secure its proper observance by those under our control! Its hours not required by works of necessity and mercy, should be sacredly and conscientiously appropriated to the purposes for which they are given. They should all be spent in private devotion, in reading and studying God's word, and such other books as will add to our religious knowledge and improvement, and in carefully and devoutly attending upon the public worship of the sanctuary. Everything that necessarily interferes with such an improvement of the Sabbath, such as travelling, visiting, unnecessary sleep, idle conversation, secular reading, sitting idly at our doors or standing in the high-ways or at the corners of the streets, should be scrupulously avoided by ourselves, and prevented as far as possible in others.

4.) In the fourth place, the subject discussed teaches us, that the obligation to keep the Sabbath, rests upon *all* men. As is evident from the discussion in which we have been engaged, that the duty of observing the Sabbath is a moral one, and as such, extends to every individual without exception, who has the natural power to perform it. That the Sabbath may effectually subserve the purposes of its institution, it is necessary that it be sacredly kept by all. Just so far as any one fails to give it such an observance, is he instrumental in defeating its legitimate objects. The veriest sinner that walks our streets is under just as much obligation to keep the Sabbath, as the holiest saint on earth. This truth is not realized as it ought to be. The impression with many seems to be, that the professor of religion only is bound to keep the Sabbath, whilst the non-professor is exempt from this duty. But never was a greater mistake committed, and it is to be feared, that it

will be discovered by some only after it shall have been taught them by their sad experience, when it shall be forever too late to correct it. All are answerable to God for their conduct with respect to the Sabbath. Whatever influence we may have exerted in preventing its proper observance, must be as strictly accounted for as any of our violations of it in person. Our public men, our politicians, our bar-room and tavern-door loungers, and our street blockaders, who habitually break the Sabbath, and are ever and anon to be met with by the Christian on his way to the sanctuary, are at best but blighting curses upon our community, cormorants who greedily feed upon the vitals of our common happiness, in consequence of the baneful influence of their wicked conduct, and all this, whilst they may prate largely about the best interests of the dear people; and will at last have a fearful account to render at the judgment bar of God. Oh that they might indeed be wise and would consider and amend their ways, before it shall be forever too late!

5.) In the fifth and last place, the subject discussed furnishes us with an important test of Christian character. If the blessings resulting from the proper observance of the Sabbath be such as represented in this discussion, the individual who has experienced the power of godliness in his soul, will, as a matter of course, place the highest value upon this sacred day, in consequence of its intimate connection with the cultivation of religion, and be careful to observe it himself and strive to promote its observance amongst others. The regard then, which any one entertains for this holy day, is, by no means, an uncertain or unimportant test, by which to try his religious character. As his religion is, so will be his regard for the Sabbath. Each professing Christian then, would do well, to try himself by this test. He should, accordingly, ask himself, what are the views which he entertains of the Sabbath? How does he feel in reference to its proper observance? Can he, indeed, "call it a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable?" Is he careful to improve its hours in private devotion, in perusing God's word, in reading devotional and religious books, and in devoutly attending upon the public exercises of the

sanctuary? Does he allow himself to indulge in nothing, that tends to defeat the purposes to which it is especially appropriated? Is he diligent in his efforts to promote its proper observance amongst all over whom he has influence? Does he keep his children from the streets on the Sabbath and direct their steps to the house of God and the Sabbath School, and endeavor to instruct them in the things of religion? Does he enjoin it upon his apprentices and servants to keep the Sabbath, instead of allowing them to stand at the corners of the streets, or run at large in the fields, as is too often the case with many, and does he, at the same time, furnish them with every opportunity and encouragement to attend to this duty? How stand matters with him with respect to the several particulars referred to? Each one should solemnly examine himself in reference to these points, as in the presence of God. We may rest assured, if the consciences of any accuse them of having failed to come up to their duty with respect to the observance of the Sabbath, just to the extent that they do so, is there reason to suspect some deficiency in their religious character. A Sabbath breaking Christian is a contradiction in terms. In all cases where there is any defect in attention to the observance of the Sabbath, there is just cause for alarm. And no one, as he regards his interests for time and eternity, should rest satisfied, until he shall be able to say, from happy experience, that he does indeed "*call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable.*"

Chambersburg, Pa. S. R. F.

ART. III.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

VI. MY TRAVELS IN SYRIA.

I. DAMASCUS AND MOUNT LEBANON.

"It deserved in truth to be called the City of Jove and the eye of all the East, the sacred and magnificent Damascus, I say, surpassing every other region, both in the beauty of its temples and sanctuaries, the serenity of its climate, the abundance and transparency of its waters, and the exuberant richness of its soil." JULIAN EMP., EPIST. XXIV.

HAVING visited Jerusalem and the most interesting parts of Palestine during the spring of 1844, we, on our return to Beirut, passed along Mount Lebanon and stopped a few days at Deir-el-Kamar, the principal city of the Druzes. Though all the inhabitants of the mountain, Druzes as well as Maronite Christians, were armed at that time, and disputes and feuds now and then arose among them, the country was, nevertheless, considered safe, and the numerous European travelers fearlessly enjoyed their excursions on the Lebanon without any molestation from the Arabs. Different was the situation of Palestine, where a destructive civil war was raging in the plains of Galilee and on the Samarian highlands, and several parties of pilgrims, just returning from the Easter festival at Jerusalem, had been attacked and robbed by the wild Arab bands of Nabulus.

At Deir-el-Kamar, (the convent of the moon,) we found a Turkish garrison quartered in the beautiful, but now nearly dilapidated palaces of the old Emir-Beshir on Mount Beteddin. The Druzes were in possession of the upper town. They daily appeared fully armed on the bazaars of the lower city, which is only inhabited by the more quiet and industrious Christians. We left the convent of the hospitable Maronites on the thirteenth of May, and descended to the mill on the bridge of the river Damour, one of the loveliest spots in Syria. Our road then passed through lofty pine forests covering the sides of the mountain, and towards sunset we reached the intervening

heights, from which we enjoyed the full view of the rich plain of es-Sahil, the distant city of Beirut, and the broad expanse of the Mediterranean. The Christians in the village of Ainub offered us hospitality for the night, and after a most romantic descent the next morning through deep dells and over bold eminences crowned with villages, convents, and gardens, we at noon arrived at Beirut, where we took up our quarters in the well known hotel of Battista, and instantly made preparations for our excursion to Damascus.

It had previously been the plan to start for Anturah, and passing by the ancient cedars in the high region of Jebel-Makmel to descend to the plain of Ba'albek; but the weather being still very unsettled, and deep snows covering the higher mountain-passes, we preferred to take this interesting route on our return, and at present to strike into the great caravan route directly for Damascus.

By the kind attention of Dr. De Forest, we were soon provided with good horses and an honest Arab dragoman, Mustapha, attached to the American mission, who proved to be a clever servant, but understanding neither Italian nor Greek, and but very imperfectly the English language, and being unacquainted with the routes of the Lebanon, he was of little use as a guide or interpreter.

In all travels through the Levant, the first day's journey is extremely troublesome and unpleasantly retarded by the difficulty of assembling the saddle-horses, mules and drivers, and by their unskilfulness in loading the tents and baggage. A large khan in the pine-forest of Hursh-Beirut had been fixed for our starting point, but it was not until late in the afternoon on the seventeenth of May that our party could be assembled, and servants and horses got ready for departure. Saad-Pasha, the governor of Syria, was just manœuvring his army on the sands, south of the city, and on our meeting the marching columns of Turkish horse and artillery in the narrow lanes, hemmed in with vines and prickly pear, we were again detained by the most picturesque scenes of Oriental warfare.

At last, getting clear of the press, and uniting with our attendants at the khan, we passed westward through the plain

and ascended the declivities of Mount Lebanon. The vineyards and mulberry plantations now became more rare, and soon discontinued altogether; and on the barren, rocky path, we in six hours arrived at the Khan Hussein, where we took up our quarters for the night. This nearly ruined khan lies in a dreary situation, on the top of a stony hill overlooking the wide range of the Lebanon. Groups of Arabs were sitting at their evening meal round the fires before the entrance. The interior of the mud-walled rooms looked so comfortless, that we preferred to pitch our tents beneath some mulberry trees at a distance from the khan. But the night became stormy; and the rain pouring down the declivity penetrated into the tents and rendered repose impossible. Though in so southern a latitude, and in the most pleasant season of the year, the morning air was chilly and raw, and the dismal conglomeration of clouds rising from the sea, surrounded us on all sides, and shrouded the distant view to the plain of Beirut and the coast. We departed at seven o'clock, and the sky soon began to clear up. At another khan, er-Rawish, we met a large caravan returning from Damascus with a quantity of hides; and on the steep descent of a western spur of the Lebanon, which northward sinks precipitously down on the deep valley of el-Metn, we distinguished the picturesque village Humana, embosomed in groves of pine, cypresses, and far-spreading olive woods, above which arise the towers of the convent el-Rhugin. Beyond the lower ridges, the view extends to the large monastery Deir-Mar-Yohanna, well known from the Arab printing establishment, and the many religious and miscellaneous works published there during the last century.

The snow-clad heights of Jebel-Rihan, the loftiest ridge of the Lebanon, now appeared on the east, while the coast, with Beirut, the bays of St. George and Juneh, stretched far below, and the broad belt of the Mediterranean, here and there studded with a white sail on the horizon, closed the magnificent panorama on the west.

The upper regions of the Lebanon are rocky and desert. Numerous rills, forming small cascades, are descending to the more level table-land, el-Jurd, on the south-west, where, on a fine meadow, herds of cattle and some horses and mules were grazing.

At noon we approached the pass el-Mughitheh, and the distant blue mountains of the Anti-Lebanon, beyond the broad valley of the Buka'a, seemed to fill out the deep gap between the high, rugged, and totally barren tops of the Lebanon. We descended through a winding defile to the Khan Murad, where we stopped and left our horses grazing on the border of a large brook, Ain-el-Hajel, carrying down the waters from Jebel-Kuneiyseh, and forming a pretty cataract near the khan. In another hour we arrived at the castle and village of Kabyleh, where we for the first time enjoyed the full view of the plain of the Buka'a, the ancient Coele Syria, and the entire ridge of the Anti-Lebanon as far as the great Hermon or Jebel-es-Sheik, all covered with snow, and beautifully glittering in the deep blue sky. The castle of Kabyleh, formerly commanding the pass, now lies in ruins. It was destroyed during the wars of the Metawileh and the Druse chieftan Emir-Beshir. The caravan road does not descend there to the plain, but it continues on the eastern slope of Jebel-Kuneiyseh through a beautiful variety of pine, agnus castus, and oak, crossing numerous rills to the large village el-Mekseh. We here struck across the fertile but thinly cultivated plain toward the river Litany. Galloping briskly along on the green sward we approached a camp of gipsies. The ugly-looking women were cooking round their fires; all was wretchedness and misery. The moment we passed among the tents, two or three guns were discharged, but I believe without any intention to hurt us. We halted, however, and on the arrival of our muleteers, crossed the river Litany on a stone bridge, and entered the village el-Merdj. Nowhere in Syria does the traveler meet with so much poverty and misery as in the villages of this delightful plain. The filth of the mud-walled huts, and the squalidness in dress and appearance of the inhabitants, surpass all conception. Seeing no possibility of finding any accommodation in the village, we pitched our tents on a hill near the river, and resolved to spend the Sabbath there as quietly as we might. Our Maronite muleteers now fastened lines along the tents, to which they tied the horses, throwing heaps of green barley and grass before them, while Mustapha kindled a fire between piles of stones and prepared our supper.

The site of our encampment was highly beautiful. It was placed on a hillock, north of el-Merdj, surrounded by cornfields; in front, at a distance of eight miles, we had the lofty, rugged range of the Lebanon, whose steep and precipitous offsets toward the plain were partly covered with wood, the snowy peaks of Jebel-Kuneiyseh and Jebel-Sunnin glittering brilliantly in the sun, just setting behind them. Opposite, in the east, rose the more barren chain of the Anti-Lebanon, terminating on the south-east with the huge bulk of Jebel-es-Sheik, which formed an immense dome of snow like Mont Blanc in Savoy. Its shining glaciers descended along its ravines towards the lower regions from which numerous rills flow down to the Litany, the Hasbeiya and the Jordan. North and south, the plain of the Buka'a, partly cultivated, but all over covered with the most luxurious carpets of fragrant flowers and shrubs, extends between the two parallel ridges. On the north it opens towards Ba'albek, but on the south at a distance of eight miles, near the pass of esh-Shukiff, the surrounding mountains close the view. Desolation is the general feature of the plain, and few trees are to be seen on the banks of the Litany. Zaleh, the most populous town on the eastern slope of Mount Lebanon, is not seen from el-Merdj, being hid by a projecting range of rocks, nor the more distant ruins of Ba'albek; but on the south east of the Anti-Lebanon appears the village and tower of el-Andjar, and nearer on a hill the ruins of a castle, which seems formerly to have defended the passage of the stone bridge over the Litany river, the Isr-Temmir.

The sun now set behind the Lebanon, coloring the snows on the eastern mountains with the gorgeous tints of evening. The plain and surrounding heights were soon reposing in the shade of night, but the lofty peak of the Hermon, still for a long while continued all in a blaze, reflecting its deep purple hues on the upper sky.

We walked through the fields, enjoying the refreshing evening breeze and the rural tranquility around us, and then partook of a frugal supper before the tents, without being troubled by the importunate curiosity of the villagers, as at Bereitan and other places in the Buka'a.

The following Sunday, the 18th of May, we as usual made a day of rest. A large caravan of Druzes from the Hauran, east of Damascus, passed our encampment and confirmed the report of the perfect safety of that part of the country. Soon afterwards a brilliant cavalcade of Turks, with their ladies and slaves, arrived from Damascus, and after a short halt on the banks of the river, proceeded on their route to Zahleh.

The whole plain of the Litany now belongs to the Pashalic of Damascus. The southern part of it, properly called the Buka'a, is inhabited by Mohammedans and Maronite Christians; the northern district of Ba'albek by the Metawileh or Mutoualis, Muslim heretics of the sect of Aly. During the middle of the eighteenth century they formed a warlike tribe, mustering more than ten thousand well armed horse, who, in the year 1807, subdued the whole plain, and capturing Sour, (Tyre) on the coasts of the Mediterranean, succeeded in keeping up their communication with France and Italy. But being vanquished in many bloody conflicts, by the Druze chieftan, Emir Beshir, they lost Zaleh, their stronghold on the Lebanon, and were driven back to the plain. Ba'albek, their capital, was burnt and all their villages on the Anti-Lebanon destroyed. Thus the Metawileh lost their influence and power, and the few remaining wrecks of this fanatic sect are now fast mouldering away and may perhaps soon disappear altogether. These religious wars between the different tribes of Syria, the more recent military operations of Ibrahim-Pasha, and the long encampment of his numerous cavalry in the plain during the years 1836–40, have almost annihilated the population and agriculture of this fertile, healthy, and delightful region.

The river Litany—the ancient Leontes—has its principal source at Tell-Hushbein in the upper valley, four or five miles west of Ba'albek. In its course south, through the plain, it receives several rivulets and the fine, copious stream, el-Berdu-ny, descending from the Lebanon through the city of Zahleh.

At the bridge of el-Merdj, its breadth is only twenty feet; further down, the plain straitens to a narrow dell, and the river passes in a western direction through a gorge between precipices of immense height. These rocks are formed on the north

by the wild cliffs of esh-Shukif, where still are seen the ruins of the extensive Castle of Belfort, often mentioned in the history of the Crusades, and on the south by the lower chain of Merdj-Ayun, running down towards Safed and the lake of Tiberias. Emerging from the mountains and changing its name to el-Kasimiyeh, it discharges itself into the Mediterranean, three miles north of Sour, (Tyre,) at the old ruinous khan el-Kasimiyeh. From the high-vaulted bridge near the khan, we, on our pilgrimage to Jerusalem in March, had enjoyed a most delightful view of the river, whose source in the upper Buka'a we were going to visit a fortnight later.

Next morning, Monday the 20th, we were detained for some hours by an unpleasant accident, which, during the night before, had befallen our horses. Not being accustomed to the fat green barley, which our muleteers had heaped before them, some of the horses suddenly contracted a swelling of the stomach, which proved fatal to a fine bay horse belonging to one of the gentlemen. The Maronite villagers were of course as ignorant of veterinary affairs as the muleteers; they all gathered around the poor animal, struggling on the ground, but were unable to give it the least assistance. The drivers, bewailing their expiring horse, rent their turbans in utter dismay, and galloped up and down with the other horses in order to keep them in constant motion and prevent the injurious effects of the fresh grass which they had swallowed too copiously. All the inhabitants of the village had surrounded our tents, and it was not without a good deal of clamor and quarrelling that we got another horse from the village to serve for the journey to Damascus, and afterwards to be sent back from Beirut.

The morning was again rainy and cold, and the clouds hung on the mountains like a gray ceiling, spread out between the Lebanon and the opposite range of the Anti-Lebanon.

At seven o'clock we were in the saddle, and striking across the plain, we arrived in an hour at the base of this latter ridge, where, on one of its projecting spurs, we passed a ruinous castle, and another miserable village. Although a heavy shower was falling fast all the while, we continued our trot through the stony, barren and dreary chains of the Anti-Lebanon, leav-

ing at a small distance on our right a solitary mill, and approached at noon the pass of Wady-el-Kurun, (*the valley of the horn,*) a rugged, deep dell, having high limestone rocks on both sides, partly topped with stunted fir and oak. This is the dangerous defile where caravans so often are attacked and plundered by the roving Druzes of Hashbeiya. I had expected that our route would ascend to some high table-land, with far-extending views to the plains of the Buka'a, Damascus and the Hauran, but I was sadly disappointed, when we almost imperceptibly approached the water-shed of the Anti-Lebanon, without obtaining any distant prospect at all. Indeed, at a distance of six hours' ride from el-Merdj, we were again descending along a clear, purling brook, running eastward to the plain of Damascus. The heat in the deep glen became very oppressive. We, therefore, dismounted among the thorny hedges, which hemmed in the path, and preparing an awning with the canvass of our tents, we enjoyed our lunch near the brook. The scenery was wild, but pleasing; herds of cattle and goats were grazing on the banks. At two o'clock, P. M., we departed for the village of Demas. Following the brook we soon cleared the high-peaked mountain, and entered upon a still more barren and hilly country. Immense swarms of locusts were rattling and whizzing around us in all directions. The ground was literally covered with them, and fluttering in thick masses around our horses, they almost obscured the rays of the sun. They were of that large light-brown species I had formerly seen at Athens, where the Greek government paid the okka with fifty lepta or eight cents, in order to induce the Albanian peasants of Attica to destroy them in their nests early in the spring.

At a distance of five miles on the north we distinguished the dark stripe of the beautiful gardens and olive-groves bordering the river Burrada, on its course towards Damascus. From the top of a steep, barren hill, which we reached at four o'clock, a most singular prospect extended before us. Not a single tree or green speck appeared on the undulating horizon, where distant yellow and sandy hills obstructed the view on all sides. But in the south arose the gigantic masses of Mount Hermon,

clad in its glittering helmet, and north, the steep ravines of the Anti-Lebanon, stretching away toward Zebdany on the road to Ba'albek. Before us lay the village of Demas at the base of the hill. The terraced inclosures, an ancient acqueduct, and other ruins, showed it to have been formerly a thriving town, and it is still the resting place of the caravans between Damascus and Beirut. The low, flat-roofed huts were all built of mud, but they looked clean and snug compared with those of the Buka'a. The Arab inhabitants kindly offered us their dwellings for our accommodation; but the weather being fine we preferred pitching our tents on a hill outside the village in front of the majestic Jebel-es-Sheik, where, surrounded by the lilac-colored hills of the desert and in expectation within a few hours of beholding the wonders of Damascus, we passed a delightful evening.

At sunrise next morning, all was bustle in our little camp. Our breakfast was soon finished, the tents struck, and we started at six o'clock through the most bleak and dreary region I ever saw. Now and then we had a glimpse of the distant valley of the Burrada with its gardens and groves, or we met some armed parties of Turks, or a caravan of Maronite muleteers returning from Damascus; but the monotony of the landscape was continually increasing, when, three hours after leaving Demas, we descended into a defile surrounded by high conical hills, which looked like extinct volcanoes, bare, brown, stony, and covered with parched grass and stunted shrubs. In vain I turned my horse off the caravan road and with some difficulty ascended the heights. One range of chalky hills was towering above another, and the heat became oppressive in this labyrinth of straggling passages, winding through the desert region, when all on a sudden a distant view of the beautiful plain of Damascus opened upon us. Beyond the dusty and sunburnt rocks in the foreground, the immense *Ghutah*—the paradise of es-Shem—stretched eastward, and was bounded on the north by the hills of Kashioun, and on the south by the more distant violet-tinged mountains of el-Hauran, while on the dim and hazy horizon we distinguished the extensive lake Bahr el-Merdj, (*the Lake of the Meadow*,) wherein the Burra-

na, descending from the Anti-Lebanon, and watering the Ghutah, empties itself. From out the thick-set groves and gardens, like a vast forest spreading throughout the whole plain, arises the noble city of Dimeshk or Damascus, with its numerous mosques, cupolas, minarets and towers, embellishing the view and breaking the outline of the white flat-roofed buildings, which extend in an immense length of three or four miles, north and south, while the breadth of the city is comparatively very small. On our left the river Burrada, issuing from the mountains in many rivulets, diffuses itself through the gardens, and beyond it, on a height, appears on light arches a large Saracenic kubbet, or cupola, consecrated to the most revered of all the mystical Sheiks, Mohijeddin-al-Arabi.

This picture of fertility and life, bordering on the bleak and solitary desert, this glowing Oriental sky, diffusing such an indescribable charm over the landscape; even these light purple vapors, which like a faint and transparent shroud, arose above the gardens and the city, all contributed to enhance the enchanting effect of a scenery which, seen in a cold northern climate, beneath a gray and cloudy sky, would present nothing very remarkable. The glorious plain before us, and in order to impress on our memory this admirable prospect, we stopped for half an hour near a little round dome on the verge of the last spur of the mountain, immediately above the plain; but the heat being overpowering, and our attendants not yet making their appearance with the baggage, we galloped down to the gardens, and passing through a straggling hamlet on the outskirts of the groves, entered the shady retreat, and awaited the arrival of our muleteers on the banks of the river. The road through the gardens is very pleasant; it runs beneath majestic chesnut trees, poplars, plantains, and sycamores, on both sides bordering the gardens, and forming a dense forest of beautiful fruit trees. Here and there some richly painted kiosks, country houses or mosques with soaring minarets, peep out from among the thickets. We passed the Burrada several times on stone bridges, and after an hour's ride we suddenly lighted upon a low mud-wall with a low entrance, crossing the road. This was the gate of Damascus! Turkish sentinels of

regular infantry were on guard. As they took no notice of us, our long cavalcade proceeded slowly along the principal street to the great bazar.

Damascus is now a more agreeable residence to European travelers than formerly. During the time before the Egyptian conquest, its fanatic inhabitants would not permit Christians to enter the city on horseback. The Frank travelers were insulted by the insolent military or tumultuous mob, torn down from their horses, beat and wounded, while their European dress everywhere exposed them to the derision and taunts of the Muslims.* Such insolence was even offered to M. de Lamartine and other travelers on their visit to Damascus, so late as 1832. It was principally during the passage and return of the great caravan of the Mecca pilgrims, that Christians and Jews would suffer ill-treatment by the fanatic *hadjies;* but the severe government of Ibrahim-Pasha soon put a stop to all these disorders. When the Damascene Muslims complained to Ibrahim-Pasha, that the *Giaurs*, or Christian Infidels, dared to mount on horseback in the sacred city, a right conceded only to orthodox Mohammedans, the Egyptian commander scornfully replied: "If you consider it a privilege for the Muslims to *sit higher* and bestride *taller* animals than the Christians, well, then, you may mount the camels and leave the horses to the Christians!" He even gave the command of the unruly city to a Christian general, the prudent and brave Bakary-Bei, who with vigor and justice kept up the most perfect order in Damascus. Yet the bigotry and intolerance of the people remained undiminished, though they dared not manifest their feelings, except in sullen looks and stifled words. A terrible instance of this was the deplorable persecutions against the unhappy Jews in 1838. But the subsequent defeat and expulsion of the Egyptian army in 1840, by the united British and Austrian troops, the establishment of different European consulates, and the continual visits of numerous parties of travelers from Europe and America, soon produced the same effect here in Damascus as in other parts of the Levant,

* The Arabs have the proverb, "*Shami, shoumi,*" i. e. The man of Damascus is wicked.

and the Christians may now visit every part of the city and its environs with perfect safety. Even English ladies now walk or ride through the bazars as freely as if they were in Europe, and our party met with the same good will and attention here as in Jerusalem or Beirut. Travelers were formerly obliged to demand hospitality in the Franciscan convent, which is small, dark and uncomfortable. But lately a hotel in European style had been established, which was recommended to us in Beirut. Mustapha, therefore, led on our caravan to a mud-walled house, situated in a narrow lane near the eastern gate. The exterior looked bad enough, but how great was our astonishment, on entering through a narrow passage, to find ourselves all at once, as with the stroke of an enchanter's wand, transported to an Oriental palace, more romantic and beautiful than my fancy ever had realized before. We stood in the centre of an elegant court, paved with white marble and surrounded with picturesque Saracenic buildings, all glittering with gildings and bright colors. The long corridors were supported on pointed arches; a high vaulted niche—the *Liwan* of the Damascenes, where they receive company—opened on the left, and in front of it a sparkling fountain diffused freshness around and irrigated the luxuriant laurels, orange and lemon trees, clustering along the reservoirs. Nor were the halls and other apartments inferior in ornaments to the court. This palace belonged formerly to a wealthy merchant, on whose death the heirs let it to a Piedmontese officer, *Signor* Persiani, to serve as a hotel.

In the afternoon we all assembled in the *divan*, or sitting room, the most spacious and splendidly decorated apartment in the house. Ceilings and walls were laid out in mirrors above, below, and all around, with gildings and marbles. Rich ottomans and cushions covered the *estrades*, or elevated stages running along the walls, while in the middle of the marble floor stood a beautiful fountain, forming a *jet d'eau*, whose waters, murmuring softly day and night, gave a delicious coolness to the atmosphere. By a flight of stairs we ascended to the glittering *eka'a*, or dining-room, where an elegant dinner was served. Our attentive host had embellished the table not only

with a variety of flowers and fragrant shrubs, but with a most curious exhibition of those fanciful compositions of confectionery, for which Damascus enjoys so great a reputation throughout the Orient.

I have given these particulars, in order to testify to the accuracy of other travelers, who, like ourselves, have felt delighted with the beautiful mansion and attentive politeness of *Signor* Persiani, and after the fatigue of their rides through the mountains of Syria, have acknowledged their satisfaction at the sudden transition from the discomforts and dangers of their encampments in the desert, to this pleasant residence at Damascus, combining all the comforts of a European hotel, with the picturesque beauty and romance of an Oriental palace.

I must, therefore, wonder and smile at the morbid fastidiousness of the well-known English authoress, Miss Harriet Martineau, who appears to have carried her skeptical censoriousness from the United States along with her to the fairy lands of the East.

"The Italian hotel," says she, "has been vaunted by some visitors to Damascus, and it was *ludicrous* to read on the spot the descriptions with which English readers have been supplied of the court-yard and apartments of this hotel. As for the apartments, that which was given to us was so *perilously* damp and infested with beetles, that we refused to stop there a second night; and *five* snails were found in their slime under my bed!" What a horror! Poor Miss Harriet, even after thy *escapade* in the wilderness, to be tormented with wizzing beetles and *slimy* snails in the paradise of Damascus!

At the delightful hour of sunset, when the muezzins from all the minarets are calling the faithful to prayer, we mounted our horses and took a ride through the city. It is indeed totally different from any the traveler has seen in the Levant. According to all I had heard and read about Damascus, I expected to find the outside of the houses extremely mean and shabby, the streets dirty, narrow, and even dangerous to pass on account of the number of wild dogs, barking and snapping at the European travelers. But in all this I found a great exaggeration. The houses of Damascus are indeed low and flat-roofed;

they are overcast with a light yellow clay, which has a certain gloss resembling *stucco*, and can in no wise be compared with the ornamented stone buildings of Italy, or the elegant red brick houses of England and America. But they look less sombre and tarnished than the huge and gloomy stone-built structures of Jerusalem and Beirut, with their dark vaults and latticed terraces. The windows towards the streets are few, narrow, and closed with Turkish blinds, having small wooden balconies with flower pots. It is the interior of the houses in Damascus, with their courts, fountains, open corridors, rose-bowers, and orange trees, which unite good taste, splendor and comfort. From the Pasha and Bey of the highest standing down to the shop-keeper and mechanic, all their habitations are constructed after the same manner. This true old Saracenic style of architecture is still used in Southern Spain, and the interiors of the houses in Seville are said to resemble those of Damascus. The streets there are generally irregular, as in all Oriental countries, but well shaded, and wider than those of Cairo or Smyrna. They conveniently admit two foot passengers to move with safety on each side of a loaded camel. In others two or even more camels may go abreast.

Several of the larger streets of Damascus are exceedingly picturesque, and present to the painter an inexhaustible source of beautiful and striking specimens of architecture, as well as of groups and costumes. In Damascus we see the Eastern world in its full purity, variety and beauty, without any unpleasant mixture of the insipid and colorless every-day life of Europe. In the Tarick-el-Mustakim, or *Straight street*, a continuation of the great bazar, and terminating at the eastern gate—the Bab-Sherkeh—is a never-ceasing movement of caravans, arriving or departing. At the fine fountain on the bazar, gushing forth from a marble font, St. Paul according to tradition, was baptised by Ananias, and the Arabs believe that the latter lies buried beneath the pavement. Nearer towards Bab-Sherkeh, we visited the house of Judas, the residence of St. Paul during his sojourn in Damascus.* It is a subterra-

* "Arise and go into the street which is called *Straight*, and inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul of Tarsus."—Acts ix. 11.

nean chamber with an altar at the upper end, where mass is performed by the Catholics. This dark and damp abode, with its iron-grated door, resembles more a prison than an apartment of a private dwelling house.

Outside the old gate Bab-Sherkeh, the immense burial grounds extend southward to the Bab-Giazur, the gate of St. Paul, now walled up, where the apostle is said to have been let down in a basket, during the night.

The ancient city walls on this side are in good preservation, and defended by round towers of considerable strength. During the siege of the Crusaders in 1148, the kings of France and Germany here in vain attempted to storm the city. Near the gate I remarked, on a square tower, an armorial ensign with two lions, some fleurs-de-lis and palm branches, and an Arabic inscription on a marble slab ; no doubt some relic from the middle ages.

Yet far more interesting is the broad Harat-el-Derwishie or *Street of the Derwishes*, a well-paved avenue running for nearly three miles north and south, through the full length of the city towards the Hauran. I consider it, without comparison, the finest street in the Levant. It begins south of the great Bazar. An immense Saracenic vault, highly ornamented and occupied by stores, where horse-trappings, saddles, and lances are sold, opens upon the ancient mosque es-Zabumeh, built by Sultan Daher. This splendid building, with its two large cupolas and fanciful minaret, stands at the beginning of the Harat, which on both sides is lined with highly picturesque chapels, palaces and mosques, of the times of the Khalifs. Moawiah, the Ommiade, made Damascus the capital of the Arabic empire in the year 661. The following rulers of that dynasty and their successors, the Abbasides, down to Elmansor in the ninth century, who removed his residenee to Bagdad on the banks of the Tigris, continued to embellish Damascus with monuments which, though all in ruins, still to this day show the exquisite taste and excellent workmanship of the Saracens.

The traveler must not expect to find uniformity of style and character in the appearance of the Eastern cities. In Damascus, stores, workshops, or coffee-houses often stand in the same

front with the most gorgeous palaces of the Ommiades. But this variety, instead of lessening the effect of the whole, seemed to me rather to heighten it, because it everywhere exhibits so many pleasant pictures of the occupations and manners of the people. On the Harat, all the work-shops are open, and the manufacturers of cotton, silk, and leather carry on their work in the open air on each side of the street.

The construction of the mosques at Damascus differs essentially from those of the Ottoman Turks at Brusa and Constantinople. Their walls are formed of red, white, and blue or black marble. The minarets in Constantinople stand separately from the Dshami; they are very slender, of a white color, and shoot towards the sky in the form of lances; while here in Syria they are square or octagon towers, enamelled with richly-colored tiles, united to the main body of the mosque, and ascending in two stories with large battlemented galleries, from which the muezzins, five times a day, announce the hour of prayer. The gallaries have projecting roofs, and the top of the minaret is formed by a small oval cupola. Nearly all the minarets and cupolas of the mosques and chapels are laid out with blue, green, red, or yellow tiles of porcelain, which glitter in the sun and have the most beautiful effect. The high vaulted Saracenic gates, the fanciful battlements, the slender columns, pointed arches, and oriel windows are the *prototypes* of that interesting architecture which the Greeks, and, at a later period, the pilgrims and Crusaders brought with them to Europe, and the imitation of which we call Byzantine and Gothic. The monuments in Damascus are all over covered with arabesque sculptures, concave niches radiated at the top, tasteful carvings, rich filigree work, and numerous inscriptions from the Koran, generally in gold on an azure ground.

A characteristic feature of this architecture is the *ogive*, or pointed arch, which was supposed to have been an invention of the Arabs. But it has lately been ascertained that the genuine ogive had existed several centuries before Mohammed, and is found in different parts of Persia, among ruins of the times of the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, (A. D. 226—651.)

The finest and best preserved mosques are Dshami-Esmanieh,

Sultan-Teneb, with tri-colored marbles and an azure porcelain roof, and the still more splendid Nebbi-Chatun, which, with its immense marble cupola and its grove of magnificent cypresses and plane trees, forms a noble picture. But unhappily nearly all these proud monuments of the devout and brave Khalifs, who, with the Koran and the scimitar, extended the Saracen sway from the Indus to the Atlantic, are now fast verging to decay, as indeed are the religions and nations of the East. The sanctuaries and the tombs of the companions and disciples of Mohammed, Abu-Obeida and Khaled-Sefallah, the conquerors of Damascus, and of many other holy sheiks and mystical philosophers, are now lying in ruins—ruins perhaps as old as the bloody sway of Timour-Khan the Mongol, who in the year 1401 burnt and destroyed the greatest part of the city, and piled his horrible pyramids with the heads of its slain inhabitants.

Two historical monuments in Damascus particularly excited my curiosity—the tombs or *tyrbes* of Nurredin and Saladin. The first was the great Athabek (chief) of Halep, whose praise filled the East, and still re-echoes in the chronicles of the crusades. He was considered the *beau ideal* of Oriental princes, whose austere virtues served as a model to the Mohammedan rulers. Having united all the countries between the Tigris and the Euphrates into one powerful kingdom, he conquered Damascus in 1154. From his new capital he continually attacked the Christians in Palestine, and after his death in 1174, he was buried in an extensive sepulchre on the great bazar. The court of his sanctuary is surrounded by arcades, and has a large tank in the middle shaded by funeral cypresses. The entrance being shut by a chain, we could not visit the interior. The monument of his still more distinguished successor Saladin or Sala-heddin, the Eiubide, the noble-minded and chivalrous antagonist of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, forms a large irregular building of white and black marble, with several cupolas and high windows covered with inscriptions. It is one of the most prominent objects on the Derwish street. But though it is still devoutly visited by the Muslim pilgrims, it is rapidly falling to ruins. I entered a coffee-house opposite the sepulchre

of Saladin, where I met some well-dressed old Arab gentlemen, whose large green turbans indicated that they belonged to the order of the imams or priests. I then ordered my dragoman to ask them some questions about Saladin. They politely invited me to sit down near them, and offered me a pipe and coffee, but answered that they knew nothing about the great sultan, and that we Franks were better acquainted with those old stories than themselves. The street of the Derwishes is seen to the best advantage in the morning, when crowds of Bedouins on their spirited steeds, leading their strings of camels, are pouring in from the Hauran. There is then a regular market held all along the street, where the endless variety of costumes, Turks, Egyptians, Persians, Bedouins, Armenians, Druzes, Maronites, Jews, and Christians mingling together, is brought in the most charming relief against the Saracenic monuments, the dark cypresses, the pale olive groves, and the dazzling snows of the majestic Mount Hermon overlooking and completing the admirable picture. The Harat-el-Derwishieh terminates on the south by a low gate in the city wall, Bab-el-Allah or the Gate of God, so called from its leading to Jerusalem and Mecca, the holy places for Christian and Muslim pilgrimages. Outside the gate is a large open space, where the Arabs perform their equestrian exercises. The caravan road then continues through the orchards, gardens, and extensive olive groves for twelve miles, to the village of Kokab, where tradition has placed the vision of the apostle Paul.

On our return to the hotel late in the evening, we found the court-yard and apartments illuminated by numerous lamps, and two gentlemen in the Arab costume taking their supper in the divan; yet though their dress was Oriental, their physiognomy betrayed the Anglo-Saxon descent, and I soon recognized in the fierce Mamelukes, the peaceable and intelligent Messrs. Morrill from Baltimore, and John Spencer from London, who had arrived directly from Jerusalem.

Among the celebrated luxuries of Damascus, are the public baths and the coffee-houses on the banks of the river. Early next morning, accompanied by Mustapha, I went to one of the most fashionable baths, Hamam-Hussein, which compared with

those of Constantinople and Smyrna, is very splendid with its polished marbles, its spouting fountains, and its beautiful cupola with colored glasses, throwing a fantastical light on the dim figures flitting through the vapors. On my return, I found our party at breakfast. We then walked through the bazars, and took a look at the famous mosque of the Ommiades. From the immense vaulted bazar built by Murad-Pasha, we approached the eastern gate, from which we had a full view to the magnificent interior hall of the mosque. It was the ancient cathedral of St. John the Baptist, whose head is supposed to have been buried beneath the high altar. On the surrender of the city in 636 to Abu-Obeida, it was divided between the Christians and Muslims, who thus, for nearly a century, entered by the same gate into the same sanctuary, to worship the Supreme Being with different rites. But in 715, Abdul-Melek broke the capitulation, expelled the Christians from the church, and gave them that of St. Thomas, situated outside the gates of the city. This Khalif transformed the church of St. John into the greatest miracle of Saracenic architecture, which in beauty and magnificence surpassed the Ka'aba in Mecca, the es-Sukhra in Jersalem, and the wonderful mosque of Cordova in Spain. The Arab historians and poets celebrate the splendor of its immense columns, the number of its cupolas and soaring minarets, the elegance of its altars, chapels, inscriptions, and gilt and painted ornaments. Five millions of ducats were expended in its construction, and the daily expenses to the imams, sextons, the Koran readers, and professors of the numerous academies attached to the mosque, were five hundred ducats, but having suffered dreadfully during the wars of the middle ages, and the burning of Damascus by Timour-Khan in 1401, it has lost the greatest part of its treasures, and been but indifferently restored. The principal body of the mosque forms a square, occupying the aisles and the centre of the Christian church, beneath the great cupola. The three aisles are divided by two rows of elegant Corinthian columns, evidently of Roman workmanship. No Christian is permitted to cross the threshold, but seen from the gate, it appeared to me as if the lower part of the nave and the wings of the ancient

cross have been built up by high walls, and are perhaps now used as chapels.

Numberless glittering lamps in all directions, crossing from one column to another and hanging down from the cupolas, must certainly present a striking picture during the illuminations of the Rhamazan. From the gate Bab-el-Burid, a passage leads across the temple to a smaller gate on the west, opening on a spacious court, surrounded by a fine colonnade with pointed arches, the residence of the sixteen imams and fifteen muezzins employed in the daily service of the mosque. The court is paved with white and black marble slabs, and has several elegant fountains (*tchesmes*) for the ablutions of the faithful.

In the great bazar, not far from the mosque, stands the modern caravanserai of Hassad-Pasha, one of the noblest specimens of Saracenic architecture; which proves that the Arabs, possessing architects capable of building such a monument, cannot be considered as unworthy of their great forefathers or indifferent to the fine arts. This khan or hotel for the merchants of the East was built by the benevolent governor of Damascus, Hassad-Pasha, towards the close of the last century. A highly ornamented gate leads from the bazar into a large rotunda which exhibits an immense cupola, whose boldly-constructed vault is supported by eight pillars with pointed arches. Columns, arches, and walls are composed of white and black marble in regular layers, which contribute to the exceedingly picturesque effect of the whole. Flights of stairs lead to the numerous rooms and stores of the merchants; in the lower vaults and adjoining courts are stables provided for the horses and camels belonging to the travelers or caravans. The central hall is not only the general exchange, where merchants from all parts of the East meet and transact business, but the court of justice is likewise held here, and I was much gratified by witnessing a law-suit carried on in the presence of a cadi and his clerks, between a proud Turk sitting on horseback, and a merchant of Damascus quietly smoking his pipe during the procedure.

The central part of all life and movement in Damascus is

the bazar, where every branch of commerce and industry has its own separate quarter. One gallery is occupied by the silk manufacturers, another by the jewellers, booksellers, armorers, and so forth. The latter do not keep up their former renown. The precious old Damascene weapons are now extremely rare, and regarded as the most precious relics of times gone by. It is generally supposed that the manufactories of the celebrated scimitars were destroyed by Timour-Khan, who carried the workmen off with him to Samarkand in Tartary. The best sabres are now brought from Khorassan in Persia. The bazar of drugs exhibits the different aromatics, gums and spices from Arabia, which diffuse a pleasant fragrance around; and that of confectioneries, which is quite an important branch of industry, an endless variety of preserved fruits, sugar candies and sweetmeats.

The dealers in eatables have arranged their stores with a remarkable cleanness and a certain Oriental elegance, which is most attractive to the eye, and would invite one to sit down and taste some true Arabic dish. All the necessaries of life are cheap and good. A traveler in Damascus might get board for eight or ten cents; the rent of a beautiful house would amount to three hundred piasters, or fifteen dollars a year, and he might live very comfortably with one hundred American dollars. The book-stores look poor enough, and are nearly circumscribed to copies of the Koran and its numerous commentaries.

The Damascene silk stuffs consist of a mixture of silk and cotton; they are very cheap, and a complete lady's dress would cost only eighty-five piasters, or four American dollars. But the most ingenious artisans in the bazars are the saddlers. The good taste and splendor of the horse-harness and trappings in Damascus surpass anything seen in Constantinople. The rich housings are generally made of red cloth; they are large, and cover the whole croup of the horse. The saddle is of purple velvet set with pearls and gold. The bridle, with a number of flying ornaments, is of red morocco, richly adorned with pearls and gold buttons. In the same stores are sold the curious long lances used by the Bedouins of the Desert. Beneath the iron

point is fastened a large bunch of black ostrich feathers, which fluttering in the air, are seen at a great distance, and in the plains of Palestine often announced to us the approach of a troop of Bedouins, and warned us to prepare for their reception. On our return from the bazar, we passed the *serai*, or palace of the Pasha, an immense pile of wooden buildings in the Turkish style, inclosing different courts. Some battalions of the regular Nizam Dshedid infantry were mustering on the square in front of the palace in the presence of a body of Turkish staff-officers in European uniforms, wearing the red skull cap. Close by stands the ancient castle. It forms an oblong square flanked by fourteen towers and a dry ditch ten fathoms in breadth and three in depth. The lower part of the walls consists of large blocks with beveled edges, a sure token of their Roman origin; but the upper courses and battlements are modern. Though this *Kassaba* would not be able to offer any effectual resistance to artillery, it is still sufficiently strong to overawe the seditious inhabitants of Damascus. At the eastern gate I sent the dragoman to ask for admittance in order to visit the armory, which is said to contain interesting suits of Saracenic and Christian armor and other weapons of the times of the Crusaders; but we received an evasive answer from the Turkish commandant. Other travelers describe some curious stone chains, wrought from the solid rock, having sixteen links hanging down from the wall, and in the interior the armory, the *divan* or council room, and the mint, where the Khalifs coined their money. We then visited the beautiful sepulchral monument of Sultan Daher, a large marble pile with cupolas, arched gateway and numerous inscriptions.

In the afternoon we took a ride to the celebrated gardens in the *Ghutah* of Damascus. They extend for twenty miles round the city, but chiefly on the east and south, being somewhat more hemmed in on the north and west by the barren hills of Kashioun and the Anti-Lebanon. In March and April they are decked with the odorous flowers, which constitute one of the most advantageous branches of industry to the sedulous inhabitants of the city—the precious perfume of rose oil, *attar of roses*, being a principal article of export to Constantinople and all over the East.

The rose-gardens and orchards of Damascus are not remarkable for the superior skill or horticultural taste with which they are laid out, nor for the variety or tropical exuberance of fruits and flowers, or the picturesque views they present. All this the traveler looks for in vain. The Ghutah or plain of Damascus is a plateau lying at the base of the Anti-Lebanon, more than two thousand feet above the level of the Mediterranean and sloping eastward to the Arabian desert and Euphrates. The climate, therefore, is temperate and the winter comparatively cold. The vegetation of the Ghutah has more of the uniform sap-green, or if I may say so, sombre northern coloring, than the bright variety of southern hues. There are no palm trees, no agave, no prickly-pear or cactus, nor any of those eminently southern shrubs and trees, imparting such a charm and beauty of contrast to the coasts of Syria, Morea, Sicily, and Barbary. Orange and lemon trees I saw only in the interior of the city; they are not numerous in the gardens, and in luxuriancy of growth and abundance of their golden fruit not to be compared with those of Ptolemais, Yafa or Beirut. Immense plantains, poplars, cedars, cypresses, chestnut trees, and the more northern fruit trees, such as cherries, walnuts, apricots, and plum trees, all give a colder character to the landscape.

The river Burrada, which has its source on the table-land of Zebdany in the Anti-Lebanon, twenty miles west of Damascus, emerges from the mountains through a romantic pass, and dividing into three limpid streams irrigates the gardens of the plain. The middle stream runs through open meadows—the renowned battle-field of the Crusaders—directly through the city, where it replenishes the numberless fountains and cisterns of the bazars and private dwellings. Even Strabon, the geographer, comments on the artificial canals of the ancient Syrians, and the chroniclers of the crusades likewise admire the ingenious water-works of the Damascenes, which not only distributed the water at a great distance throughout the orchards, but embellished them with charming cascades, tanks and fountains. Of all this Saracenic art and refinement little is to be seen at the present day.

These different rivulets of the Burrada are the Abana and Pharphar of Damascus, mentioned in the Scriptures as "better than all the waters of Israel." The Greeks called it Chrysorrhoas, or the golden stream.

We entered a pretty garden on the south of the city, and were kindly received by the Arab family which inhabited the low mud-walled country house. The rose hedges bordering the parterres had already ceased blooming, but the tall Persian rose tree was still covered with thousands of white flowers. We forced our way through the thickets, wading through the streamlets, clambering over the ruinous and neglected inclosures made of sun-dried lime, and at last ascended a *kiosk*, or Turkish garden-house whence the view extended over the green maze of orchards to the long line of flat-roofed houses of the city, the cupolas and soaring minarets and towers now glittering in the rosy tints of the evening sky.

The Arabian women here presented us with a variety of dried fruits, figs, plums and peaches, and a native Christian kindly pressed us to taste the excellent and fiery white wine which he reared in his vineyard on the slope of the Anti-Lebanon.

An hour before twilight we crossed the Burrada and rode westward through deep and narrow lanes to the village of Salahieh on the slope of the Anti-Lebanon, in order to enjoy the extensive prospect of the plain from the most favorable spot and in the best coloring, that immediately before sun-set.

The large glades opening in this part of the gardens along the banks of the river are verdant during summer, and serve as pasturages. Here is the place for the encampment of the great caravans of the *hadjies* or pilgrims on their passage to Mecca, and here was the bloody battle-field of the Crusaders in the campaign against Damascus in the year 1148.

The Emir of Damascus at that time was Modshireddin-Abek, an indolent and voluptuous man, who left the reins of government in the hands of the prudent and active Governor Moireddin-Anar. This brave Mamluke wielded the whole civil and military sway of Damascus, but in order vigorously to oppose the continual inroads of the Christians from Pales-

tine, he united in alliance with the powerful Nurredin, the Athabek of Mosoul, who after the conquest of the Christian duchy of Edessa in 1144, had fixed his residence at Halep and by the fervor of his faith and his eminent qualities as a victorious conqueror, had obtained nearly an absolute sovereignty over all the regions between the Tigris and the coast of Syria.

As soon as the news of the approach of the crusading army had reached Damascus, Anar, the Mamluke, instantly proclaimed the holy war, and called the Turkoman and Saracen tribes of the Euphrates to arms, and took the most effective means for the defence of Damascus.

From the interesting description of this campaign by William, the Archbishop of Tyre, we learn that already at that time the plain of Damascus was considered as the garden of Eden. From out the groves arose numerous towers, villas and sanctuaries, which were now fortified and occupied by Saracenic bow-men.* All the fountains, wells and canals were filled up with earth or led off, and cattle and provisions removed from all the villages in the neighborhood. Thus the inclosures of the gardens, their hollow lanes and thickets along the banks of the river, formed together a line of fortifications, which served the light-armed Turkomans and Saracens as a secure lurking-place for ambushes and sudden attacks against the beleaguering army of the Christians. The enthusiasm in the city for the holy war was at its height; all the citizens armed; even the sheiks, imams and derwishes girded the scimitar and marched out to fight as martyrs for Allah and the Prophet.

Nurredin in Halep, in the mean time, sent off the bravest of his veteran troops, which during the long wars on the Euphrates had become acquainted with the tactics of the Crusaders, and learned how to vanquish the mail-clad knights on their heavy barbed steeds, who had appeared so terrible and irresistible to the Seldshukes on their first arrival in the East.

In the beginning of July, 1148 Conrad, III. of Hohenstauffen,

* Erant inter ipsas pomœriorum septa domus eminentes ac excelsæ, quas viris pugnaturis communierant. Vil. Tyr. xix. 3.

the German King,* and Louis VII. the King of France, had united in Syria the wrecks of their great armies, which had perished in the plains of Asia Minor. Numerous crusading bands from France, Italy and Germany, now joined them in Ptolemais, and on the banks of the lake of Tiberias they met King Baldwin III. of Jerusalem, with the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, and the whole feudal array of the *Pullanes* or Syrian Christians. Thus forming a glittering army of sixty thousand foot and six thousand horse, they marched through the passes of Mount Hermon and descended upon the plain of the Ghutah near the hamlet of Daria, at a distance of four days journey south of Damascus. At Kokab, where the apostle had the vision, within sight of the city, the Kings placed their troops in battle array, the Syrians leading the van, the French forming the centre, and Conrad with his German cavalry closing up the rear.

It was on the 25th of July, during a terrible heat, when the panting Christians, enveloped in clouds of dust, approached the out-skirts of the groves and furiously attacked the Mussulmans in order to gain possession of the banks of the Burrada and quench their burning thirst in its waters. They soon drove back the bow-men and penetrated into the maze of the gardens; but at ar-Rabua, a beautiful country-seat on the river, they were suddenly opposed by the combined Saracenic forces, commanded by Anar the Mamluke in person, and the old Eiub-Emir and his heroical sons. The eldest fell in the thick of the fight; the youngest, Saladin, a fine boy eleven years of age, here witnessed for the first time the deadly struggle between East and West, to which he himself, a few years later, was to give the decision!

The Syrian Barons began already to give way, when Conrad at a full gallop arrived at the front. The King and his German knights, according to their tactics, which so often had brought them victory, instantly dismounted from their steeds and forming in close array with their long lances bore down the enemy before them.† A fearful slaughter began; at last

* Conrad III. never went to Rome to be crowned Emperor.

† This array proved disastrous to the Germans in the celebrated battle of

the superior strength and heavy arms of the Christians got the better in the close combat. The Saracens having lost their most distinguished priests and leaders, fled and left the gardens and the river in the possession of the enemy. The Crusaders now refreshed themselves and their horses and encamped in the gardens close to the city walls. This defeat produced the greatest consternation in Damascus. Old and young hurried to the sanctuaries to cover themselves with ashes and do penance; in the great mosque, the holy Keran of Omar the Khalif was exposed, around which the entire population kneeled down in fervent prayers. The danger appeared imminent—every moment the Damascenes expected a final assault, and the renewal of all the horrors attending the conquest of Jerusalem! They, therefore, barricaded with huge beams and rafters all the gates and roads leading westward to the gardens, to keep off the irruption of the Christians until the Mohammedan inhabitants had evacuated the city on the opposite side leading eastward to the Euphrates. But the proud knights of the second crusade were not inspired with the purer and more religious enthusiasm of the devout followers of Godefroy de Bouillon in the first. The Franks, instead of pursuing their victory and storming the low and ruinous city walls in front of the gardens, began to cut down the trees and to fortify their camp.

The Saracens seeing these defensive operations and the destruction of their delightful environs, began to banish all fear and despondency from their minds, and uniting with the thousands of archers and horsemen, who streamed from all Syria to their assistance, attacked the Christians next day, Sunday, July 26th, with renewed fury. The wheel of battle rolled on all day, says the Arab historian, until at last the Crusaders, overpowered by numbers, at sun-set retreated behind their bulwarks.

This disaster decided the event of the seige. Seifeddin, the brother of the terrible Athabek of Halep, approached at

Sempach against the Swiss in 1386. There the noble-minded Winkelried of Sarnen, embracing with his nervous arms a cluster of lances and burying them in his bosom made an opening, through which the Swiss with their terrible halberts soon terminated the destruction of the Austrian knights.

the head of twenty thousand horse; the Damascene army swelled to a hundred and thirty thousand combatants, and soon succeeded, by continued skirmishing, in circumscribing the Franks to the limits of their camp. Although many French and German knights in single combat with the Arabs showed their accustomed bravery, discouragement now began to spread among the pilgrims, which was still more fostered by envy and jealousy, those baleful passions, annihilating all the glory of the Christian conquests in the East. A dark treachery in the camp of the Crusaders caused them to take a pernicious resolution. Anar, the cunning Mamluke, knowing the avarice of the Syrian Barons and their hate against the kings of France and Germany, who had promised to invest the Count of Flanders with the principality of Damascus, after its conquest, offered them secretly the immense sum of two hundred thousand gold dinars and the castle of Paneas on the sources of the Jordan, if they would betray their Christian brethren and raise the siege.* He fully succeeded in his plan. With hypocritical solicitude the Count of Tripolis, the Templars and Syrian Barons represented to the kings the danger of their being cut off from Palestine by the excellent cavarly of Nurredin in their present encampment, and advised them to take up another position on the south and south east, on the main road to Jerusalem, where, according to their assertion, the city walls were built of unburnt bricks, and so low and defenseless, that the town could easily be taken in the first onslaught. The European monarchs, who were as credulous as they were ignorant, ordered the whole army to abandon their strongly fortified camp on the banks of the river, and marched to the south of the city, which had been transformed into a dreary desert without shade or water by the active and intelligent

* The Pullanes were punished for their treachery. The Mamluke had been too smart for them and sent them, instead of glittering gold dinars, brazen coin, laid over with counterfeit gold, which he appears to have prepared beforehand in Egypt! The superstitious Christians of those times regarded it not as a fraud practiced by the Governor of Damascus, but as a divine punishment for the foul avarice of their own princes, and believed that the genuine gold, which was sent them, by a divine miracle had been transformed into copper—pro *summo* solent recitare *miraculo*, quod post modum tota illa male sumpta pecunia inventa est reproba et penitus inutilis. Wilh. Tyr. xvii. 7.

Mussulmans. The treachery of the Pullanes was soon discovered. Despair and death now stared in the face of the misguided pilgrims; their provisions were at an end, and the attacks of the powerful cavalry force of the enemy continued without interruption through the open plain.

The kings perceived the unpardonable fault they had committed, and in vain attempted to recover their former position on the river-side. But the Damascenes had meantime occupied the gardens, fortified all the avenues, and swarms of archers defending the inclosures with flights of poisoned arrows, frustrated every attempt of the deluded Christians. Nor were their assaults against the city more successful. Ancient walls solidly built of immense blocks and flanked by strong towers, defended by a victorious enemy, stopped their advance. All these difficulties proved insurmountable. Nothing remained for the Crusaders but an ignominious and disastrous retreat. The two most powerful monarchs of Christendom and their haughty knights a second time betrayed their faithful followers. Instead of proclaiming the retreat to the whole camp, they secretly fled to the mountains in the night of the 29th July, 1148. The pedestrian pilgrims then broke up in the greatest disorder, but ere break of day the Saracen horsemen from all parts of the plain rushed in upon the fugitives. "The Mussulmans," says Abu-Jali, the Arabian historian, "followed their hindmost bands with a hail of arrows, and slaughtered a vast number of men and horses. An immense booty of arms, treasures, and beasts of burden was abandoned on the road and captured, while the desert was strown with the corpses of slain Franks. On the arrival of this joyful news in Damascus, the people assembled for prayer and thanked God for the grace with which he had rewarded the confidence which they had placed in him during the days of danger. God be praised and thanked. Alla-la-llla-il-Alla!"

Such was the conclusion of the great crusade in the paradise of Damascus. The green meadows (*meidan*) on the banks of the Burrada are still called the *field of victory*, and on the slope of the Anti-Lebanon, high above the village of Salahieh, stands a white cupola, Kubbet-el-Nassr, the Dome of victory.

The village of Salahieh has an elevated and healthy site on the road to Zebdany and Ba'albek, near the dell through which the river Burradia forces its course down to the Ghutah. It is the favorite residence of the European consuls in Damascus, and the great resort of all its inhabitants, Mussulmans as well as Christians, who, on festival days, repair socially to the groves of Salahieh, to enjoy the pleasure of shade and water, of which the Orientals are so fond. It presents the nearest and most extensive prospect over the city, the plain and the distant mountain ridges of Kashioun and Hauram.

There had been a thunder-storm in the afternoon, which had pleasantly refreshed the air. A beautiful rain-bow and thick masses of clouds of various forms and colors now decorated the eastern sky. The charming plain, with its city embosomed in the forest of the gardens, lay in the full light of the setting sun, now hid by the soaring crests of the Anti-Lebanon, while the distant mountains, in the shade of the clouds, appeared touched with the purest tints of ultra-marine blue. The transparency of the atmosphere was wonderful, and the whole landscape seemed to come gradually nearer. Now and then a transient shadow passed across the plain, but anon the sun asserted his supremacy, and breaking through the clouds, the blue, lilac and purple hues continued rapidly changing with an intensity to which northern latitudes are a stranger. The scene became every instant more animated, the colors more glowing. Damascus, its mosques and houses, seemed blazing up in bright, ruddy flames. But suddenly the rain-bow melted away, darkness sunk over the plain, and only the distant Jebel-Hauran still shone forth like a fairy island on the broad bosom of the ocean.

We returned through the extensive cemetery lying immediately outside the city walls. In Constantinople and Smyrna the burying grounds are thickly planted with magnificent cypresses, and form the favorite promenade of the Turks. Here in Damascus the sepulchres are adorned with myrtles, which are diligently watered and tended by the ladies. In Saida, Jerusalem, and other places, I every day met with large parties of women, who were spending part of their time in the cemeteries. They generally wore black veils, and were enveloped in white loose muslin robes, whose ample folds covered their

jackets and beautiful *shalvars* or trousers. They were sometimes in the best humor in the world, smoking, and chattering, and making a tremendous outcry on seeing the approach of Christian pilgrims. Passing through the suburb we stopped at one of those illuminated *kapheneh*, or coffee-houses, which are so pleasantly situated on the river. The far-projecting roofs and slender arcades are all constructed of wood; the floor is sometimes inlaid with black and white pebbles, and raised only a few inches above the level of the stream. A narrow wooden bridge leads from one coffee-house to another across the river, forming here and there small cataracts, and everywhere refreshing the sultry atmosphere. Strings of various-colored lamps suspended from the pillars threw a bright glare on the graphic groups sitting around on low chairs smoking their nargiles pipes. The most remarkable personages we saw were a number of Persian merchants, lately arrived with a caravan from Bagdad. They wore a dark blue kaftan and a high black cap made of sheep wool, and appeared to be fervently engaged in mercantile discussions, which had not been settled at the bazar in the morning.

The religious persecutions against the Jews of Damascus in 1838, are well known. I heard much about their former influence, wealth, and the elegance of their dwellings. Being invited by a Damascene merchant to pay a visit to some of the unhappy Jewish families who had been the victims of the nefarious calumny of their enemies, I went the next day with him through a succession of narrow lanes to a mud-walled house, without windows, and surrounded by ruinous and uninhabited buildings. On our knocking at a postern it was opened, and a servant led us through an outer yard to a court surrounded on three sides with lofty edifices and galleries, the walls of which were constructed with the usual courses of red, white and black marble. Clusters of orange and lemon trees, intermingled with rose-bushes and other sweet-flowering trees lined the walls. In the middle of the court stood the usual fountain with marble basins. In the high Moorish recesses we found the widow, her daughters, and other relations of the unhappy owner of this palace, a Jewish merchant, who had expired under tortures in 1839, during the inquisition, in conse-

quence of the mysterious disappearnce of Father Thomas, the Capuchin friar. The Jewish ladies were dressed in mourning, with their hair falling down over their foreheads. They told me with tears their melancholy tale. The other sufferers, who were still lingering in the prison, were at last restored to their families on the intercession of the benevolent Sir Moses Montefiore, who had gone to Egypt to obtain from the Pasha the deliverance of his unhappy fellow-believers. The Jews of Damascus are numerous, more wealthy and respectable than their brethren in Palestine or Smyrna; they are considered to be about fifteen thousand, and have six synagogues. The Mohammedan population is nearly a hundred thousand, and the different Christian sects may be estimated at twenty thousand, who have many churches and convents. Time did not permit me to visit any of them.

Mohammed had seen Damascus when he, as a young merchant, with his caravan visited Palestine and Syria. The beauty of the Ghutah excited his lively imagination; he called it one of the blessed regions of the faithful, and it was the dearest wish of his heart, after the conquest of Mecca, to turn his victorious banner against Syria. On his march against Damascus, he advanced as far as Tabouk in Arabia Petræa, where he died. The Arabs concentrated in the most curious manner all early traditions about the creation of the earth and the first men at Damascus and its environs. It was the Eden of the father and mother of mankind. In a grotto on Mount Kashioun the first brothers were born; there Abel was slain and was buried on Mount Neby-Abel, while they place the sepulchre of Noah near Zahleh, in the valley of the Buka'a.

Damascus is one of the oldest cities of the earth. Though the prophet predicts its destruction as a city, and makes it become a ruinous heap, it has been flourishing for nearly four thousand years. Its history is in a remarkable degree *passive*. It passed without resistance or battle, into the hands of all the great conquerors of the East, from David, King of Israel, down to Ibrahim-Pasha, with the only exception of its heroical defence against the Crusaders, as we mentioned above.

The 24th of May we left Damascus for Ba'albek.

Lancaster, Pa. A. L. K.

ART. IV.—THE POEMS AND ROMANCES OF WALTER SCOTT.

THE splendid art and gorgeous literature of the heathen world, seems one vast and august Pantheon, dedicated to the classic and solemn worship of Gods, of human flesh and human passions. The unanointed spirit of rude devotion and the rich vein of poetic tendencies of the early ages of genius and civilization, adorned the banks of the Ilissus, and the margin of the Forum with the polished and magnificent creations of an art and imagination, that deified in graceful forms of surpassing beauty the purest emotions of the heart and the highest aspirations of the mind. Every exalted virtue, every intellectual endowment, that could elevate man and dignify his mission; or embellish the face of nature and perpetuate her bloom, and every ennobling passion that could stir to music or to poetry, the slumbering energies of the soul, were made to wear the animated lineaments of life, and the mysterious grandeur of divinity. The living spirit of a mythology, beautiful and gorgeous, enshrined the proudest recollections of their past history, and the kindling hopes that gilded the unclouded promise of their days, and turned into lovely and breathing shapes of feeling and power, the wisdom and fortitude that founded states, the genius and inspiration that originated letters, and immortalized the lessons of science and the bloom of literature; as well as the right arm that clove down the enemy in the day of battle, and the loyal patriotism that bowed with calm submission, to die alike unmoved, in the arms of victory, or in the hour of disaster. They realized, in every form of action, in every stretch of thought, with thrilling and intense emotions of a firm and pleasing faith, that through the lapsing years of their recorded greatness and expanding renown, the divine hand of Clio would still guide the eloquent pen of history, and the electric fingers of Apollo, wake to melody the slumbering music

of the harp ; that the jeweled girdle of sea-born Venus would always be potent, and radiant as the unchanging colors in the bow of promise, and the glittering helmet of Mars impenetrable to the red storms of war. The brave and highly gifted children of that polished, but unbaptized civilization, realized with intense and cheering emotions, that in all the trials and sorrows of life, or in the splendid career of an honored ambition —in the swelling aspirations of the soul, or in the virtuous struggles of patriotism, they might invoke with humble and steadfast reliance the compassion, or the blessing, the glorious inspiration or the powerful arm, of some national and benignant God, whose listening ear was ever unsealed to the voice of their prayer, and whose simple throne stood in simple majesty amid the sublime scenery of their native mountains.

Such a pleasing mythology seems even the human heart, with a ready talisman erecting, in its vast and peopled chambers, holy and beautiful altars and temples, to the gracious divinity of the pure and tender lessons, that have stayed it in the hour of travail, and the virtuous sentiments that have guarded it in the season of temptation—to the divinity of that healing balm which has soothed in the frequent visitations of sorrow, and the exalted hopes that have kindled and watched with sleepless vigilance the vestal fires of its perpetual yearning after the peaceful rest of a happier and lovelier home. To the green and cherished memory of the honored and illustrious names, whose warm sympathies, fraternizing virtues, and charming talents, have brightened the scenes and sweetened the joys of boyhood, and opened to its eager gaze visions of eternal beauty, and dreams of a glorious heritage—roused and sanctified the energy and enthusiasm of riper and more ambitious years,—crowned the pale brow of patient toil with a garland of clustering hopes, and bound together in the kindred bonds of equal and affectionate brotherhood the whole great family of Man, the heart rears a holy altar, at whose undying flame, the spirit lights its torch when the gloom of night settles on its path; and seeks, beneath its shrine, shelter and safety, when the dark storm gathers along its sky. In the devoted ritual of this simple, but deeply significant worship of the

heart, the whispered homage and fragrant incense ascend not only to the mailed warrior, who comes in the martial pride of victory, with nodding plume and floating banners, or to the accomplished statesman whose wisdom and eloquence may thrill crowded senates, and build up the solid granduer of nations; not only to the mighty wand of grave philosophy pointing to distant and undiscovored realms of boundless and unrecorded thought, or to the mighty alchemy of the crucible revealing the marvellous truth and hidden wonders of an untravelled world of surpassing splendor. These are not the only benefactors of the earth, nor the only glories of the human race; not the sole lamps that cheer and illuminate the path of our brief pilgrimage, or invité our weary steps to the repose of some tranquil rest. But the man, whose ennobling genius or hearty sympathy, pours the oil of comfort upon the unhappy lot of affliction; sweetens and multiplies the charms of home—softens to his weary limbs the poor man's rude couch—plants a hope in the bosom, and puts a song upon the lips of labor—fills the widow's lonely chamber with an undiminishing barrel of meal and cruse of oil—yea, spreads a marriage feast where the rich and the gifted, the halt and the lame, may banquet, with equal relish and delight, and leaves to the wide world of suffering and sorrowing humanity, an abiding heritage of peace, joy, truth and beauty, exhaustless and perennial, is indeed a glory and a blessing. Who has ever stood impassive beside the murmuring waters of Saint Fillan's spring, and listened to the far sweeter murmuring of the wizard Harp of the north? Who shall ever lose fond remembrance of the touching pathos and wild enchantment, that fired again the aged breast of Harold, and broke from his quivering lips in his last Lay of chivalry and love? What bosom has not swelled into heroism, or melted into sorrow over the last words of Marmion? Is there a single hearth that never has been kindled through the watches of the wintry night to warm and reanimate the cold and freezing limbs of the friendless outcast?—a single roof that never has offered the ready protection of its shelter to the poor and homeless wanderer; at the recollection of the sore trials and womanly forti-

tude of Jeanie Deans? The palest cheek mantles with manly indignation at the unholy purpose and brutal passion of Bois Guilbert; and the feeblest and the strongest arms are alike uplifted to vindicate the righteous cause of innocence and beauty, at the fascinating story of the heroism and resignation of Rebecca, the Jewess. Walter Scott,—what an uncounted multitude of pleasant reminiscences and delightful associations, that have twined themselves in tender and clinging embraces around every fibre of our nature, start into new being of vigor and freshness, at the familiar sound of that household name—Walter Scott was born in the city of Edinburg towards the close of the eighteenth century. Born to the honorable and moderate condition of the middling class of life, he was bred in easy circumstances, alike untrammelled by the pinching wants of poverty, and unintoxicated by the pomp of princely affluence. The fair haired boy passed along the bustling streets of the metropolis, with tardy step to school, undistinguished from his more robust and joyous companions, except by the small staff which shared the slight burthen of his feeble frame. Compelled in consequence of an early and unfortunate lameness, to forego, with reluctant will, the genial pleasure and excitement of the tennis ball and trundling hoop, he anxiously sought for more gentle amusement and exercise, and found with Alladeen's lamp, a sparkling treasure of priceless wealth, in the ancient ballads and romantic tales of the nursery. In the long and luxurious intervals between the Odes of Horace and the Lyrics of Pindar, we find him in a small house upon the banks of the noble Tweed, the glad voice of whose murmuring waves he loved through life wisely and not too well, stealing long hours from the rosy dreams of sleep, to dream with waking eyes and throbbing heart over the stirring narrative of historic lore, or the wild enchantment of poetry, legend and romance. Then the kindred and mightier spirit of Shakspeare opened to his young hopes and fast coming aspirations a new and magnificent world of thought, passion and feeling—a new earth, instinct with breathing loveliness and unfading verdure, and a new heaven of tranquil beauty and unclouded splendor. At Kelso, one of the most beautiful and

romantic spots of his beautiful and romantic country, the gospel of nature breathed around him the calm and elevating influence and inspiration of her living grandeur and transcendant loveliness, and filled his youthful breast with the august presence of her divine glory, and the captivating music of her sublime minstrelsy. His eye kindled at the fair scene; his ear was ravished with the rapture of the strains, and his whole finely fashioned being was intensely imbued with the passionate love of nature and the august spirit of her radiant charms and eternal truth. From the genial companionship of this bright and beautiful scenery he returned to the confinement of school, and passed through the classes without the reputation of a close student, or the evidences of profound scholarship. Admitted to the fellowship of the bar, he seemed disinclined to struggle for the first honors of his profession, or the highest distinctions of Parliament. During the few years of his practice, the slight and insipid labors of his office, were alternated by the more pleasant recreations of literature and invigorating excursions among the untrodden wilds and gorgeous scenery of the purple hether and mountain loch. In the occasional hours of professional study and legal employment, he may have sighed for the power of forgetfulness; but not all the oblivious waters of that fabled stream, could wash from the vivid records of his mind, the haunting recollections of Sandy Knowe, the Tiviot and the Tweed, renowned in story and in song, and the mouldering ruins of Melrose. The palpable influence of lovely Kelso was around him still. There was no escape from the spell of the charmer. The shadowy legend of almost forgotten story, he had wept over in boyhood; the rude and exquisite ballads of early poetry, he had hung so fondly over in youth, were still ringing in his imagination, and floating unbidden through the reveries of his luxuriant fancy.

And it seems somewhat strange that Scott should turn away from the stirring themes of his native heath, to try his wing upon a foreign shore. With impatient hand he snatched a live coal from the proud altar of Germany's immortal genius, and the first notes of his bashful muse but echoed the rich music of her inspired bards. And "Leonore," and "Goetz Burlicken

of the Iron Hand," were not more distinguished for their vast influence and popularity on the glorious banks of the Rhine, than for waking into song the melodies of a new shell on the classic shores of the Tweed. The promise and prophecy of these spirited and elegant translations were soon immeasurably more than fulfilled in the Lay of the Last Minstrel—a poem of great power, sweetness and beauty—somewhat careless in the flowing cadence of its versification, but bold and original in its conception and highly poetical and masterly in its execution. The lofty dreams and splendid visions that had peopled the world of his solitude with bright intelligences of antique life, manners and magnificence, and won the earnest devotion of his spirit to the all absorbing worship of the imperishable thoughts and venerable institutions of the great past, were embodied in strains of impassioned rapture, and invested with the royal livery of romance and chivalry. The author's varied and unparalelled powers of vivid and animated description, made the towering mountain and the quiet lake, the picturesque moor and the crumbling ruin, the cherished objects of fresh admiration, and the frequented shrines of new devotion. The mourning nation that had stood with weeping eyes till now beside the untimely and melancholy grave of immortal Burns, overwhelmed with the mingling emotions of remorse and sorrow; with all the startling recollections of his sweet warblings and bitter wrongs—his melting pathos and miserable end, crowding in multitudes fast upon the stricken heart, were suddenly summoned with the voice of trumpet tongue from the consecrated ashes of the dead, to the house of the living—from the cypress shade of Grey-Friars church yard, to the myrtle groves of the unknown cottage of Ashestiel, to hear the deathless song of Harold's Last Lay, or to gaze on the marvellous light that "streamed upward to the chancel roof" from the enchanted tomb of storied and desolated Melrose. And before the startled and tumultuous feelings of wonder and astonishment had subsided into more steady admiration, or calmer enjoyment, the dazzling light of Marmion rose with spreading radiance upon the brightening sky. Another star, of uncommon magnitude, had gathered itself to the high and luminous constellation of the tuneful lyre. With more

incident and action than anything which had gone before, it had frequent passages of transcendant beauty and power, equal to anything that followed. The gory field of Flodden was thronged again with stern warriors and rang beneath the trampling hoofs of unrolling columns and charging squadrons. And so vivid and truthful was the masterly coloring of the battle and the carnage, that you could almost hear the struggling breath of its dying hero, cheering on to glory or to death his weary troops. You could almost see the fair Clara, like an angel of light, with woman's tenderness, and woman's fortitude, binding up the bleeding veins of the fatal wound, or with quickened energy and unfainting step, speeding like the wind, with the warrior's helmet, to bring the sparkling element from the distant fountain, to cool his aching brain, and to moisten his burning lips. The glad and beauteous waters of Saint Mary's lake were margined with the bloom and fragrance of undecaying flowers. And the broken columns and ivied ruins of Norham Castle, where the hostile banners of St. George and of Bruce, had so often mingled in war's bloody strife, carrying in their fluttering folds the safety of a crown, or the destinies of a nation, were made far lovelier to the eye and dearer to the heart, than all the pride and pomp of its pristine splendor. Does the late admiring and enthusiastic crowd turn away from the charming images and grand descriptions of Marmion? Yes, but it is only to watch the breaking gleam of softer tints, stealing like the shadow of an angel's wing, over the quiet breast of Loch Katrine; or to commune with the lofty crags, and deep solitudes, the frowning hills, and shaggy woods, which were alike the glory and the home of all Clan Alpin's pride, and all his hopes. The highland poem of the Lady of the Lake, is, perhaps, the most elegant, polished and fascinating poetical production of the author. Its grand conception bears the marks of consummate artistic skill. At every step the plot thickens with highly wrought interest and incident, and the bold development is guided with the energy of a skillful hand, and hurried along with the ardor of a glowing genius. The cadence of its liquid numbers is musical and exquisite, and its descriptions of the world of na-

ture and the world of passion, touching and graphic. A romantic chapter from the checkered book of life, a gorgeous episode from the great book of nature ; it addresses itself with twofold beauty and interest to the most elevated taste and most exalted feelings of our being. Hallowed by the purest love of the human heart, and the proudest heroism of the human arm, we are hurried along the unfolding story, with varied emotions of intense feeling, from the wild excitement of the Chase, to the wilder enthusiam of the Gathering, from the stirring and stormy scene of the Combat, to the calmer and lovelier scene of the Guard room. The impetuous monarch of the ancient and renowned House of Stuart lays aside the imperious dignity of his rank, and the princely trappings of his brilliant court, to pass unknown into the wild and rocky glens, the dark and unchanging forests of the uncultured and uncivilized highlands, and mingle in the rough sports and stormy tumults of that romantic and mysterious race of men, whose shadowy traditions, and unsubdued enthusiasm, poetical imaginations, and awful superstitions, loyal devotion and generous friendships and hospitalities, invested the mighty scenes of their humble loves and simple habitations, with the peculiar interest and fascinations of some oriental legend or powerful enchantment. The silver voice of Ellen Douglas woos, with the persuasive eloquence of its vesper music, the stranger's wandering steps to the green and sunny islands of her own glassy lake ; and her little shallop, like a thing of life, bears him over the rippling waves of Loch Katrine to the peaceful shelter and calm repose of her own rude and mossy home. And when the storm sweeps along his unfrequented way, and darkness closes round his rugged path, among the drear and sullen wilds of Benvenue, a welcome, though a hostile guest, he shares a soldier's cheer and tartan plaid, at the watch fire of Rhoderick Dhu; and finds, in the vigor of his muscle and the generosity of his heart, a "foeman worthy of his steel."

One of the most beautiful and spirited passages, in this delightful poem, is the powerful description of the talismanic cross of fire and blood, passing with superstitious solemnities, from hand to hand, and summoning the distant and devoted clans

from the valley and the glen, to the sudden and martial gathering at Lanric Mead. Clan-Alpine, the lordly chieftan of a hundred clans, gives the fatal symbol of fealty and war, to his brave and loyal henchman with the few and portentous words, "Speed, Malise, speed." And like the arrowy rush of some headlong torrent, the winged herald of battle goes; fleet and strong as the Eagle's pinion, he mounts the all-forbidding rock, and labors through the tangled brake, bends with strung muscle to the steep hill, and dashes through the high and angry waves, till Duncraggan's baronial hall rises upon his weary sight. Here all is still and drear, with the shrouded gloom of silent death. The stripling son of Duncan hangs with broken and bleeding heart, over the dark bier of his father, sleeping the dreamless sleep of the cold and quiet grave. Young Angus beholds and grasps the bloody sign of instant speed, one heavy sob, one glistening tear, and away from the house of a cherished sorrow, he bears with iron will the dread talisman. With the red deer's unwearied foot, measures the rough plain, or sweeps, like the tireless wind, the untrodden morass and perilous way. His heart is heavy, but his foot is light—his eye is moist, but his lips are dry,—yet he stays not to weep, he tarries not to drink, but onward, still onward. His course of toil and sorrow now is run and the brave youth sinks down exhausted, at the chapel of Saint Bride, the joyous scene of marriage ceremonials. Norman stands at the nuptial altar, with his blushing young bride; rich and happy, in the untold treasure of her priceless aud abiding love. She is beautiful; the sky is bright; wherefore, then, that shudder? Why that cloud upon his brow? Norman saw the hateful signal of sudden parting. Instant he girds his loins, short the fond embrace, brief the whispered sigh of farewell, the dreaded cross is in his trembling hand, and fast and far, bride, altar, priest, fade away upon his straining vision. He pauses not to indulge in the pleasing hope of a speedy return, or to dream of glory in a warrior's grave. On, still on, like the hurrican's path, speeds, through echoing glen and deep ravine, over lofty crag and stony pass, and stretches strong and sinewy limbs to the dangerous way and distant goal. And morning came, and

saw Lanric Mead peopled with a thousand stout hearts, beating in glad unison with the pibroch's martial strains, whose only law was Alpine's will, whose daily prayer was Rhoderick's cause. The popularity of Scott's poetry was now unexampled and unbounded. His poetry was alike murmuring on the lips of the scholar and the prince, and ringing in tranquil melody through the warm bosoms of the humbler masses. It was indeed like the wonderful talisman of Gaelic superstition, with power, not only to summon the nation to his mighty shrine, but with balm to assuage the sorrows of Angus at the fresh grave of buried affection, and with charms to enhance the loveliness of Norman's wedded wife, at the altar of Saint Bride. His course was now an upward career of dazzling brightness; his life an onward march of glorious triumph. He had more than the fame of his great countryman, Burns, without the dark shadow that followed his sun down to its melancholy set. And as if in atonement, for the wrongs and neglect of him of Mossgiel, the whole nation, made not only their lives the generous worship of his genius, but their fortunes the measureless guerdon of his songs. And now the fair and widening prospect of his fame and prosperity, was more splendid than the wildest dream of his early hope, more gorgeous than the proudest prayer of his young heart. His sunny home, was the smiling home of happy contentment and joyous love. The gladsome bosom of the rejoicing earth, was blushing and laughing, in the bloom of the laurel and the greenness of the myrtle. The low winds that breathed like the sweet South, upon the glowing scene, giving and stealing odor, brought upon their delicate wings, in perpetual music, the soft murmurs of the whispering waves of Tiviot and Tweed, gliding on to the quiet rest of some distant haven. The tenderness and affection, the voice, and smile, and holy sympathy of woman, were there, in the richness and beauty of their nature, to cheer and bless, and from the goodly promise of the serene heavens, the broad, unclouded sun of fame and fortune, was shining calmly down, warming into fresher life, and gilding into wider loveliness, the vast sphere of this enchantment! But a change came over the spirit of this dream.

A mighty luminary rose upon the morning sky, illumining the distant horizon, with the marvellous effulgence of transcendant light. Childe Harold, laden with the spoils of many a land of battle, and the trophies of many a clime of song, had returned from his far and adventurous wandering, amid the voiceless ruins of buried grandeur, the lingering inspiration of genius renowned in the fierce arts of war and the milder arts of peace, and the lowliest or the sublimest haunts of nature; and now with eager will, entered the crowded lists of an intellectual chivalry. As the disinherited knight of Ivanhoe, in the grand tournament of Ashby, struck with sharp spear, the defiant shield, proudly suspended in front of the gay pavillion of the victorious Templar till the burnished metal rang, Childe Harold, with the conquering energy of youthful ardor and herculean arm, hurled his glittering lance upon the broad and honored shield of Marmion, in challenge of an equal and giant combat of life or death! There was an intensity and sublimity of passion; a glow and energy of pathos; and magnificence of delineation, in the deeply and darkly beautiful Pilgrimage of Byron, that moved the soul to its highest rapture, and fired the senses to their wildest madness. It was like the "sun's gorgeous coming, and his setting indescribable."

Scott's poetry elevated and delighted the impulses of virtue and the sentiments of friendship. Byron's immortal song, fostered and fascinated the emotions of love and the passions of hate. Scott was a shady grove, dispensing the genial fragrance of vernal blossom, and vocal with the mellow voice of summer bird. Byron a storm cloud, dark, gloomy and grand, floating like a kindred and familiar spirit, among the wintry glaciers of the everlasting Alps. Scott was the calm, deep stream, winding like a beam of sunshine, through the variegated landscape, beautifying the busy field of toil and making glad the reaper's heart. Byron, the mountain torrent, madly foaming and dashing over the barriers of its rocky bed, and sending up its dancing spray, in the gaudy colors of the rainbow, over the terror and wildness of its path. The one was the living gospel of humanity, its mission, destiny and hope.

The other the eloquent inspiration of the melancholy darkness of misanthrophy and despair. The one woke into joyous life and sleepless activity, the purest sentiments and warmest sympathies of the human breast. The other marshalled into battle, the stormiest emotions and darkest passions of the human heart, animated them with the ardor and energy of unearthly power, and lighted their desolating pathway, with a volcanoe's blasting fires! Scott tried the vigor and fleetness of his soaring wing again, but Rokeby and the Bridal of Triermain failed to win back the alienated affections of the inconstant multitude, from the rich and splendid colorings of Byron's glowing pencil, or the loud and melodious diapason of his live thunder! And was there now nothing left for Scott, still in the freshness of his youth, to do? Were the green bays upon his unwrinkled brow, and the jewelled garland, he had placed with filial hand, upon his country's honored forehead, to fade and wither before the meteor radiance of this new star? His anxious bosom echoed, it may indeed be, with a feeling of mournful sadness, his own touching and beautiful farewell to the harp of the North. But was that bitter farewell to his silent and neglected lyre, to be also a last adieu to the accustomed applause of fame,—and to all the aspirations of a soul ambitious to adorn and enrich the annals of his native land, and make his name a household word among all the nations of the earth? No, his distinguished poetical reputation was ordained to become almost extinct, in the birth of a glory, destined to radiate the firmament of every clime, and to bless the wandering tribes, of every land, kindred and tongue. Fortunate were the circumstances of inclination, or the sterner commands of fate, that invited or forced his steps into the arbored and redolent walks of Romance. In these genial walks he was yet to win his highest honors, and to achieve for mankind the most lasting blessings. Fortune, whose child he seemed to be, placed his hand upon a prose manuscript, which had been composed in the brief intervals of other studies and pursuits, nine years before, but which had been thrown aside and forgotten in the heated excitement and amazing popularity of his early poetry. But now its great idea once revived, like

the pale ghost of Banquo, it would not down, at even the bidding of its master—it followed him through the sports of the chase, and haunted the retirement of study. With trembling and hurried solicitude, he retouched the careless lines of that rough sketch, and beneath the vivifying beams of his reanimated spirit and rekindled genius, its glowing pages expanded into a romance of passing beauty and power,—and in eighteen hundred and fourteen, with the returning leaves and fruits of summer, Waverley, made its modest appearance, more fresh than the leaves of the season, more rich than the fruits of the year.

It was the first of a long and fast succeeding series of romances, whose name is legion, and whose travels are coextensive with the journey of the sun. These great books, replete with entertainment and profit, have opened up to the world, a well of limpid and living water, whose refreshing shade and sparkling element, not only cheers the faint, and invigorates the weary, but with gentle and mysterious power, gathers round its bubbling fountain, in the glad union of pleasing and kindred companship, from the paths of toil, and the scenes of pleasure, the scholar and the peasant, the gifted and the humble, and they are alike made happy and better in the conscious brotherhood of one great and scattered family. And the grateful cup of this calm and nectared water, passes round the vast circle of allianced fellowship, from rough and sun burnt hands, to fair and jewelled fingers, till a common tear springs to every eye, at the pathetic story of St. Leonard's Crags, and a common smile illumines every cheek at the triumphant virtue of Flora Mac Ivor.

Scott now must have realized the full promise of the future, as well in the broad field that excited the energy of his faculties, as in the fertile glebe that rewarded the labor of his sickle. His cultured and exuberant imagination, warmed with yearnings of humanity, and kindled with a spark of Promethean fire, sketched with indelible colors, upon the wide canvass of life, the holiest feelings and highest aspirations of mortal man, and some of the sweetest hopes and fondest joys that ever visit the frail tenements of clay, to cheer their solitude, or point to a

house not made with hands! With the bold hand of a master, he delineated the meek or majestic features of all nature, and touched every string of music in the human breast, from its deepest sorrow, to its wildest transport. He spoke, and the buried past lived again—obedient centuries started from their mouldering rest, blazing with the kings and warriors, the lovers and peasants, whose tender devotion had adorned, and whose glorious deeds had illustrated the historic records of their hoary years. He stood, and made the earth one splendid tournament of beauty and chivalry, or turned it into the quiet witchery of peace and loveliness!

And although the genius of Scott was volatile and universal, and his sympathy wide as the sphere of earthly suffering, gilding the recorded recollections of other lands, and embellishing the noble struggles of other peoples, they were still strongly colored with the sober hues of his native sky and brown heath. In any combat his arm was powerful, upon any soil his step was lordly. His beautifying talents and beaming genialty, imparted the interest and animation, of soft and subduing charms, to the peculiar life and striking incident of every race they touched. The generous impulses of his expanding soul, threw the rich and gorgeous drapery of pathos and inspiration, around the proudest dynasties, and the most cherished associations of every age they breathed upon. But his pulse beat with the energetic glow of intenser enjoyment—his bosom throbbed to the kindred melody of a loftier strain,—and his whole and finely fashioned being swelled to the full measure of his highest powers and truest greatness, when he realized the proud exclamation of his own immortal hero—

> "My foot is on my native heath,
> And my name is Mac Gregor."

Scott was a loyal Scotchman—and while the skill of his pencil and the elegance of his composition, would win the admiration of the scholar, the nationality of his feelings and his ambition, assured the devoted worship of the appreciating masses of his countrymen. He was indeed the tutelary genius of Scotland, guarding with flaming sword and vestal vigilance, the beauty of her heritage and the promise of her days.

Breathing over her placid lakes and quiet solitudes, her scented vales and peopled scenes, the imperishable presence and fascination of some precious truth, or some exquisite romance. Investing the place of every fountain with the mystery of a touching legend,—rearing in the conscious bosom of every grove, the honored shrine of a ministering spirit, and making the lowliest clod and the humblest turf sparkle with the dew and divinity of heaven. The orient descriptions of his classic muse are highly vivid, natural and graphic, but the changing scenes and actors of his unequaled romances, start into the full vigor of life, radiant with the flush of animation and the smiles of universal love. His hurried delineations of the sunny face, or clouded brow of all nature are minute, faultless and irresistible, whether in the repose of tranquil musings, or in the tumult of discordant elements. His coloring is now delicate as the purple hues of the rose—now grand as the terrible frown of a highland storm. His chaste and brilliant thoughts, are unclouded mirrors reflecting the eternal truth and hidden wonders of a world, unseen by the "light of common day." His living and significant words are luminous and faithful pictures, true to every pulsation of joy or sorrow—to every outline and lineament of life, and every spring and power of action. All his unnumbered characters, distinct in spirit and individuality, from the sweet simplicity of Annot Lyle, to the rude and mysterious eloquence of Meg Merrilies, from the terrible agonies of Morton, to the heroic enthusiasm of Fergus Mac Ivor, are moulded in feature and proportion, accurate to the unchanging type of common nature—fashioned from the warm clay of human earth, and quickened with the ennobling feelings of human sympathies. They rise up from the calm or troubled waters of the memory, like a vast company of tried and attached friends, enhancing all the sports and pleasures of summer, and unlike summer friends, not forsaking, when the bitter gloom of winter chills the lonely heart. We may take them to the unreserved embrace of the bosom—to the kindred fellowship of the holiest musings—to the pleasing retreats of anxious yearnings, and find in the purity of their thoughts and the elevation of their sentiments, instruction and consolation ;

and the frequent glimpses of a happier future in the prophetic visions of their immortal hopes. The humble and the exalted personages that figure in the mighty drama of his genius, and people the princely stage of his invention, from Waverley to Woodstock, from Baillie Nichol Jarvie at his toiling Loom, to Macbrier in the convulsions of torture, speak the grateful and vernacular language native to the weary and scattered lineage of Adam—clothe all the trials and struggles of their mental and moral being—every condition of present ills, or anticipated good, and the gloom or promise of their destiny, in the genial and graceful apparel of humanity's divine and all pervading spirit. They exemplify with persuasive illustration, the loveliness of the true and the beautiful,—the pure and peaceful joys of virtue and holiness—the deadly fruits of sin, and the swift and certain doom of guilt; and utter in the thrilling energy of impassioned eloquence, the sublime gospel of nature, and the more sublime gospel of man!

The unschooled or the cultivated taste, that gleans nothing from the luxuriant harvest field of Scott's teeming romances, but idle amusement and transient recreation, is either without the inclination, or the capacity to comprehend their mission, or appreciate their worth. Every incident has its lesson of wisdom and charity—and every scene is instinct with the spirit and teachings of some high moral and some generous sentiment. But you may say, surely these scenes and incidents, with all their lessons and morals, cannot be the exemplars of anything great or good, because they are fictitious and unreal. They may be fictitious, but they are not, therefore, unreal or untrue. Man has no power of fancy or reason, to imagine, or create, that, which does not find its echo and foundation in the almost unlimited grasp and compass of his wonderfully and divinely constituted nature. The unusual exhibitions of virtue and love, of energy and power which the soaring imagination, conceives and embodies, in the august and animated forms of unaccustomod sweetness and grandeur, are not the pompous pageantry of genius, but the bright and beautiful reflexes of the tender impulses and longing aspirations which are common to the truest dignity and destiny of

man ! The admiration of ideal loveliness and the sympathy for ideal sorrow, attest with a cloud of witnesses, the glorious truth and mournful reality of that loveliness and sorrow—indicate their close and affianced kindred with the keenest sensibilities and purest affections of human nature, and show, too, that the heaven-born soul, which feels and acknowledges them, has its home, in a better and fairer world!

The living colors of painting—the breathing shapes of sculpture, and the magnificient creations of romance, may indeed be dreams, visions, and shadows. But they are the dreams of a heart warm with the ardor of immortal love—the visions of a spirit yearning after the fruition of higher good, and the shadows of unspeakable and eternal truth and beauty ! The cold face that gleams with the flush of sympathetic smiles, and the rough frame that breaks into the pity of melting tenderness, at the simple and agitating narration of fabricated fortune, or imaginary woe, are all the readier, in the weary procession of life, to brighten at another's fond joy, or to bind up with a strong girdle of soothing and sustaining compassion the bleeding wounds of some crushed heart and broken spirit. The passing charms and tenderness—the gentle emotions and lofty purpose, which wear the delicate symmetry and subduing comeliness of woman, and whisper the story of their divine lineage, in the strains of her attuning voice, are genial as the breath of heaven, and softer than the tints that fret the morning cloud—a clustering group of beaming cheeks and throbbing hearts—an earth-encircling rain-bow of promise and loveliness. From the sad fate and uncomplaining submission of Effie Deans—to the unwearied spirit of Eveline, watching through the lonely hours of the night at the bedside of lingering anguish. From the surpassing beauty and burning enthusiasm of Diana Vernon, with her long hair streaming to the rough winds of the mountain storm—to the heroic fortitude and sublime resignation of Rebecca, the fair daughter of Israel's desolated house, sending up to the listening ear of heaven, from her troubled soul, in the solitude of her gloomy cell as sublime hymn, as ever murmured in holy music from earthly lips ! They are the cherished images of woman's pure love,

and exalted virtues—the fair exemplars of her patient suffering, puissant energy, grand mission and glorious destiny—her whose smile, and voice, and sympathy make home the *heaven* of this world, and life meet to win the *heaven* of the next—her who kneels at the font, stands at the altar and watches at the grave ; cheering and mitigating the trials and sorrows of this brief span of years,

> "Leaving that beautiful, which still is so,
> And making that which is not."

No books, in the history of kindred literature, were ever produced with such wonderful speed, or read with such delight and eagerness. They multiplied like the leaves of the forest, for the healing of all nations. As star follows star, through the parting gleams of fading twilight, and encircles with a glittering host, the silent throne of serene night, tale followed tale, and with the radiance and glory of an equal lustre gathered, in a shining multitude, around the imperial throne of the unknown king of romance. The popular and delightful romances of the great unknown, were now the house-hold-gods of the humble cottage, and more welcome than the face of courtier, at the hearth of rank and royalty. The shrouded mystery that hung over the abode of their paternity, but the more intensely, excited and sharpened the taste and acclamation, that greeted and hailed their advent. It was like the wild flower, that springs up in the untrodden solitudes of the wilderness, blooms and blossoms, unseen, and sends upon the delicate wings of zephyr the delicious witchery of its perfume into the distant habitations of man. Or like the golden harp of Appollo, lying upon a lonely rock in the midst of the vast sea, responding in enchanting tones of the most exquisite melody, to every breath of heaven, that swept in tranquil sport or stormy grandeur, across the heaving bosom of its celestial cords!

Waverley, and the renowned order of his mighty brotherhood, became the most interesting and distinguished palmers and pilgrims of the age, travelling with unresting feet and unsubdued devotion, without staff or scrip, with palms in their hands and songs on their lips, through the wastes of the desert

and over the terrors of the flood, far beyond the horizon of their native heath, and the domains of their native tongue. And they found the generous and changing apparel of a new language in every clime; and upon every shore the hospitality of shelter and the safety of sanctuary. They wore the flowing robes of Tuscan diction; or arrayed themselves in the elegant dialect of the polished court of St. Germain. The peasant girl, sat down upon the vine-clad hills of the lovely and joyous Rhine and forgot the beauties of his fair scenery; and the weariness of her own toil in the deep pathos and thrilling interest, that pervades the melancholy fate and tender devotion of Amy Robsart. The hardy pioneer of expanding civilization, upon the remote banks of the forest-crowned Mississippi, trimmed his rude lamp, when night terminated the perils and labors of the day, to follow with kindred joy and excitement, along his bold career, the adventurous fortunes of Rob Roy. The romantic genius of Scott, seemed capable of exhausting everything but its own immortal energies; and that genius equal to any task, like the wings of that fabled bird, required no rest, and knew no response. He throws the imperishable halo of a truer greatness and glory over the proud dynasty of the lion-hearted plantagenet; or bears in triumph, the glorious standard of the cross, through the burning sands and hard fought fields of Palestine, to rescue from the impious hand of desecration the cherished ruins of fallen man's salvation. Kenilworth towers into a stately monument to the splendid reign of power and magnificence, that rejoiced and expanded beneath the royal and unwomanly smile of Elizabeth. The Abbot scatters with equal fondness, truth and charity, upon the green and untimely grave of her devoted victim, the unfortunate Mary of Scotland, the beauty and fragrance of unfading verdure—her whose life and loveliness were like some wild and romantic brook, meandering gracefully in murmurs of measured cadence, through the fairest and darkest scenes of nature, sparkling in sunshine, or clouded in gloom, yet flowing beautifully on, in gladness or sorrow, till at last, it sinks at noontide, with all its brightness and all its music, into some yawning chasm, and is lost for ever!

The wonderful lamp of this Alladeen of romance burned

still on, with unabated magic and unwaning brilliancy. He was lord, supreme, of an empire, loyal and superb. His storied and picturesque lands stretched almost as far as the fondest hope of ambition; embellished and gladdened with frequent cottages of warm friends, endeared companions, and devoted retainers,—and the majestic pile of Abbotsford, in grand proportions and tasteful architecture, rose in faultless splendor to meet the sun in his coming, or re-echo the last, dying notes of evening's vesper hymn. His home was more dear, joyous, and happy than ever. The fond voice and gentle sympathy of his early love, still charmed and cheered the wide prospect—and the tenderness and affection of a lovely offspring brightened his hearth, and enhanced the possessions of fame and affluence. This venerated spot was the mighty shrine to whose devotion the journeying world was thronging in dense procession, measuring with light and equal step, the rapid flight of each passing hour, and moving to the daily worship of its beneficent spirit, beautified each morning's glad return with lavish offerings of fresh flowers, votive chaplets, and anointed incense.

Kings and princes felt proud in the simplicity of his companionship, and the peasant and illiterate were familiar with his name. The most learned and distinguished men of the age—the ornaments of every science, and of every art, flocked to the princely mansion of Abbotsford, to share the hospitalities of its generous board, and to commune with the genius of its more princely lord! Fortune and glory were equally bountiful and generous. No cloud was in the sky—no thorn marred the freshness of his laurel—no rival haunted his dreams or embittered his cup—no competitor disputed the supreme sovereignty of his sceptre. None could break the spell, or disturb the enchantment of his realm! The acknowledged monarch of the peaceful and splendid empire of romance, he reposed in the conscious security of affection and allegiance, high among the clouds of Olympus, where even the eagle-wing of Byron could never soar, and where the terrible energy of his arm was powerless in combat. In robust manhood, he had the "accompaniments of old age, faith, love, obedience and troops of

friends." The iron of his constitution was still unrusted, and the vigor of his intellect unbroken. From labor he rose unwearied, and from composition unexhausted. Like the returning seasons, he blessed and ornamented the earth with the opening blossoms of spring and the yellow fruits of autumn, and scarcely less spontaneously, or less luxuriantly. How tranquil now, and fair the scene! His onward course of honor and fortune was like the unruffled waters of his own quiet mountain lake, bright, serene and joyous. If its calm surface wore a ripple, it was stirred into motion by the breath of fame —if its clear bosom knew a shadow, it was cast by the stupendous temple, dedicated to his own earthly greatness!

But another change came over the spirit of this dream. The commercial houses with which Scott had formed a partnership, for the publication of his works, failed, and his fortunes and indeed the resources of his wealth, went down together in a fearful crash. But standing amid the fragments of his fortune and renown,—the crumbling ruins of his crushed hopes and blasted anticipations, he was far greater than the Roman Consul, weeping among the broken columns and departed glory of Carthage. He breathed upon the wide waste of dreary desolation, till it smiled again; but it was the ghastly smile of decay and despair. He rose up from this stunning blow, disheartened, but not crushed, and resolved with an unalterable purpose, if mortal strength could accomplish the difficult task, to retrieve his fallen fortunes, and to win back the lost possession of the halls he had built and the domains he had planted. He roused his shattered energies to their utmost tension, and Sampson walked not forth with a firmer step, bearing the ponderous gates of Gaza, than he with the accumulating burthen of disaster and disappointment, on his brawny shoulders, strode into the crowded arena to do battle again. Once more

> "A light on Marmion's visage spread
> And fired his glazing eye,
> With dying hand above his head,
> He shook the fragment of his blade,
> And shouted 'victory.'"

And could the strong man, in his war-harness, win the victory? Could iron will, robust energy and anointed genius,

bring back to that lordly mansion of gloom and lamentation, the light and presence of peace, joy, and happiness, or build over its pride and pomp another arching sky of hope, promise and cloudless splendor? Alas no—never—never! Multiplying trials, cares, troubles, misfortunes and rapidly declining health, interrupted the labors of his study, and dimmed the fires of his inspiration. Domestic grief and paternal sorrows thickened darkly around him. His wife, the tender companion of so many fond years of love and happiness sickened—the delicate tendrils of her stricken heart broke, one by one, till calmly and brightly, as the sunbeam falls upon the frozen cloud, she sank down to the cold embrace of the narrow and silent grave. His children, the unchanging felicity of his prosperity, and now the solace of his overwhelming calamities, were gone—his house was dark and voiceless—his hearth forsaken—his home a desert,—his heart a desolation. And soon he departed, with a world of sweet and bitter memories, from these gloomy objects and darkened recollections, into an exile of unavailing pursuit of health, and recreation. The far lands of renown, that echoed his unelastic step—the unblemished scenes that sprang in loveliness to his vision; the ruins of Pompeii—the grandeur of the Coliseum, and the revelries of the Neapolitan carnival, were all alike unable to relume his glimmering eye, or rekindle the lamp of his wasting spirit. From the gaze of pity and admiration—from the sympathy and blandishments, wakened into their most tender offices, by the melancholy of his woe, and the distinction of his untarnished name—from the sparkling cup of the festive board, and the honors, ovations, and kingly hospitalities of his cheerless journey; he turned gladly away to the blue hills and mountain streams of his own dear, native land, of kindred ties, and cherished graves, and the constant prayer of his soul yearned again for the mournful joy of their familiar presence and sacred companionship. He turned homeward his wandering steps, for in his own striking language the "plough was nearing the end of the furrow." And as he descended the vale of the Gala, when his own towers in the distance burst upon his feeble sight, bringing the endeared memory of other days, a tran-

sient smile came over the dull sadness of his face, and a "cry of delight" broke from the silence of his quivering lips. But the great Poet, Novelist, Historian, and the good and virtuous Man, was not altogether unfortunate, in the last hours of earth, and the last struggles of expiring life. He died, not as Homer and Milton, in the silent anguish of blindness and neglect—not as Dante in the cruel banishment of an unworthy and ungrateful country—not as Byron in a strange land, with no loved voice to whisper comfort in the bitter agonies of torture and despair,—nor as Collins, in the almost friendless misery and destitution of poverty and madness. But he lay down and "wrapped the drapery of his couch about him" in the tranquil bosom of his early and honored home; in the chamber he had reared, and adorned with the remembrance of an ancient and distinguished ancestry—amid the beauty, romance and magnificence of a scenery that had delighted and inspired his existence, and which had in turn been immortalized by his own genius. Surrounded by the tried friends and genial companions of his manhood and fortune, and the imperishable associations of a bountiful charity, an unsullied name, and most distinguished reputation. Around him were the green leaves and perfume of the rose his buried love had planted, and the soft accents and freshness of the low winds, that had soothed the gentle parting of her spirit. With the serene sun-light of his native skies resting on his more serene brow, and the rippling waves of his dearly loved Tweed murmuring in passing music their fond requiem to his dying ear. And with all his children, humbly kneeling around his bed, in the sorrow and holiness of earnest and confiding prayer, his mighty heart broke: and its pure and immortal intelligences, swelled beyond the measure of their earthly tenements, to wing their rapid way from this sad and weary life, to the calm repose of some lovelier rest; and WALTER SCOTT sank down to the quiet sleep of an honored grave, a cherished memory, and a deathless fame—

"And now 'tis silent all, enchanter fare thee well."

Chambersburg, Pa. G. W. B.

Art. V.—INAUGURATION ADDRESSES.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY THE REV. SAMUEL BOWMAN, D. D.

Ladies and Gentlemen—Gentlemen of the Board—The Faculty and the Undergraduates of Franklin and Marshall College:

We are assembled to-day, on an occasion most interesting to us all. We are here to inaugurate the first President of Franklin and Marshall College—to usher in, with due solemnities, an event which cannot be without the deepest interest to you, Mr. President, as well as to the Institution over which you are called to preside.

The mere man of business—the devotee of pleasure—the ambitious politician—the Gallios who care for none of these things—will pass us by this day, heedless of us and of the occasion that brings us together. What are matters of learning and education to them? Yet it is none the less true, that next to pure and undefiled Religion, there is no interest that stands so nearly connected with our social, domestic and political welfare, as that of sound and thorough Education.

In countries, where the people are forbidden to think for themselves, or at least to use and utter their thoughts, there seems little use comparatively of enlightening the popular mind, since it would only reveal the more clearly to them, the chains of their despotism, whether religious or political—without enabling them to break or throw them off. But in a country like ours, where—in theory at least—the people rule, the capacity to think for themselves, is indispensable to the due exercise of the right. Their own intelligence must be the sentinel of their Libertics and Laws. Nor is it possible, otherwise, that they should discriminate wisely measures that look only to their country's good, and those that have no object, but the interests of a party, or to reward some political favorite.

Here is the rock on which, if ever, the fortunes of this country, are likely to suffer shipwreck. We can perish only through our own fault, or by our own hands. Let us to ourselves be true, and the free inssitutions of this land may descend to a thousand generations. But, virtue and intelligence in the people, are indispensable to continuance and stability in the Government. When the nation shall have ceased to understand its rights, or lost the virtue to defend them, the step to a downfall is a very short and certain one. Nor will the world have much cause to mourn the overthrow of a people, too blind to understand its own good, or too pusillanimous to defend it. To save us from so shameful a catastrophe, there is no way but to cherish the principles of virtue and to scatter the seeds of knowledge among the people—that they may know how to distinguish between those who will serve the country for the country's sake—and the wretched demagogues, who talk of patriotism, only the better to conceal their own selfish design.

It is not Education, however, simply, that I contend for. It is sanctified Education, Education refined and elevated by religious influence. And I am happy to know, that the Institution—one of whose solemnities draws us hither to day—looks to this as one of its guiding principles or ends. And you, Mr. President,—allow me to say—and the Rev. gentlemen associated with you, have no legitimate place in a Seminary of education, except as along with the seeds of human learning, you aim to implant also, the infinitely more important truths of revealed religion. Nor need the best friends of this Institution care how soon it perishes down to its foundation stone, when Christian voices cease to be heard, and Christian influences to prevail in it. May those who shall hereafter rule its destinies, never consent to the divorce of learning and religion—or permit the separation here of what God has joined together—the enlightening of the understanding and the cultivation of the heart.

To you, Mr. President, and to the learned Faculty around you, the community looks for these results—looks, that the minds committed to your charge, should be trained in the ways of heavenly truth, as well as in the paths of human learning.

And I believe, that popular favor, as well as the blessing of God, will attend this College just in proportion as this principle is observed or lost sight of.

In the name of the Trustees of Franklin and Marshall College—in the name of this whole community, I bid you welcome, Sir, to the honorable post whose Inaugural solemnities we are now celebrating. We give you our sympathy in advance. Our best wishes meet you at the threshold, and shall attend you on your course. We know the arduousness of the duties that will rest upon you—the difficulties that you will have to encounter—the discouragements that you must nerve yourself to bear. For with ten thousand blessings to thank God for, zeal, I am sorry to say, either for learning or religion, is, unhappily, too little characteristic of us as a community. But, *ne cede malis.* You are working in a glorious cause. The noblest of all employments is yours—which is to mould and fashion the minds committed to your care—to fit them for the service of their country and their race—and above all, to prepare them for that better world, where tongues shall cease and human knowledge vanish away.

To accomplish this, I need not say, Sir, that not only *your* energies, but the energies of those around you, will be taxed to the utmost. In all great enterprises—and I know few greater, than to establish firmly, and to conduct successfully, a Seminary of real learning—in all great enterprises, the secret of success lies in mutual counsel and hearty co-operation. There may be the mind to conceive—the heart to dare—and the hand to execute. But without zealous coöperation and support, no man can accomplish much. Nor will you take it as any disparagement, Sir, if I say, that the success of your efforts here will depend materially, *first*, on the energetic support of the Faculty who are to labor with you; and, *next*, on the manifestation of that spirit of docility, subordination and reverence for Law in the under-graduates, which will be their highest honor here, and the best omen of an honorable career hereafter.

But whilst freely reminding you, Sir, and those around you, of what we expect at your hands, we must not forget our own

responsibilities. You have a right to look to the Board for cordial and efficient support. It is *their* business to see that this enterprise neither drags nor fails through any narrow, stinted or penurious policy. Nothing extensively good or lastingly useful, can be accomplished without means and diligence, and persevering effort. And either, we should never have entered upon this scheme—or we should let no conquerable difficulty keep us from carrying it through. And if, in the end, more zeal should be required on the part of the Board, than they have ever yet shown—more effort than they have ever yet put forth—more funds than have yet been contributed—you have a right, Sir, to expect that the emergency should be vigorously and effectually met. There are enough pale and sickly Colleges already scattered over the land. Let us not add to the number. And whilst you, Sir, and the learned gentlemen associated with you, are laboring in your respective posts of duty, let us hope that the Board and the community will not fail in any amount of watchfulness, of effort, or of means, that may be necessary for the accomplishment of an enterprise which it will be their glory to have originated and carried through—their shame and dishonor, if they suffer it to languish and die.

Once more, Mr. President, and not to delay longer the main business of this occasion, I repeat the welcome, I have already expressed to you. And I am sure, I shall have the hearty response of the Board, as well as of this assembly, when I pray, for yourself, for a long and honorable career of usefulness in the post of duty upon which you are now entering; and for the Institution over which you preside, that through coming years, it may be the mother of many sons, whom God and their country will delight to honor.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY REV. EMANUEL V. GERHART, A. M.

THE VITAL PRINCIPLE OF COLLEGE EDUCATION.

It has been said, the highest study of man, is man himself. To some minds the proposition may come with the force of a self-evident truth. But the question arises, Is man the highest being? Is reason the source of truth? Is logical reasoning the principle of sound philosophy? Does human will determine, or even modify any department of natural or moral science? To every question an answer must be given in the negative. The proposition must give way to another that is at once both philosophical and Christian. It is this. The highest study of man, is God; God in nature, God in man, God in history, and, above all, God in Christ. Here is the fundamental truth. All beings possess only a relative existence. God is absolute. All conceptions and ideas are limited in their nature and relations. The idea of God and its postulates are all-embracing and eternal. To the apprehension of these man struggles to rise, turning away instinctively from all others as inadequate to the satisfaction of the first and strongest aspirations of his being. To look at any department of nature, therefore, or at man himself, as involving subjects of reflection that can fix or satisfy the innate longings of reason, implies the controlling influence of a radical falsehood.

In acknowledgment of this general view have the majority of Colleges and Universities in Europe and America been established. To what extent they have always been true to their obligations, it is not now our place to enquire. I pass on to add, that the same idea has originated and given a distinctive character to the College, of which the Board of Trustees has now formally constituted me the President. Hence, though I could not but with diffidence pass through the significant ceremonies of this day, I nevertheless experience a sensible plea-

sure in assuming a trust that I feel to be in accordance with the most solemn vows that, as a minister of the Gospel, bind my conscience.

"Franklin College was created by the Legislature as far back as the year 1787, with special reference to the interest of education and learning among the German population of the State. To secure this object, the charter provided that the Board of Trustees should be composed always of three equal interests or divisions, one representing the Lutheran Church, another the German Reformed Church, and a third, the community at large, on the outside of these two long established German confessions. Owing to circumstances which the Board had no power to control, the original purpose of the institution could never be carried into full effect. It remained at most a grammar school or academy rather than an actual college; and in this character its advantages, in the nature of the case, became local altogether, instead of general. It belonged to Lancaster more than to the German interest of Pennsylvania. In the meantime, however, its funds were increasing in value, and forming a solid foundation for some more comprehensive and efficient scheme of instruction, such as its charter was felt all along to contemplate and require. It was evidently necessary at the same time, if any such enterprize was to succeed, that it should go forward in some way under the auspices of one or the other, if not both, of the German confessions, which divided between them already two-thirds of the corporate rights and powers of the institution."

It is not necessary to enter further upon the particulars of its history. These facts are cited to exhibit two points as true beyond dispute. Franklin College originated in a desire to promote thorough *Christian* education among the *Germans* of Pennsylvania. To secure these objects without fail, the charter placed the management of the Institution in the hands of men, who were pledged by their religious vows to respect, in the administration of its affairs, the revealed truths of Christianity as well as the demands of science.

Marshall College had a similar origin. As early as the year 1816, the Synod of the German Reformed Church, deep-

ly impressed with the increasing want of educated ministers, took some initiatory steps towards establishing a Theological Seminary. Owing to various obstacles, however, the Seminary was not opened until the Spring of 1825. Rev. Lewis Mayer, D. D., was the first Professor of Theology. Located at Carlisle, an arrangement was effected by which the students had the privilege of pursuing the study of the arts in Dickinson College. Four years afterwards, in 1829, the Synod transplanted the Seminary to York, Pa., and in September, 1831, opened, in connection with it, an academy of Arts and Science, known as the High School of York. The High School originated in the felt necessity to give students of Theology a thorough, classical education, preparatory to entering the Theological Seminary. It was the child of the Church; established, conducted and sustained as subordinate in its aims to the higher interests of Christianity. At the same time, however, the Institution was open alike to all who might wish to share its literary advantages. In September, 1832, the Rev. F. A. Rauch, D. P., a graduate of the University of Marburg, was appointed Principal, and began his labors the same year. Under the direction of so learned and finished a scholar, the High School soon acquired a substantial reputation and grew in numbers and efficiency. Yet its prosperity was seriously impeded for want of suitable buildings, and sufficient funds. Favorable overtures having been made by the citizens of Mercersburg, it was located in that village in the Fall of 1835; and during the ensuing winter became a College, in virtue of a charter obtained from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, under the name of Marshall College. Rev. Dr. Rauch was unanimously chosen the first President. Marshall College was simply a natural development of the High School opened at York; the High School grew out of the Theological Seminary; and the Theological Seminary originated in the wants of the Reformed Church.

I have thus given a brief sketch of Franklin and of Marshall College, in order to bring out their ruling idea. The nature of their origin, their spirit, and general design are one and the same. It is to advance thorough education in the

Arts and Sciences on the true basis of faith in Christ, with special reference to the wants of the German population. Not that their founders and patrons intend, that any narrow, illiberal religious notions shall ever curb the ardor of literary and scientific investigation or restrain the freedom of sound philosophic disquisition; neither art nor science can ever grow, if clothed in the strait-jacket of traditional prejudices. But the ruling idea is, that the highest revelation of undoubted truth is at hand, in the person of Jesus Christ, who sustains an internal relation to all departments of science as really as He does to the structure of the Bible; and a thorough system of intellectual culture, conducted upon a sound philosophical basis, will, as a necessary consequence, be subordinate to the progress of our most holy religion.

With the more recent events that resulted in the consolidation of these two separate Literary Institutions, you are all familiar. It were superfluous to dwell on them. One thing, however, deserves special notice. Franklin and Marshall College, uniting the character, history, resources and trust of both, has been organized to accomplish more effectually the purpose for which each was originally established. It must be true to the design of the Founders of Franklin College. Young men must be freely admitted from both German Churches, as well as from the community in general. Instruction in the Christian religion must be regularly imparted to the students; and the tenor of that instruction must harmonize with the catholic faith of the Protestant Church. The tenets of a narrow denominationalism, as well as the self-contradictory errors of infidelity, or materialism, must forever be excluded. On the other hand, the anglo-German character of Marshall College must be maintained. The philosophy, at once profound, comprehensive and Christian, that has been taught from her rostrum and has cast the minds of her Alumni in a mould of its own, must keep its place and continue to exert its transforming influence upon society and the Church. Whatever has been peculiar to her character and history, must live on in undiminished freshness and power. The consolidated Institution, thus blending together the characteristics of the original

separate Colleges into a symmetrical and consistent whole, will accomplish its mission, in its relation to the German Reformed Church, to the German population of America, and to the city and county of Lancaster.

I propose, accordingly, to occupy the remaining time allotted to the solemnities of Inauguration, with an effort to unfold more particularly the genius of Franklin and Marshall College; presuming that the subject will naturally awaken a lively interest in the hearts of all its patrons and friends. To do so most effectually, I shall discuss a more general question, namely, *The vital principle of College Education*, the principle which this Institution embodies and stands pledged to maintain.

By a vital principle, I mean one that determines the internal structure and government of a College, that gives a position and assigns relative importance, to the different branches of study belonging to the course; one, that originates the general spirit in which all subjects are investigated and taught, and proposes the ultimate end for the attainment of which they are all pursued; one, that thus forms the prevailing habit of thought and feeling in relation to Science, Literature, Philosophy and Religion, and in consequence shapes the entire character, and directs the entire practical influence of a Literary Institution of the highest class. Such a principle is vital. Every College must have it, in order to be efficient; in order to possess unity of design and produce harmonious action. At a single glance it can be seen, that according as this general element be true or false, must the effect upon the condition and prospects of society be good or bad. For, aside from the Christian Church, there is evidently no influence so deep and far-reaching in its effects upon the spirit and form of social life, as that which goes out from the educational Institutions of the land and particularly from those of the highest order. It becomes, therefore, a matter of the utmost moment to enquire into the truth.

What is, then, this vital principle? Is it a complete course of study, including the classic Languages, Mathematics, History, Logic, Aesthetics, and the whole compass of Natural,

Mental, Political and Moral Science? In reply, it will suffice to say, that the formation and tendency of so complete a course, does not depend on itself. Whether it shall promote faith in God or unbelief, whether materialistic or scriptural views of mankind, whether it shall undermine or support the granite pillars on which the social fabric rests, depends upon the point of moral observation from which each department, and all taken together, is surveyed. It is like a beautiful steel blade, gleaming in the uplifted hand of a strong man, that may be brandished to defend his helpless wife and children from the touch of a foe, or to drink the warm blood of their confiding hearts. There is something of a more comprehensive nature at work than the extensive routine of regular instruction; an invisible but potent force, lying back of the outward and complete form, decides the moral tendency of a College. Just as little does the true principle consist in giving special prominence to some one branch of the course and regarding all others as subordinate and tributary to it. The relative importance of any one cannot be determined by an arbitrary assumption. The several departments of human science are collateral to each other, sustaining a common relation to something broader and deeper than themselves, taken singly or collectively, in which they are all alike grounded. A true principle embraces this common ground. But an assumption of one, as the principle of the rest, ignores and violates the objective order of these several departments; and, if not traceable to mere arbitrariness, ought to be regarded as the consequence of some reigning system of thought, which system is in each instance itself in reality the regulating principle.

The question may be examined under another aspect. A philosophic view of human nature reveals the necessity of a symmetrical evolution and discipline of all its capacities and faculties. Man is an organic totality, uniting in himself a great number and variety of parts, all of which are pervaded by one common life. Guided by a scientific view of his constitution, we can apprehend the normal relation of his various faculties and capacities; and discover a principle, which, like a secret spring, affects every part of his nature in due proportion. But

we cannot assume one capacity or faculty arbitrarily, and, in its light, judge of all the rest. It is just as unphilosophical to subject a man's life strictly to knowledge, as it is to subject it to feeling—just as fatal to his interest to subordinate his belief and conduct entirely to his understanding, as it is to subject them to his desires and passions. Any Institution of Learning, accordingly, that selects Mathematics, or the Natural Sciences, or Philosophy, or any other branch of Education, as its principle by which it determines its order, fixes its aims and measures the relative value of other pursuits, is based upon a defective system, and can never produce results that are commensurate with the wants of the human race.

There is another view prevalent, which it is in place to notice. Many argue, that the great defect in the existing systems of education, is a want of thorough and complete training. Let all the powers of body and mind be unfolded with care and in due proportion; let all ranks and classes, from the lowest to the highest, be thus thoroughly educated; then will the prevalence of peace, joy and hope convert earth into a Paradise. The evils of society result either from ignorance or from an abnormal process of intellectual training, by which the proper balance of body and mind, of feeling and judgment, of passion and reason, is destroyed. The true principle of education is a wisely matured system of complete development of human nature, the application of which embraces the masses as well as all the higher classes of society.

This theory has not a few advocates. But is it true? It has indeed a plausible aspect, but it cannot endure scrutiny. Moral evil is a slumbering energy that lies imbeded in the core of every man's heart. It awakes with his self-consciousness, grows with his growth, strengthens with his strength, expands with the development of reason, and spreads with the diffusion of knowledge. The progress and the general diffusion of science, do no more than open new channels through which its virus may flow. Like the shadow of a projecting rock, it becomes visible and distinct, in proportion as the light of the sun increases in brilliancy. Moral evil does not result from ignorance or from defective and perverted systems of education.

But the opposite is true. Ignorance and false systems of edudation result from the influence of moral evil. Whatever is wrong or improper or disproportionate in any department of the social economy argues the presence of moral evil, as anterior in its operation to every species of disorder. Every species of disorder must, therefore, be regarded as being only a legitimate effect of moral evil. To confirm these positions fully, it were only necessary to examine the testimony of history. In every age of the world, those men, cities and nations, other things being the same, afford the most revolting exhibitions of vice, that possess the highest degree of intellectual culture and polish. Indeed the progress of empires in this kind of one-sided civilization, has always been a steady advance towards general corruption, anarchy and final dissolution. The theory that education, as such, however thorough and general it may be, has a tendency to elevate individuals or communities, or to better the condition of the world, is rotten at the core. It cannot stand the test of history, philosophy or religion.

In consequence, every Common School, Academy, College or University, that proceeds upon the false principle, that thorough discipline of the intellect is sufficient to elevate man, is a source of wide-spread evil. Unless its working is effectually counteracted by some other neutralizing and healthful influences, the baneful effect will, in every instance, be seen and felt both in Church and State. A generation or two may pass away, or even a century, before the bitter fruit of unchristian intellectualism fully ripens, but ripen it certainly will, sooner or later.

I return to the question: What is the vital principle of College Education? The correct answer is, not moral suasion, not religious instruction, not theological science, not belief in the Bible, but *a positive faith in Jesus Christ.* Here lies the germ of all correct thinking—the golden thread on which every pearl of philosophy and gem of poetry must be strung to enrich and adorn the brow of man. Other principles are good and true only in as far as their nature and operation are determined by this one.

To make good my position, is the matter that will now claim

attention. As I am addressing, not an assemblage of sceptics or infidels, but a body of professing Christians, it is both allowable and becoming to assume several important points. They are these. Matter is not eternal. It had a beginning. God is a self-existent, absolute being. The universe, including the material and immaterial, is not an emanation, but a creation. The Old and New Testaments are a true revelation of God to man. The person and work of Christ constitute the basis or centre of all Bible truth. These are primary principles of reasoning. An attempt to verify them would divert me from the design of this address.

In entering upon a train of argument to set forth the truth of the general proposition laid down, it is necessary, in the first place, to distinguish clearly between the objective world and the subjective world, between the macrocosm and the microcosm. These are two different objects of contemplation; yet the nature and laws of both correspond. The one is the complement of the other. It is important to get a distinct view of each, and then to compare them together, in order to reach the true ultimate principle of education.

By the objective world is meant the universe itself including man and all rational creatures, as contradistinguished from the conceptions which man forms of it, and from the nature of logical thinking in general. A superficial survey of the illimitable collection of things around us, might suggest the opinion that it is an immense mass of confusion; or that, whilst various orders of life are perceptible, these orders themselves are nevertheless in a state of unavoidable and unending conflict. But upon a closer inspection, we discover the universe to be composed of innumerable systems, of one or the other of which every object forms a part, from the loftiest mountain to a grain of sand, or from the Mastodon down to the smallest animalculæ that live by millions in a single drop of water. The separate action of these systems is not only nicely adjusted, the one to the other, but there is also an internal relation existing between each and all the rest, in virtue of which every single object constitutes a green leaf, and every system a living branch of one vast organism.

As an illustration we may select any object. If we begin with the edge of a leaf, we trace its connection with the stem; from the stem we come to the twig; from the twig to the branch; from the branch to the trunk, the roots, its nutritive elements, the soil, the earth, moisture, light and heat. Various links of communication connect the tree and all other objects, whether in the vegetable, mineral or animal kingdom. An intimate connection exists also between it and man. Its color addresses his eye; the rustling sound of its waving branches addresses his ear; its solid, massive structure offers his hand the needed material to ply the mechanic arts; its continual exhalations, and the gases produced when in a state of decomposition, affect the atmosphere which he takes into his lungs; its fruit addresses his taste, and becomes by digestion and assimilation part and parcel of his own body; and through the direct influence of the body on the mind, affects the activity of reason itself. Through man, the tree sustains a relation to the subordinate purposes as well as to the final end for which he exists. There must, consequently, be a vital correspondence between the laws that regulate the growth of a tree and those that regulate the growth of a man; just as there is between a tree and the animal, or between a tree and the earth, the sun and the planets.

An illustration might as well start with any other of the countless objects around us; with a quadruped or an insect, with a tornado or a breeze, a massive rock or a grain of sand, an Alpine glacier or a drop of the ocean, the sun or a star; and by pursuing a similar course of reflection we would arrive at the same conclusion.

But we can adopt a different and more satisfactory mode of reasoning. Starting as before, with the conception of a tree, we may reason either analytically or synthetically, that is, we can rise to a more general or descend to a less general conception. Adopting the analytical method, we ascend from the tree to the conception of a vegetable, the genus, of which it is a species, a conception which embraces not only every class of trees, but every object also that possesses life, but is destitute of feeling. The conception of a vegetable thus excludes

the mineral, the animal and the human kingdoms. But we discover the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms to be collateral branches of some more general force that is present in all alike and invests them with certain common attributes. Therefore we rise to another superior conception. It is that of nature or irrational being. Now, by a single view, we take in the whole compass of objects, destitute of reason, whether animate or inanimate. We have gained a comprehensive conception, to which the mineral, the vegetable and the animal are subordinate in the sense in which moss, grass, herb and tree are subordinate to the vegetable, or oak, pine, fig and poplar are to the tree. But we cannot stop here. Irrational being implies the existence of rational beings. Further reflection discloses the faet that these two conceptions are two collateral branches of another one more general still than either, from which both have sprung; and we are irresistibly led back to the idea of created being or creature. Nor can we stop here. Creature implies Creator. Relative being implies absolute being—the most general of all possible conceptions.

Following this retrogressive method of generalization, it matters not where we begin. Begin as we may; with a granite rock, or a coral reef, with Niagara or a blade of grass, a rail-road or a sewing-machine, with Man himself, or a single hair that grows on his head; and the objective relations of things, every where attracting the investigation of reason, carries us back, step by step, from species to genus, until we come inevitably to the last ground of all on which the universe rests.

Reason has now reached the ultimate conception, to which the world of mind and the world of matter, rational and irrational being, embracing an infinite variety of genera, species and individuals in a descending scale of creation down even to the lowest orders of spirit and the minutest particles of matter, sustain a common relation of dependence and subordination. It can go no further. Its nature is satisfied; for it comprises all possible forms of existence under a single generic thought.

The last ground, the absolute being, is God. Taking now a theistic view of the objective world, the conviction forces itself

upon us, that this vast organism is not an accidental arrangement, nor the result of a blind fate, nor an immense mass of matter in which an infinite power, pervading all its parts, lives and works, as does the soul in the body of a man, but that it is a fixed order established and controlled by an omnipresent divine will. As we move along the scale of being, each subordinate system of things, organic or inorganic, is found to be a subordinate system of uniform divine law; and all systems taken together, constitute one grand divine order, whose endless ramifications, above, beneath, within and around us, carry its activity to every infinitessimal atom, on earth and in heaven, where it performs its function as an integral part of a stupendous whole. Thus a boundless variety of glorious forms manifests the one, all-sustaining, all-regulating will of God, its wisdom, power and love. Every law of life is but that will in the form of an unchangeable constitution. The laws of the vegetable kingdom are the will of God determining the vegetable to be what it is. The laws of the human body, the laws of the human soul, are the will of God in the constitution of humanity. A similar view must be taken as regards every other object. At all points the presence and activity of God are plainly seen. His omnipotent will utters itself. We conclude, therefore, that the grand system of law, active every where in the objective world, embodies and actualizes one sublime idea of the absolute I Am. And there is a deep sense in which the sound scientific theist can perceive the presence of the Almighty, in the murmur of a brook, in the song of a bird, in the delicate tints of a flower, in the twinkling of a planet, in the pulsations of his own heart, or in the mysterious petrifactions that are dug from the bowels of the earth. The invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.

We have now come to a turning point in the argument. When we contemplate the diversified objects and apparently antagonistic systems of which the objective world is composed, Science and Theism both lead us back, as by so many clear lines of light, until we get the conception of an Infinite Unit.

Until we reach this point we cannot stop. That is to say, God is the last ground of all knowledge. Any contents of consciousness, to be either satisfactory or really philosophical, must be traced back through successive links of a living connection, to Him, who is the self-existent personal Creator, and the all-pervading spirit. To ignore this divine fact, in the prosecution of any study, is to do a certain kind of violence to the demands of science and the laws of reason. The result, however, does not yet establish the principle of College education, for which I contend. Let us pursue the enquiry.

Questions like these may now be put. What is God? What are his attributes? What is his true relation to matter? What is his true relation to man? What is man's relation to God? To these enquiries nature responds, indeed, but in very obscure language. The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handy work. The soul responds too, but looking in upon himself it sees a mysterious depth that it attempts in vain to fathom. The Gentiles show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another. Man cannot comprehend himself; how shall he comprehend God? He needs something more than the responses of nature, of his own soul or of history. With all the light they can shed on his path, he still gropes in darkness, unable to quiet the longings of his heart, or to satisfy the wants of philosophy. Reason is depressed and groans, looking for a higher revelation. That higher revelation—the desire of all nations—has come, and is at hand in Jesus Christ, who is the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person. He that hath seen me, says our Lord, hath seen the Father. To know the character and will of God, it is essential to know the person of Christ. The knowledge of Christ is the knowledge of God.

Assuming—as it is proper to do—the genuineness of the Sacred Scriptures, and with it the truth of Christianity, we are necessarily brought to a conclusion of vital importance. If God be the last ground of the universe and the basis of all knowledge; if a dominant tendency of reason to search every

where for the principle of a thing, no matter what be the subject of investigation, pushes all metaphysical reflection onward to the recognition of an absolute being; if history and observation prove all natural forms of revelation to have utterly failed in satisfying the wants of the profoundest philosophy and the painful longing of fallen humanity; and if Jesus Christ be the most complete and only true revelation of God, then it must follow, that, not God as such, but God in Christ, is the ultimate ground of all logical reasoning and all correct systems of Education. Christ is the eye of the universe. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. By Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist; for it pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell. The revealer of God, Christ reveals the deepest sense of nature in all her parts, of man in all his relations and of history in all its periods. He thus becomes the norm of all intuitional ideas, and of all correct ratiocination. Not only is the meaning of the Christian religion concentrated in Him, but in Him also does every branch of Science complete itself. In other words, it may be said, that the great variety of sciences are so many different circles, one lying within the other, of which Jesus Christ is the centre, His light and power, like radii, penetrating and binding them all together, into one compact body. The conclusion, then, to which we come, is this. The true principle of the objective world is Christ.

Here we find solid footing in defence of our general proposition. Yet it does not of itself suffice. Not Christ as such, but a positive faith in Jesus Christ, is the vital principle of College education. We proceed, therefore, in the next place, to examine the subjective world, namely, human consciousness, or the internal nature of man.

The office of reason is to evolve consciousness; a consciousness of self, of the objective world, and of God. Omitting a definition of consciousness, as not being called for in the prem-

ises, we enquire: What is the first form of the activity of reason, in process of development? We reply, it is not knowledge, not logical thinking, but it is *faith*. Faith is not the attribute of the religionist or the Christian exclusively, but it is a capacity belonging to mankind universally, asserting its presence and dominion in every human being in spite of cold reflection or stern volition to the contrary. It is equally powerful in youth, in manhood and in old age. The little child, by a spontaneous act of its nature, confides in the bosom, the hand, the eye, the voice of its mother; and this instinctive confidence is the condition of physical and intellectual growth. The prattling boy receives all the accents of his father's lips as undoubted verities without a moment's hesitation. He imitates the sound of letters, syllables and words, repeats the names of objects, and conforms to the manners and habits prevailing around him. Otherwise the boy could not acquire knowledge, nor learn to think; he would never become a man.

The same thing holds true in regard to all elementary education. It begins in the implicit reliance of the pupil in the ability and integrity of the Teacher. Certain elements of knowledge are communicated by the Teacher, and received by the pupil as the starting points, or germs and material, of thought. In the course of time the activity and results of faith enable the learner to reflect and judge for himself.

The same thing holds true in a higher sphere. As reason dawns under the influence of faith, so does its noon-day light emanate from the same source. Examine the nature of any science or of philosophy in general. Where does it begin? Not in logical proof, nor in the results of induction, but in what is called a principle. Call it a self-evident proposition, an intuitive perception, a fundamental fact or an axiom; it does not matter, the thing is the same. Every science begins in something that reason accepts as true without proof. On it the whole structure of a theory or system depends. Indeed, the most rigid process of logical demonstration has no validity or force whatever, but that which is derived from a first principle. The force of logic is based upon faith.

Let us examine the question more particularly. The prin-

ciple of Mental Philosophy, for example, is self-consciousness. But who can demonstrate self-consciousness? The very first step, any one might take in an attempt to prove it, would itself involve a contradiction. For every process of reasoning proceeds upon the assumption that man is conscious of himself. To doubt it would put an end to all metaphysical enquiry.

So it is with Mathematics—the science that professes to accept no proposition unless its truth has been demonstrated by an unbroken chain of the closest reasoning. But on what does the long, beautiful chain hang? Not on a demonstration; but on axioms—self-evident propositions—propositions that shine by their own light. Reason never searches or asks for proof; but perceiving their truth by intuition, accepts them unhesitatingly, and makes the force of every part of a solution of any problem depend on them. The whole process of logical demonstration is in fact only a consistent development of these first principles. Take them away, or refuse to believe them, until they are proved, and by one stroke all the triumphs of accurate mathematical calculation are reduced to a nullity. In other words, the science of pure logical demonstration rests upon a foundation, the truth of which, reason acknowledges without a particle of demonstration. That is to say, reason believes self-authenticating truth. In the light and strength of this faith, the proud science of applied as well as of pure Mathematics, has grown to its present stately and symmetrical proportions.

An objection may be raised on the ground that the solution of a problem, as well as the numerous tangible results of Mathematics, demonstrate or prove the truth of its first principles. I give the objection a positive denial; for there exists no such thing as it alleges. Logically speaking, nothing can prove a first principle. Those who think so deceive themselves by an abuse of language; by employing the same word in two different senses. They mean to say that a demonstration verifies a principle. Verification and proof are by no means identical. Verification begins by assuming the truth of a principle. Then a course of logical application to one or any number of cases, evinces the consistency of the principle with itself, and

its agreement with other known facts. The result confirms our belief. Any correct principle may thus be verified, whether in morals or religion. The fundamental facts of Christianity may be sustained by as forcible a kind of argument as the axiomatic truths of Mathematics.

Logical proof, on the other hand, is an entirely different mental process. Proof begins with the admission that the truth of the thesis, or proposition to be proven, is unknown and cannot be received, until it appears in the form of a conclusion deduced from certain premises. The process must show one thing to be true: namely, that a given particular is included in a certain general subject. It takes two things for granted: that a certain general predicate belongs to the general subject, the proposition being a fundamental fact; and that it is proper to attribute to the particular subject the predicate of the general to which this particular belongs, as oak does to tree or quadruped to animal. Reason then deduces. It draws out a new, previously unknown proposition, from these premises, in which the predicate of the general subject stands as the predicate of the given particular. This new proposition Logic calls a conclusion; and it contains the thesis. The truth of the conclusion becomes evident by the process of proof; and the whole force of the process hinges on the fundamental fact. The conclusion may *verify* the fundamental fact or proposition; but the fundamental fact serves to *prove* the conclusion. Hence we see that reason always pre-supposes the certain existence of a first principle before it enters upon the train of thought which is called proof. We see also that to prove a proposition by a process that takes it for granted, is self-contradictory and therefore absurd. So is any serious attempt to establish an axiomatic truth in Mathematics, or the fundamental principle of any science by logical proof. It involves a direct contradiction.

The correctness of my position is evident. Logic cannot *prove* an axiom. It must be believed before logic can have any force. The same mode of reasoning holds true in relation to any science. The progress of the Natural Sciences depends upon induction.' Each department of the natural world is

subjected to careful analysis. A certain number of particulars indicate and establish a general fact. But not to speak of certain general principles that regulate every process of induction, I simply mention that Natural Science everywhere assumes the veracity of the senses, and through them the existence of matter, facts that logic can never demonstrate. That school of sceptics that is disposed to deny it, stultify themselves.

I refer to but one other Science, that of Theology. Theology does not begin with the proof of the existence of a divine being, but with a firm faith that God is and has revealed himself in Christ. Only in the light of such a faith does this absolutely first one of all facts receive its most complete and satisfactory confirmation. To doubt the divine existence for a moment and then attempt to demonstrate it by any kind of argument to the satisfaction of reason, implies a palpable logical absurdity. But I have not time to discuss the question.

The point at issue is incontrovertible. The Sciences begin in principles, in fundamental facts, that reason receives as undoubted truths without a demonstration. But we can go further still. Not only does every correct system of philosophy begin in facts, but also every erroneous system—all forms of thinking begin here, whether true or false, Christian or infidel, theistic or atheistic. An erroneous system of philosophy is developed by reasoning logically from a false hypothesis, or by reasoning logically from a fundamental fact. In either case the beautiful structure rests on a foundation that has not been laid by the logical understanding. In virtue of its capacity for faith, reason recognizes it as real without a demonstration and then proceeds to build. What is a false hypothesis? Some fundamental error assumed as truth—something, incidentally suggested, that appears to be self-evident, and is used as a principle from which a logical train of thinking develops a regular system. Human nature having fallen from perfect righteousness into a state of depravity, both its intellectual and moral action is perverse, a false hypothesis may as really be the object of faith as a fundamental truth. In the one case faith may be called negative, in the other, positive. Hence

unbelief itself is nothing more or less than a false kind of faith. It seizes upon a bald negation as the truth, and holds it without proof in defiance of all opposing argument. Examine Atheism itself, the most absurd of all forms of error. How does it begin? An ancient profound philosopher replies: The fool hath said in is heart: There is no God. *Hath said in his heart.* Atheism starts with an arbitrary, negative assumption, an assumption that no sane believer in such a theory would ever endeavor to prove. Abjuring all faith in God as irrational, the atheist nevertheless in the very act of abjuration exercises faith in the contradictory opposite proposition, a cold, empty, abstraction, the figment of a disordered brain.

What now is the unavoidable inference? Man's capacity for faith and the exercise of it, is a part of his intellectual and moral constitution; not only a part of it, but the beginning of all true or false ratiocination; the first form and act of reason, that absolutely conditions all subsequent acts. In some form or other, it precedes, and imparts validity to all rational reflection and all real knowledge. Faith sustains the same relation to scientific thinking and to the common affairs of life, that the germ of an acorn does to the trunk, limbs, twigs and foliage of an oak. A man can as little rid himself of the influence of this feature of his being, as a tree can of the sap that circulates from the roots to the top-most leaf. I may call it the womb of all forms of consciousness. As every individual must, according to the established order of nature, begin to live in embryo, so must every developed intellect, every rational opinion and every system of thought, be conceived in the matrix of faith. Twist and writhe, flounder and rage as he please, a man must and will always believe, in spite of himself, before he can think; as certainly as individual existence precedes any act of feeling, consciousness or will.

At this stage of the argument it is proper to recur to what has already been established. God in Christ is the fundamental truth of the objective world. He is its absolute principle. From the course of enquiry pursued in relation to the subjective world we have been brought to the conclusion that its first principle is faith. In other words, faith sustains the same

relation to the development and activity of the world within, that God in Christ sustains to the existence, form and operation of the world without. The two worlds are in a state of beautiful correspondence.

Here we have two great first principles: the one fundamental in its relation to the universe as such; the other fundamental in its relation to human consciousness or to all mental operations. And we are nearer the general proposition laid down, that the vital principle of College Education is a positive faith in Jesus Christ. But these two principles, taken separately, are not satisfactory; they must be united in a third that will combine the forces of both and introduce an actual harmony, in the sphere of Science and Education, between the subjective and the objective; between the natural and the supernatural, the human and the divine.

It is necessary, therefore, to discuss two chief characteristics of faith. The first is, that the proper object of faith, whether as the effect of mere nature or of grace, is something that lies above and beyond the comprehension of the logical understanding. The logical understanding can comprehend only such propositions as are deducible by a regular course of reasoning from one or more principles. A principle may either be derived or underived. If derived, it is actually the conclusion of some more general syllogism; and the force of this more general syllogism, depends upon the truth of the major which embodies a more general principle. If in turn, this more general principle be itself derived also, we may comprehend its truth only by connecting it with some ground, that is more general still. Tracing each less general, to a more general, derived principle, we come to one finally that is underived. That is fundamental.

Any conclusion, now, or derived principle may be comprehended by the logical understanding. Its connection with certain premises and the necessity of its truth is understood. The understanding can answer the questions: How is the conclusion deduced, and, Why must it be received as truth? So peculiar an internal connection is perceived to exist between a general principle and a conclusion, or inference, that if the former be believed to be true, the latter must be admitted to

be true also. As long, then, as the understanding can connect a fact, or event, or proposition logically with some general principle; or as long as it can in this way deduce a general principle from one that is more general and more certain, it is able to comprehend. It sees how and why a thing is what it is. But whenever reason approaches a fact or principle that can in no way be included in some more general one, it ceases to comprehend. It can no longer prove the truth of the proposition from its connection with certain premises. What then? When reason cannot comprehend, its higher capacity is revoked. Reason believes. It perceives the truth of an axiom or of an underived principle, not by the power of logical comprehension, but because of an intimate adaptation of reason to the perception of a proper object; just as the eye perceives the light of the sun, or the ear, the sound of the human voice.

What, then, is the proper object of reason's highest capacity? What does reason believe emphatically? Not a logical conclusion, not a derived principle, but an underived general principle, a first truth, something that cannot be comprehended. The underived general principle it knows and feels to be more certain and more reliable than the conclusion; for all the certainty that attaches to the conclusion is derived from the general principle. This, therefore, it seizes as by an instinctive impulse, and holds with a more tenacious grasp than it does the result of any demonstration. With such a deep sense of absolute certainty does reason hold it, that upon a logical connection with it, must the validity of any regular chain of argumentation and the force of every conclusion, always depend. Paradoxical as it may sound, therefore, it is nevertheless undeniable, that those things which man does comprehend are less certain and less reliable than those which he does not comprehend. The latter is the warrant for the former.

If, now, it be the nature of reason always to search, dissatisfied with itself, until it discovers the first principle of things; if in every department of science the proper object of reason's highest capacity, lies beyond the power of logical comprehension, and can, therefore, not be demonstrated; and, if by the very constitution of man, such indemonstrable object is the

point with which all processes of demonstration begin, and from which they derive all the force they possess ; it follows, that to believe implicitly in the absolute ground of the objective world, God in Christ, the object above all others incomprehensible, is not inconsistent with the laws of thinking; but, on the contrary, this belief accords in the fullest sense with the inmost structure of human reason. Human reason satisfies its own deepest wants and is in most complete harmony with the nature of its activity in all spheres of thought, whenever it occupies the posture of humble faith, fixing its eye on Jesus Christ, the revealer of God, as the first, the most sublime, and at the same time most incomprehensible of all objects.

The other characteristic of faith requiring consideration, is its power to unite subject and object. To believe is to receive and transform an object into a principle of actual life. Faith receives its object just as the eye receives light, or the ear the vibrations of the air. Light is inaccessible to all organs of sense but one. The ear cannot perceive it ; the hand cannot touch it ; the tongue cannot detect it. If the eye cannot see, the medium of communion between a person and light is cut off entirely. He lives to all intents and purposes as if there were no light. In reality light does not exist for a blind man. As soon, however, as sight is restored, he enters a new element, because a new element enters into him. His conceptions, opinions and feelings, in relation to every thing perceptible by the medium of light, are all changed. Light is in him, and he is in light. It thus becomes a living, active, inner principle, determining his conceptions, influencing his feelings and directing his outward movements.

There is the same correspondence between faith and its proper object. As we have seen, the proper object of faith does not lie within the comprehension of the logical understanding. Logic cannot demonstrate any first truths, much less those that are supernatural. Memory cannot call them from her store-house. Imagination cannot create them. Feeling cannot weave them into being. It is faith alone that discovers and lays hold of them. Were it possible to extinguish this highest capacity of human nature, the reciprocal communion

between reason and first truths would be annihilated. The logical understanding, instead of having a rock to set its feet upon, would be sprawling in the mire. All processes of demonstration would become palpable absurdities; like the notions a man, blind from birth, would form of a variegated landscape. As the eye is essential to a conception of color, so is faith, a general capacity, to the perception of the fundamental in every sphere of thought. As the organ of the spirit, it receives first truths, whether natural or supernatural, as the most real of all entities; and a relation is established between them and a self-conscious person, like that existing between light and a sound eye. Truth enters his being as a higher element adapted to the deepest wants of his nature, affecting his inner life, his thoughts, reasonings and volitions, just as the eye, conveying to the mind images of trees, rivers, rocks or mountains, regulates a man's outer life. The objective fact, before unperceived, unknown and unfelt, begins to live in the centre of the man, a real principle of action. The object, a first fact, and the subject, the person believing, become one. The influence is reciprocal. The object is in the subject, like light in the eye. And the subject is in the object. Not only does truth enter his nature as an element of his being, but he at the same time enters the sphere of truth, and moves to and fro in its boundless domain, as the astronomer's eye roves among the stars.

This attribute of faith is powerful and effective, whether its object be truth or error. A consistent farmer who accepts a false theory of agriculture, puts it into practice and suffers all the evil consequences. The consistent physician, who accepts the doctrines of Dr. Hahnemann, the author of homœpathy, will abjure the old system of medicine. The consistent metaphysician, starting with a radical error in philosophy or religion, develops a system that assails the foundations of social order; and, if the error find access to the general mind of the age, the pernicious influence is felt in all departments of human life as distinctly, as the presence of the cut-worm is seen in the seared leaf of the springing corn. Illustrations need not be multiplied. Assuming a false hypothesis for a first truth,

a man is like a stranger at night in a strange land, mistaking an ignis fatuus for the flickering light of a cottager's humble home; he is led into marshes and thickets to perish. The false light controls him as really as if it had been the lamp of an hospitable peasant.

But what is true of faith in general is particularly so of Christian faith. Finding its broad basis in the constitution of man, it is called into life by a direct divine agency, and its activity possesses a depth, an intense energy and a compass, far exceeding similar manifestations in any lower sphere. The germ of intellectual, moral and spiritual development, the centre around which all sound reflection revolves, the deepest inner principle, penetrating and governing all the laws of thinking; faith, quickened by the Holy Ghost and assuming a new and most comprehensive form, now grasps the person of Jesus Christ, the absolute ground of the objective world; and in virtue of its mysterious power to unite object and subject, it transforms the first cause of the universe into the first and all-controlling principle of individual, social and national life. Its object being the first of all facts, that object itself becomes in man the germ and sap of all Literature, Philosophy and Religion. Dualism ceases. Unity and harmony are inaugurated. Two separate all-embracing principles, become one vital principle. That vital principle is necessarily the only true principle of College Education. There can be no other. No union can be closer; no principle more profound; and no power more comprehensive and safe. The starting-point of the universe becomes the stand-point of reason.

Now the uncreated sun himself rises upon the orb of the inner world, his resplendent beams disclosing countless objects of indescribable beauty and grandeur, and inviting reason to endless but joyous investigation and study. Now extend your wings, soar up among unseen worlds and discover new facts and new laws; or descend into the bosom of the earth and bring forth millions of startling wonders; or pursue your mathematical demonstrations to their extreme consequences and apply your results rigidly to every branch of science, or religion, or take the longest line to sound the profound abysses of human philoso-

phy; go where you choose, and do what you will, you need not fear, for you will be safe. Seeing the true light, and living in the true light, it will be made manifest that your deeds are wrought in God.

It was a part of my design to pass on and ascertain how this vital principle affects every department of a College course of study; how it affects the study of the classical Languages and of Mythology, the study of Natural Science, Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy, History, Psychology, Ethics, etc., but time does not permit, and I forbear.

A few words more by way of conclusion and I am done. One year ago the Board of Trustees elected me by their unanimous vote to the Presidency of Franklin and Marshall College. Although the unexpected announcement seemed to come in conflict with my obligations to the West, yet the unaccountable unanimity of the Board arrested my solemn attention. That fact bore with great weight upon my mind and conscience. At length I felt it to be my duty to yield to your call; and, like a tree plucked up by the roots, I have been transplanted to another soil, not to die, I trust, but still to grow. I have given you the leading principle of my thinking and my teaching. Standing on this rock, my time, my labors and my life, are at your command, so long as God in His Providence shall keep me at the post. I can say *veni, vidi;* but neither you nor I can add *vici.* Some hard battles are still to be fought, but I look forward to the day when victory shall perch on our standard. I rely on God in Christ. I rely on the energy, intelligence, fortitude and zeal of the Board. I rely on the moral significance of your unanimous call. I rely on the efficient coöperation of my well-tried colleagues. I rely on the whole-souled sons of beloved Marshall. I rely on the Church that celebrates the nuptials of Sir Marshall and Lady Franklin. Fathers, friends and brothers, let us stand side by side, firm, devoted, earnest and self-sacrificing in the service of a profound Philosophy, a spotless virtue and a pure Christianity.

ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF PHARISEEISM.

WE propose, in this article, to analyse the *philosophy of Phariseeism*, and give some illustrative specifications of the same.

Ancient Phariseeism, according to the Saviour's showing, consisted in the disposition to exaggerate externals at the expense of spiritualities; to intensify trifles at the expense of substantial realities; to make religion consist in punctilios, "tything mint, anise and cummin, and omitting the weightier matters of the Law;" to substitute the washing of "the outside of the cup and platter," for the cleansing of the deep fountains of action and pollution in the heart; to be contented with a decent exterior, satisfying the demands of society, instead of a "pure heart, a good conscience and faith unfeigned," which it is "the end of the commandment" to secure; to "do all their works to be seen of men," like "whited sepulchres, covering rottenness and dead men's bones;" to "devour widow's houses" and wring the hard earnings from the poor, on pretence of religion, and then "make long prayers," and "broad phylacteries," and exhibit splendid pageantry, to conceal wickedness by a gorgeous robe of hypocrisy; to "compass sea and land to make one proselyte," and then have him "two fold more the child of hell than themselves;" to "love the uppermost rooms at feasts and the chief seats in the synagogues," and "greetings in the market place," and "to be called of men, Rabbi." This was the characteristic of the ancient "Pharisees, hypocrites," on whom the Son of God pronounced his "woe." And, to this poor human nature, is prone, in every age and country, thus perverting religion itself into an engine of destruction, "taking away the key of knowledge," neither "entering themselves," and hindering, instead of helping, them that were entering "the kingdom of God."

When we study these ancient pictures drawn by one who

"knew what was in man," the kindest, as well as wisest of beings, who never extenuated or set down aught in malice, we are at first disposed to ask, Is it possible? Could human nature ever thus, on principle, "put darkness for light, and bitter for sweet?" Could man ever thus work up delusion and perversion, into a system, and put it in the place of religion? It is an all-sufficient answer, to all these incredulities, to point to the fact. Here were "men of like passions with others," men of eminent respectability in their generation, recognized and reverenced as patterns of gravity, orthodoxy and zeal; the very cognosure of all eyes and admiration, as they walked the streets of the ecclesiastical capital, or sat in the Sanhedrim, to manage the ecclesiastico-political affairs of the chosen people. Yet to the eye of the Saviour, who saw through all shams, they were guilty of these hypocrisies, yea, the living originals of these portraits, hung up in the gallery of Revelation, for perpetual study and instruction.

And, as we have intimated, the Pharisees were representative men. Our poor human nature, left to its own tendencies, and to the influence of a spirit, cunning and crafty, from the practice of ages, and intensely antagonistic to God and the good of men, can reproduce with startling accuracy, the form and lineaments of ancient Phariseeism, from its long, pretensious prayers, to its "tything of mint, anise and cummin," and call it religion, and trust to it for salvation, and eulogize and fight for it, just as though no such portraits had been drawn for our warning by the Master. Alas! men can pervert Christianity, the last and least ceremonial and most spiritual type of religion, into mere externalities and trivialities, as really as the Pharisee perverted Judaism in the time of Christ. Men can "strain out a gnat," with consecrated cullenders and yet "swallow a camel," as uncompunctiously now as then, and in doing it, say, "Come and see my zeal for the Lord of Hosts." "The temple of the Lord, are we." We examine Phariseeism, then, not as something obsolete, pertaining to centuries and generations gone by, but what human nature is prone to every where and in all time, and which has its living counterparts in our day and country.

The genius and spirit of Phariseeism, in all ages and circumstances, if we catch aright the exposition of the Saviour, is, the undue exaggeration of externals and the intensification of comparative trifles. In making this statement, we need not deny, that these externals in their place, have propriety and obligation, or that these comparative trifles, may not belong to the apparatus of religion, in our present condition, embodied spirits, not capable yet of walking or worshipping as perfect spirits do. The Saviour intimates as much, when he says, "These ought ye to have done, and not left the other undone." There is no necessity for disregarding the minutest proprieties, or misadjusting any auxiliary of devotion, because we give primacy to "the weightier matters of the Law." We do not deny the existence or use of "mint, anise, cummin," or any other herb, because we do not allow the tything of them to be essential, any more than we reject the medicine of the apothecary, because he gives it a pleasant odor, or the fruits of the earth, because they have flavor, as well as nutrition, or despise courteous manners when thrown as a robe over real worth; though odors, flavors and courtesies, will not compensate for medicine, nutrition or virtue.

Here precisely is the difficulty. This tendency finds its origin and often its justification, in the fact, that these externals have their proper place, are innocent, if not unduly exaggerated, and are injurious only by excess and substitution. These comparative trifles are not "*mala per se*," any more than an elegant equipage, or the æsthetic arrangement of a woman's dress, or a true word is the worse for being fitly spoken, or a solid verity, because rhetorically adorned, is, therefore, to be depreciated.

Two or three obvious principles will help us to understand the philosophy, subtlety and power of Phariseeism, in all its phases and periods. The first, is that human nature, on all subjects, in proportion to the interests involved, and especially when in the current of strong feeling, is prone to extremes. The human mind, in its oscillations, resembles a pendulum, rather a magnetic needle. This is so obvious, as hardly to need illustration. The history of the world, in philosophy,

government and religion, is full of them. Aristotle and Plato, e. g., have alternately been oracles in philosophy, though representing opposite poles of truth, Every one knows that France went in a bound, from absolute monarchy, to Red-Republicanism—and from this latter back again to the one man power. The very Church that had placed images every where, was once thoroughly iconoclastic. Puritanism was a violent reaction, from the peculiarities of the court and Church, of the 1st Charles. And then, the licentiousness and untold abominations, of the Restoration, the court of Charles 2nd, and the Church, if it deserved the name, was the unstringing of the bow drawn probably too tight, for poor human nature, in the time of the commonwealth. Cromwell was produced by Charles the martyr, *soi disant*, and Cromwell produced Charles the profligate, a rapid and immense descent in character and crime. Puseyism grew out of the fox hunting and card playing habits of the English clergy in this century, as Quakerism and Wesleyanism from the formalism of the past.

The second principle is, that we are always more liable to be led astray by exaggerated truth, than by unmixed error. The vitality and power, because plausibility of error is due, generally, to the element of truth, it holds in solution. For when men start curiosity with truth, and exaggerate it by exclusive attention, they pass unconsciously into the region of error. How can we be wrong in carrying truth too far, they naturally argue. Yet, obviously, as a thousand illustrations might be adduced to show, exaggerated truth may become a lie, as really as that which has web and woof of the same material. This is the chosen region and engine of the sophist, deceiver and demagogue in other departments of human affairs. And this, is the fruitful soil of Phariseeism, in matters of religion. Men begin by "deceiving" others, by exaggerating the importance of "mint, anise and cummin," and end by "being deceived" into an entire omission of the "weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and the love of God." They begin by exalting unduly a rite, and end by obliterating the reality from their own and others' mind. They glorify inordinately a sign, and at last forget what it signifies, as we have seen the cross

hung over the palpitating breast of the votary of fashion and vanity, in seemingly utter unconsciousness of its significancy and silent rebuke.

The third principle alluded to as necessary to the proper understanding of this subject, is, that a habitual, especially exclusive attention to trifles reacts upon the mind itself, and tends to trivialize it more and more. Whether we can explain it or not, this phenomenon of human nature is obvious. It is only, indeed, a special exemplification of a more general principle, viz: that the mind takes its hue and character from the objects with which it is habitually and of choice conversant. You have seen men who had so accustomed themselves to a ludicrous view of things, that the most solemn at last, presented only that aspect. So men are to be found, who so habitually take the negative of every question, and so indulge in the spirit of contradiction, that they become, at length, but a bundle of contradictions, cavils or negations. An eminent Lawyer, in the writer's native State, had so often employed his powers in defending the wrong, as, in the estimation of a great admirer of his talents, to have lost the faculty of moral discrimination. Were we at liberty to mention the names of these persons, both now dead, and both prominent as Lawyers in their day, and one of them an honored personal friend, it would add greater weight to the illustration, itself immensely instructive and monitory. A watchmaker almost necessarily becomes a myope, from the exceeding minuteness of his manipulations. On the other hand, sailors are proverbially long-sighted. As "to the pure all things are pure," the motive and reward of high attainments, and to the large hearted man, all things are great, and he loves genius, wherever he sees it; so "to the impure, nothing is pure," and to the trivial nothing is great. It is said, "because they received not the truth, God gave them over to strong delusions," the energy of error, "to believe a lie;" so it may be said, as they loved trifles, and would exclusively occupy their energies of mind about them, God gives them over to a trifling mind, morally incapacitated for anything nobler. We can scarely imagine, how at eighty, Voltaire could have been anything but a *persifleur*, and the

same might be said of his royal friend (?) Frederic, misnamed "the great," of Prussia. In some aspects, this is a fearful part of our nature, but by its aid we may penetrate the deep mysteries of Phariseeism, ancient and modern, and see not only a reason, but righteous retribution, in what otherwise is almost incredible as well as inexplicable in its manifestations.

Put these together, the tendencies of human nature to extremes—that exaggerated truth is the most plausible and dangerous kind of error, and that absorption in trifles is necessarily trivialising, and the saddest phenomena of our world's past and present history in matters of religion, become at once credible and intelligible. Phariseeism, in all its forms and phases, in ancient or modern times, is seen to have its deep ground in the philosophy of our nature, the wiles of our adversary and the retributions of our God. Essentially the same in all ages, its variations depend on circumstances only. "The same causes that operated in producing the instances of memorable depravity, which the pages of ancient history record, may still be traced, acting with undecayed vigor and unshackled influence over the men, who at present occupy the theatre of human life, and fill its various scenes, whether of luxurious opulence, frivolous dissipation, engrossing business, or sordid poverty." "The outlines of ancient character, are revived with melancholy fidelity in the history of every nation, community, family and individual of the human race, so long as they are left to the operation of those principles which prevail in their naturally 'deceitful and desperately wicked' hearts." When we see, then, men otherwise intelligent and apparently honest, perpetually "tything mint, anise and cummin," and "omit the weightier matters of the Law," and calling it religion, though grieved and stirred to compassion, we are not surprised or confounded. We only see the Pharisee of old by a kind of metempsychosis, living and walking before us.

Having thus analysed the philosophy of Phariseeism, it will be easier, in the second place, to give some illustrative specifications of the same.

This tendency unduly to exaggerate externals and magnify trifles, in matters of religion, seems natural to man in his fallen

state, and shows itself whenever it is not counteracted by Divine influence or arrangements. The Patriarchal type of religion, as we gather from the brief notices of it before the flood and after that epoch, was eminently spiritual and simple. Yet in the time of Abraham, comparatively a short period, this proclivity had become so rampant and prevalent that the world was almost "wholly given to idolatry," the substitution of the material for the spiritual; the external for the internal, both in the object and exercises of worship. This, in fact, is the great characteristic of heathenism, every where and in all ages, that is, of religion, as it takes form outside of the purview and operation of revealed light and direct inspiration. It has no heart—a body without a soul. If we collate the facts, pertinent to this point, gathered from the pages of ancient historians and satirists, with those given on the testimony of modern missionaries, it will be seen that as "face answereth to face in water," so do these types of natural religion, after the lapse of centuries, correspond. Egypt, with all her wisdom, "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man," and worse still, "to birds and four footed beasts and creeping things." Greece, as represented by Athens, with all her ideas of beauty, and sublime philosophy, thought that "God, who made the world, Lord of heaven and earth, dwelt in temples made with hands," and was to be "worshipped with men's hands," and that "the Godhead was like to gold and silver, or stone graven by art and man's device." Rome, with all her magnificent ideas of power, after exhausting the genius of architecture and statuary to embody her ideals, at last shrivelled the Godhead of their Idolatry, to the likeness of their living Emperor; whether he was a monster of iniquity, like Nero, or a model of natural piety, as Antoninus. We need not go over the parallel list of material objects in modern heathenism—from the polished Hindoo down to the pitiable fetish of the African. One miserable feature pervades all external triviality.

In the period of the Church's pupilage, when "under tutors and governors, until the times appointed by the Father," it pleased God, for wise purposes, to incorporate the principle

of externality and punctilio, into the worship he ordained. This was accompanied, however, with a perpetual and contemporaneous expositon of its spiritual significance, and guarded by express statutory enactment. Yet, the history of the Jews, shows, on almost every page, how this proclivity of the human heart, broke over the prescribed limitations, either on the one hand, to the debasing idolatry of the surrounding nations, so thoroughly exposed and ridiculed by Isaiah, or, on the other, to the entire evisceration of the spiritual element, which this institute was specially designed to conserve, even as the flower, the fruit. And then, in the times of the Saviour, and in the persons and peculiarities of the Pharisees, we see the dark culmination: religion, even ordained of God, all outward; rites, whose whole significancy was lost, remaining, like rattling skeletons; piety, made synonymous with long prayers, long robes and long faces, out of which all kindliness to man and loyalty to God, was wholly squeezed, leaving it sapless and savorless, as a dry orange peel; "whited sepulchres, appearing outwardly beautiful to man, but enclosing rottenness and dead men's bones," like a cemetery, seen in ghost-like variety by moonlight, or a girdled forest, tost with the wind of winter.

Now, obviously, Christianity was designed and adapted by its author, to re-inaugurate the severe simplicity and spirituality of the patriarchal type of religion. Christ announced that from that period, men everywhere and in all time thereafter, should "worship God," their common "Father, in spirit and in truth." The dispensation of locality and externality was past, having accomplished its interimistic purpose. When "faith came, they were no longer under a pedagogue." Pupilage gave place to manhood. And for a while, in the period of its early and wonderful triumphs, this was the peculiarity and glory of Christianity. But the spirit of Phariseeism was not dead in the human heart, and was to have a fearful resurrection. Even in the primitive Churches, "the leaven of the Pharisees," was mingled with the lump. Even in his own family the Saviour saw the germs and guarded them against it.

If we bear in mind the principles already elucidated, the tendency of human nature to extremes, the peril of exaggera-

ted truth, and that trifling, as a habit, produces triviality as a quality of the soul, we may develope the philosophy of modern Phariseeism, in the phase presented by Romanism. Let us suppose, that after the first successes of Christianity, had brought it into association with existing power, patronage and worldliness, and men had lost its life from their souls, a system of religion was devised, which started with the principle of accommodating itself to human nature, as it is, without, first of all, transforming it inwardly and thoroughly. Suppose the problem to be solved, was, to meet man in every part and period of his nature, from infancy to age and death, and preoccupy it with externalities, addressing his senses, his sympathies and his taste; excusing him from the exercise of his own individual powers of mind, and operations of conscience, by awful authority; absorbing his whole time and energies by well arranged punctilios, professedly and apparently religious. Suppose, further, that ages were employed in working out this problem, slowly and steadily, and that, in every successive cycle the brightest genius of earth, the most glorious taste and art, in architecture, statuary, painting, poetry and music, were employed to bring in their varied contributions, as in the wilderness of old; the genius of legislation, organization and executive power, each improving on the past, to complete the scheme of externalities and substitute genuflections, and vestments, and odors, and glorious music and æsthetic appliances in every department for the religion of spirituality and the heart; and we have the field of modern Phariseeism before us, "tything mint, anise and cummin," and tempting perpetually to "omit the weightier matters of the law;" sacrificing the substance to the form, and losing the sense of the spiritual by exaggerating the external; trivialising the soul, by excessive attention to trifles! But is it wonderful that such a system has entrancing power? Should we be surprized that thereby, not only its own votaries, trained up under its influences from infancy, should be bewitched—but others also, especially those whose tastes and cultivation all lie in the direction of the beautiful, and gentle, and refined, or whose original tendencies are toward the awful and mysterious, should be deluded? Should

we be surprised, if men with no inwrought principle of piety, who yet believe some religion indispensable and satisfactory, should join the chorus of admiration, when all this passes before their eyes, and say, "Oh, is'nt it glorious," "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." Verily, it is no marvel, if not only "silly women, laden with lusts, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth," but also strong men, otherwise intelligent and apparently honest, who are sighing for certainty, should be taken captive! We are not surprized, that men, who wish a religion as a passport to heaven, without the terrible process of regeneration and sanctified affections, should travel back by highways or bye ways, to the puerilities their fathers resisted unto blood, and that the sons of our chancellors and brothers of our clergymen, in this land, and archdeacons and common clergy innumerable, and lords, and ladies, and poets and politicians, should swell the ranks of perversion! Yea, further, we can see how men, with honest, though erring consciences, come to believe that this is the only religion, and all else perilous, and without imputing to them any more than the average depravity and imbecility of human nature, and in some cases allowing them unquestionable mental superiority, should spend life and its energies in attempting to make others believe as they do. No man that has pondered the whole case, and understands his own heart, and human nature, and who allows there is one, whose grand "*coup d'etat*" it is to pervert religion and whose crowning consummation is predicted to be, "sitting in the temple of God," to make men "believe a lie," will be incredulous or surprized, if the very genius and spirit of externalities and trivialities, walks abroad embodied, in his own day, as Phariseeism in the day of Christ. Nay, though grieved at heart, he is not confounded, or led to feel any less confidence in the excellence of spiritual religion, when "bright particular stars" are cast down. There are crises in the life of many, when everything would have been willingly sacrificed for certainty and repose, when past associations, present affinities and future prospects seemed nothing to the hope of rest. Then, in "the hour and power of darkness," this system, as an angel of light, says, "All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall

down and worship me." In these circumstances, men have not only surrendered themselves to the promises of repose, made by this system, but like Gœthe's Faust, have made a covenant with the evil one, and doubted no more on earth, at least, and calmly or sternly waited for the revelations of the other sphere! professing with haughty scorn or assumed compassion, to pity the restlessness and wretchedness of the rest of mankind!

This tendency to make religion consist of externalities, is aggravated by the obvious and admitted fact, that God did once, as we have seen, ordain for man a scheme of worship having much of this element in it. In the analogy derived from this fact, the system of Romanism finds its strongest justification. It is an easy sophism and one which falls in with the strongest propensities of the human heart, that as God once sanctioned such a system in one set of circumstances, he has, at least, allowed it in another—that while Christianity, in its beginning, was professedly characterised by simplicity and spirituality, yet, when her militant and suffering state is exchanged for triumph and Catholicity, her perfected form must be modelled after the gorgeous and glorious ritual of Judaism, and that there should be places and persons of peculiar sanctity, a hierarchy, rising *gradations*, to the pinnacle of visible vicarship of Christ on earth. Once grant the principle, that perfected Christianity is to be reproduced Judaism, in its visibilities and symbolisms, and Romanism is a consistent scheme throughout, and logical and courageous minds, settled in the principle, can only be satisfied by embracing the whole. It was at this point, that the Epistle to the Hebrews grapples with the young giant of Phariseeism, and shows that the High Priest, altar and sacrifices of Christianity, though real, belong to the invisibilities of the universe and are grasped and made operative by faith, and that any other view is a sophism and fallacy leading to apostacy. It is the same sophism which argues, because once, under peculiar circumstances, God, for the hardness of men's hearts, allowed polygamy, and regulated slavery, then a commutation for death, therefore, he sanctions both in all time and places, as constituting the best scheme of society. The Law was superinduced on the original patriar-

chal type of religion, for a specific purpose and limited period, "that the offence might abound," and "till the seed came," whenceforward, spirituality was again and permanently to be its distinguishing characteristic. Because we feed on milk when we are babes, we ought never to use "strong meat," or grow out of our gristle, is just as good an argument as that Judaistic splendor, and pomp, and externality, suits and is sanctioned in the Christian Church, because God was pleased to train her up to maturity and spirituality, by such means. Because "the child is Father of the man," we should not always be children—but realize and enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of manhood. "Strong meat belongeth unto them who are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their faculties exercised to discern good and evil."

We are afraid of modern Phariseeism, even in this age of light, in proportion as we have studied its elements of power, and the strong appetencies of the human heart thitherward. If Paul was "jealous" even of primitive Christians, and "afraid of them," when they "observed days, and times, and months and years, lest he had bestowed labor on them in vain;" if his soul trembled for his converts, when he saw them hankering after these "weak and beggarly elements" of their previous bondage, lest they should be bewitched, and "having begun in the spirit should end in the flesh," and be beguiled from that simplicity by plausible externalities and obsolete trivialities, "as the serpent beguiled Eve, well may we also. "Obsta principiis." It is in the germ, these things are to be checked, if at all. In their consummation, the special power of God alone is adequate to their destruction. If God does not pour out his Spirit, and counteract our natural tendencies and give us again living specimens of true religion, amidst the divisions of Protestantism and the jealousy of sects, it would form no anomaly to past history, if "all the world should wander after the beast," and nominal Christians, through the gradations now afforded fall over to formalism, until the generality would take its "mark on their foreheads," and the faithful few, instead of beautiful temples and elegant appliances, should again have to occupy dens and caves of the earth and

wander about in sheep skins and goat skins, destitute, tormented, afflicted." For "when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith in the earth? Our hope, against such an issue, is not in mere human nature, intelligence, taste, refinement, education, but in the Spirit of the living God and a resurrection of the spirit of the martyrs and confessors. One generation, left wholly without the baptisms of God's Spirit, and to the bewilderments of externalities, would suffice to make Pharisees as numerous as in the times of the Saviour, and genuine disciples as infrequent as in the days of Elijah. For, in the absence of true godliness, only let the tide of fashion turn thitherward, and it would as certainly carry all the superficial and hollow hearted with it, as the freshets of our rivers bring down the drift wood.

It is not in its mummeries, so called, or its mysteries merely, or its assumptions of power, or political affinities, that we dread this system—but in its appeals, elaborated by ages of improvement, to the principles of our fallen nature, its witchery over the sentimentalities of men, its suitableness to the portions of our nature, next to, and most apt to be mistaken for the spiritual; its power to entrance men into a fancied repose, and then lull them perpetually, by occupying every passion, and repressing all resistance. For these reasons we fear, and feel called on to expose and combat, this modern phase of Phariseeism, not with vituperation and ribaldry, but "by sound speech, which cannot be condemned," for its wrong passion, even if it be not conclusive for warning or recovery.

After this prolonged illustration, we need not dwell so fully on other specifications. If our principles are understood, we might indeed content ourselves with a bare enumeration.

It is obvious, e. g., that the same principles apply to creeds and disciplinary forms of purely Protestant origin. Creeds, for proper purposes, and in their place, are good things, and so are forms of discipline and articles of intercommunion. Men cannot be too orthodox or too careful to guard the scriptural standard of worship and Church discipline, or too jealously prevent the entrance of unworthy members. But, while all this is true, it is also true, that men may exaggerate undu-

ly even orthodoxy, at the expense of piety; reverse the order of the Saviour and with a pious horror of ancient and modern formalists, be guilty of Phariseeism in another form. Churches may violate charity and go counter to scriptural precedent, in establishing the precise standard of doctrinal conformity, or external discipline indispensable to communion. They may keep from the communion of the Church and communion with each other, those whom Christ has received, and thus "offend" some of Christ's "little ones," than which, he says himself, it were "better to have a millstone hanged about the neck and be cast into the sea." We have been credibly informed, that a Synod of one of the branches of the great Presbyterian family, was solemnly invoked to discipline one of its ministers for communing with another branch of the family, though to an outsider, the doctrinal and disciplinary differences that distinguish and separate the two are altogether invisible and unintelligible. Also, that a grave charge was made against another minister, because in citing and expounding the classic passage, "God so loved the world," &c., he did not put the term "elect" before "world." If this is not "tything mint, anise and cummin," and "omitting the weightier matters of the law," we know not what is. And alas! Churches have sometimes so inveterately cherished the habit of trifling; stickling for punctilios and forming procrustean beds, that at last they have lost the capacity or disposition for anything else or weightier. This reminds us of an old legend, where we are told that certain religionists, who spent all their time in logomachies, splitting hairs and settling "endless genealogies," were condemned, as a punishment appropriate for a time, to become chattering monkies, babbling perpetually their monotonous nonsense in each others' ears. It is a fearful curse, when, for antecedent perversion of time and influence, "the prophet is a fool and the spiritual man mad," when God, as he threatened by Malachi, makes the priesthood "base and contemptible, before all the people," by his retributive dereliction. "Lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them."

Again, Phariseeism may be found and manifested in matters

of social reform. There may be such an exaggeration of externals and such a habit of looking at all objects, in a particular and very acute angle of vision, as will eat out the spirit of charity and bring on the soul the curse of triviality. Even "the glorious Gospel of the great God" may come to be viewed only or chiefly, as an enginery for mere social rectification, and not as a preparative for eternal glory, mistaking an incident for the object. A man may come at last so to exaggerate the importance of some specially favorite department of Reform, that he has no taste, or even ear, for anything that is designed and ordained of God, to sanctify men's hearts, or "pull" poor sinners "out of the fire" of Eternal Damnation. Preaching, even the most evangelical, to him, is vapid, unless saturated with the peculiar elements of his edification or agitation. Ministers, who "strive to divide rightly the word of God" and "give a portion to each in due season," are deemed recreant to responsibility and not up to the times, if they do not eternally reiterate from the pulpit the topics and themes by which the press and political organizations of the country are six days out of seven, lashing the sea of human passion into fury.

There are men everywhere, who have gone through this process of trivialization, and are living monuments of its results. At first they indulged half sportively this spirit until it took hold of their deepest feelings. They saw no danger in the incipient stages. They seemed so innocent, and even righteous, that "God I thank thee," may have been in their hearts, if not on their lips, as they looked on other "publicans and sinners." But they have gone on, until everything that Christians held dear as life, has come to appear to their distorted organs as childish "tomfoolery."* Their souls have gradually become like the garden of the sluggard, "grown over with thorns and briers and thistles," and the *finale* was a style of character and life that grieves the pious and makes "the heart of the righteous sad," inexpressibly, as the prospect of recov-

* This very term was once used by one formerly a minister of Christ, in conversation with the writer. "Quanto mutatus ab ill!o"

ery becomes darker and darker. For what but the faintest ray of hope is there, for the self-satisfied and sullen apostate?

Again. Even preaching itself may be perverted by these unhappy proclivities. Ministers may mistake or depreciate their high vocation, and pander to the prurient propensities of the people. Radicals, in the wrong sense, they may be forever beating the branches, without striking at the root of the evil; neglecting the fountain, and trying in vain to send back healing influences through the streams; bringing all their power to bear on some outworks, instead of storming the citadel, whence, until it is destroyed, with ever reproductive energy, all evil in life proceeds. Ministers may, further, sacrifice the substance to the form; substitute manner for matter, graces for "the sword of the Spirit," elegant nothings for "the demonstration of the Holy Ghost." They may polish away the whole edge of truth; wrap up their messages in mist and musical cadences striving to please those who "have itching ears and cannot endure sound doctrine," and are "turned unto fables" and fine acting in the name of the Lord. We would not depreciate even the least element or auxiliary of power or attraction. "God forbid!" Would to God! all his prophets were an hundred fold more powerful and attractive. These things are sometimes beautifully blended, rhetoric and strong reasoning, truth made radiant by genuine eloquence, and nothing is more covetable than this. If we can have both, so much the better. But, if but one, in the name of God and poor sinners, let it be matter, substance, truth, not froth, frippery and "enticing words of man's wisdom." If all cannot be eloquent, they can at least be earnest. If one "cannot play well on an instrument and has not a lovely voice," let him be allowed to make the Devil's fortresses, ring with ponderous, if not over polished strokes, of the hammer of truth and men's consciences sore from the goads and nails he drives with a will, trusting to "the master of assemblies." "He that hath a dream, let him tell his dream," in the best way he can; get it out somehow; pleasantly if he can, but otherwise if he must. "What is the chaff to the wheat," saith the Lord, and so should we. Let the minister aim to transfuse to others the

deep sense of reality he has acquired; and if he may not be successful, for that after all is with God, let him be sincere. If he does not save men, let him agonise in his own way, in the effort. Let him feel like Elihu of old: "I am full of matter; the spirit within me constraineth me; behold, my soul is as wine that hath no vent; it is ready to burst, like new bottles. I will speak that I may be refreshed. I will open my lips and answer." Such a full and bursting heart will find vent someway—and the spirit within will give form to the utterances. Let him open his lips and he will answer aright; and though not according to the technicalities of rhetoric, though his cries be like those of "some strong swimmer in his agony," or the watchman's midnight alarm, or the wail over the dead, in an Irish wake, rather than the lullaby at the infant's cradle, his words will tell, and instead of admiring the Preacher, men will weep over their sins in secret places, and be led to reformation and salvation.

There is a solemn and practical thought, we would present, in conclusion, which may well be pondered by all. On the principles laid down we have seen that a habit indulged, reacts on the character, and this sometimes is God's method of retribution for such indulgence. These habits are easily formed, but exceedingly perilous. The spirit, e. g., of objecting, cavilling, or making side issues, when solemn truth is presented. The habit of looking at everything, even God's recipe for salvation, in a wrong angle; indulging in negations, starting difficulties, when plain, positive duty is presented to the conscience. Still worse, "making a man an offender for a word;" losing the force of truth or a fervid appeal from an awkward gesture, blunder in rhetoric, or pronunciation, or any other punctilio you please. Now this may ruin the soul as really as Phariseeism. It is, in fact, the same spirit in another form. A man may make himself a mere bundle of negations and contradictions, lose all moral discrimination and all relish for the positive and infinitely important. He may succeed in bringing down the elevations and infinitudes of God's truth to the level and measure of his own triviality, and after spending life, given for nobler purposes, in this process, go into eternity, which is full of in-

tense realities, substantial as God, and unending as his throne and government, with a heart, utterly disqualified to enjoy anything but vanity, and doomed necessarily to vexation of spirit forever!

Pittsburg, Pa. D. H. R.

ART. VII.—CLERICAL CULTURE FOR THE TIMES.

THE inquiries of the Commission of Bishops have broached the subject of Culture in various spheres of Christian life and avocation, with great zeal, and in a most interesting manner. We here propose to call attention to a few departments of study, to which due consideration is not shewn in the estimate of professional armory for the clergy. The reason for which we notice these exclusively is, that other departments appear to be sufficiently cared for, and that for these alone there seems to be occasion just now to invoke more particular consideration.

The studies in question, are those of Philosophic Theology and Inspired Prophecy.

Philosophic Theology, or, Theology in Rational (or Scientific) forms of presentation, is held in far too little estimation among us. Yet, in view of the philosophic pretensions of the prevalent infidelity, in its various degrees, the question cannot be too seriously entertained, whether the theology of the American seminaries lays science sufficiently under tribute. Most of our clergy have an inadequate appreciation of other than popular modes of treating all subjects, their judgment being too much influenced by the popular mind; as if the admission into the Bible of every mode of instruction except science, was an exclusion of this in particular from any service to Divine truth; and as if its exclusion from the inspired Word

did not significantly enough assign its proper place as an external tributary. The fact that philosophy never appears in such beauty as when in the character of a handmaid of divine truth, is evidence enough of her divinely sanctioned mission in this respect. Let no man of God disesteem the privilege of free-will offerings to the honor of the Word from human reason, to any extent to which the latter can bear witness of "the truth"—infantile comparatively as that witness is by the side of the all-glorious truth itself. Indeed, the further it is from assuming any superior purpose to that, the more likely it is to serve as a lisping medium (and it can never amount to more) through which God, in condescension, has "ordained strength," and that "because of his enemies, that he might still the voice of the enemy;" humble means being those favored by Him. We, therefore, do not need to be reminded that Christ is "the power of God and the wisdom of God." This indeed is sometimes urged in a manner that would be but consistent with a use of Scripture exclusively, or at most paraphrased, without bringing any special theological culture to bear on the exposition of it. Besides, we hesitate not to declare that, unless the divine sets forth Christian doctrine in all the effective modes in which it is presented to his own mind and spirit, he does not preach Christ as known to himself. To discourage the explanation of mysteries so far as they admit of it, is to envelop them in more mystery; and that is taking a much greater liberty with them than to unfold them.

It is a disadvantage to Christianity in this country, that philosophical forms of thought are regarded as little better than adapted to the purpose of the unbeliever in the gospel, thus conceding a great advantage to the latter, who may, therefore, be expected to use it. There are two causes of this feature among us. One is the material tendency of our national spirit, which is indisposed to indulge the professional provider for the soul of the public with more time and means for his own culture, than will enable him to put forth the matter and form which will just satisfy the public taste, without much reference to the solidity of the substance.

The other cause referred to has its source in the minds of

the clergy themselves, and arises from an impression of the prejudicial influence of philosophical studies in Germany, where they most obtain, upon religion there and elsewhere. This impression would give way, in the presence of more information than is common among us, respecting the circumstances under which philosophy has there arisen, and, consequently to it, the revival of religion, which, through the life thus imparted to theology, has received grand impulses. The question, so far as that country is concerned, is not as to the worth of the philosophy considered by itself, but as to that of the intellectual and critical character which theology has derived from it. There are indeed exceptionable features in this theology; but, so far are they from affording just occasion for a disparagement of its philosophical spirit, as if this was answerable for such evils, that they rather suggest the expediency of introducing a competent antagonism to forms ef error made formidable by their presentation in such a character,—in other words, the expediency of presenting Truth in the attire and circumstance adapted to the forms of assault to which she is exposed.*

The assignment of such a province to reason as the illustration of theology by science, is very different from resting the claims of divine truth to reception, on such a mode of presenting it. The *heart* is the receiver or rejecter of it; the most intelligent reception of it rather following than anticipating the disposition of the heart on the matter: "Credat in Christum, ut possit intelligere Christum," says Saint Augustine. And Pascal: Dieu seul peut les mettre dans l'ame, et par la maniere qu'il lui plait. Je sais qu'il a voulu qu'elles entrent du cœur dans l'esprit, et non pas de l'esprit dans le cœur." If belief depended on comprehension, then men would be even more responsible than they are, for the conclusions of their reason respecting the primary truths of religion, instead of be-

* It is worthy of reflection that, in the event of the re-establishment of a Jewish polity in the Holy Land, Germany will probably have an immense influence there, in the departments of religious thought and intellectual life generally. And the concentration of the most varied and marked aspects of intelligence and character, in Jews from every nation on the globe, will probably render Palestine a centre of immense influences on the world.

ing less so, as is too commonly assumed.† But faith precedes understanding and knowledge.

"Knowledge, or theology," remarks Merle d'Aubigne,‡ "is the philosophy of faith, the result of inquiry, of reflection, of the labor of the human mind applied to divine things, and endeavoring to comprehend them and discover the light, the tendencies, the systematic union of which they are susceptible." "To pretend, as some have done, that it is enough that Christianity should speak to the heart, and that it may leave the understanding unsatisfied, is to oppose the rising of the sun over a part of God's creation; it is to revolt against the order instituted by the Divine Being.—Christianity must maintain its place. It must keep its position as superior to all human wisdom. Theology must ever be, in the bosom of Christian

† This may fairly claim admission from any one adopting even the standpoint of Lord Brougham, in his interesting and most elaborate essay on Voltaire.* In his remarks on the sin of blasphemy, which too confidently would make that sin hardly one that can be committed as against God or the Saviour, though common as against man—and this in forms exhibited with force and with high motives (best appreciable by those acquainted with the spirit of the Continent)—the noble writer asserts its liability to be committed against truth. As when conclusions are formed without a sincere desire to discover truth, or without earnest effort to do so, or under the influence of prejudice. This, as we think, fairly throws the responsibility on the *will*, in any case where a man is called upon by Divine authority to receive any doctrine—particularly one, the impression of which on the heart cannot be dispensed with, in the process of restoring it to harmony with the Spirit of God. When a man *is* thus called upon, it is not his reason, but his will, that is appealed to.

The learned writer observes: "C'est a lui [Voltaire] que nous devons cette habitude de discussion et d'analyse que nous portons partant desarmais dans les choses sacrees aussi bien que dans les affaires tamporelles: cette habitude d'examiner toutce qui nous est propose comme article de foi, d'aller au fond des opinions reques, et d'appeler a notre aide, en toute matiere serieuse et vraisemblable, le sense commun et l'imperissable raison."—Does religion in reality, however professedly, receive so extensively this searching investigation? On the other hand, do not nearly as many take deism on trust now, as formerly superstition? But to whatever extent earnest investigation may be carried, is the *heart* unable to receive any truths but such as either common sense or reason has first certified? If it can hold fast gross errors in spite of these lights—and this is an implied antecedent to our represented obligations to Voltaire—what can prevent its acceptance of morally saving truth (in the sense already indicated), but prejudice against it and alienation from God?

‡ Disc. 12.

* *Voltaire et Rousseau* par Henry Lord Brougham, membre de l' Institut de France.

societies, what lord Bacon, the restorer of modern science, termed it, 'the transcendent science.'"

True science cannot injure the simplicity of the faith, for its only purpose is to exhibit the subjects of faith in greater simplicity. Any objection to the application of science to religion, as the author first cited expresses it, "is valid only with regard to the mistakes of science, not in respect to science itself. Also, "it is only by means of Christian life that strength and prosperity will be pledged to science." The creative epochs of science have always been preceded, as history can prove, by a revival of Christian life in the Church. It was from the cradle of faith that those theological works came, which marked the times of Augustine, the Scholastics of the thirteenth century, and the Reformers."

We would here remark that the great divines of the Scho-

Assuming certain doctrines to be necessary parts of that truth, it would seem to be indubitable that, on the declaration of them, neither common sense nor reason could ever have warrantable objection to them. An objector may *say* that he has used every means in his power to arrive at truth; and he may be what we *men* call honest in that declaration. But is this credible, in itself? Would the word of God require that of a sane man, to which his common sense or his reason, or both, can have objections other than such as are prompted by something in the background? Is a man's heart always as honest as his judgment and opinions? And is not a deceived heart always a deceiving one?—Again, as regards the probing of received opinions, if these have reference to points which, if true, are necessary to salvation, is it not even more important to deal in the same way with the grounds of *unbelief*? Granted that a person does not see convincing evidence of their truth,—if he can admit that they *may* be true, and are merely doubtful, will he, if at all concerned for the interests of his soul, be at rest till he has *ascertained* that they are erroneous? Perhaps he is easy about them, simply *because*, not being convinced, he supposes himself to be on that account irresponsible as concerning them. But does not this very composure indicate indifference at least whether they are true or not, if it does not indicate also a degree of preference that they should not be believed even if true? In this case, the Will is found wanting For, even in common life, if there be an alarm given of impending danger, and it is simply doubtful, men act on the preferred assumption of some true grounds for the alarm, sufficient to call for every precaution, and as if the *onus probandi* rests with those who disbelieve it.—Further, *if* God has taken that personal part in man's history, which consists of the declared work of redemption by Christ,—whatever parties these may be whom this gospel has never reached, is it probable that, for those whom it *has* reached, God has not made it to be accompanied by sufficient testimony to recommend it, proportioned to the real wants of the understanding of each, so as to put the heart alone on trial? Would Christ have suffered and died to any reasonable purpose, if the story of all this was to be such a doubtful one to those for whose edification it was designed? Or if so, would the Infinite Mind have been indeed a *Logos* to man?

lastic period—yes, that mediœval Faculty—should not be overlooked, among the master-spirits of theological science. Select studies from their writings, particularly on the subjects of the Holy Incarnation and the Trinity, would be of great advantage to theological culture. Not the least of the recommendations of these writers is, the continual presence of Saint Augustine with them, to whatever purpose it may be.

An indispensable auxiliary to Scientific Theology, is the science of metaphysics. Though the highest sense of this term is *transcendental*—that is, above, and exclusive of, that which is *experimental*,—we here make a more comprehensive and ordinary application of it. It must comprehend both Intellectual Science, in the sense of Analytical Psychology, and Logical Science in its breadth.

Metaphysical science in general is appreciated by men of our profession; but not as connected with strictly professional studies; indeed too exclusively as a discipline. And Logic is, in the culture of all the learned professions, apparently still treated more as the science of the forms of thought, than as the rational presentation of moral truth, reducing such truth to the form of science.

Non-professional men owe a higher appreciation to such studies on the part of these professions, than is usual with them. The too prevalent notion that Common Sense (as usually understood) will suffice for any conflict of ideas will soon have to explode. The impending struggle of such as are yet only skirmishes here and there, is foreshadowed, perhaps but faintly, by that conflict of physical forces, of which the introductory stage is now before the world.*

* "Dans les temps ordinaires, dans ce qu' on est convenu d'appeller les temps calmes, fante d' a percavoir le mouvement profond qui se fait sous l'immobilite apparente de la surface; dans les epaques dites paisibles, on dedalgne voloutiers les idees; il est de bon gout de les railler. Kene, declamation, utopie s'ecrie-t-on. On ne tient compte que des faits, et plus ils sout materiels, plus ils sout estimes; on ne fait cas que des gens d'affaires, des esprits *pratiques*, comme on dit dans un certain jargon, et de ces hommes positifs, qui ne sont apres tout, que des hommes negatifs. Mais qu'une revolution eclate, les hommes d'affaires, les gens habiles, qui semblaient descolossos, ne sout plus que des nains; tontes les realites qui n'out plus la proportion des evenements nouveane s'ecroulent et s'evanouissent; lesfaits materiels tombent, et les idees grandissent jusqu'an ciel!" Victor Hugo.

They, who treat such moral truths as do not come obviously within the ken of common sense, (saving those of revelation,) or do not atone for their tax on study, either by the advantage of mathematical exactness or by utilitarian results, as hardly worthy of attention, require to be impressed with the prejudicial character of such sentiments; for there is a tendency in them to intercept the bearings of Divine truth, even when not opposed to it. And they who are satisfied with such apparent security against the extravagances of every pretended spiritual philosophy, require at the same time to be advised of a concurrent tendency to empiricism and materialism.

In cases where philosophical investigation appears to bear on *material* interests, as in those of meteorological phenomena, "practical" men would not have it disregarded, even though any reference it can have to a palpable interest, or practical availability, may be not yet apparent. All this is patiently awaited; and whatever has been ascertained, or even conjectured, is taken care of for the present. Is it not then equally the part of a truly practical wisdom, to hold in similar account principles in speculative science, the bearing of which on moral and social interests may not yet appear. If, for example, observations made in the interest of political or social science, or in the collateral one of individual progress, are worth any thing, it may be inferred how great is the importance of attention to every principle, and even conjecture, in moral dynamics, whether applicable to society or to individual interest.

The access we have to the past and present of speculative opinion is of vast advantage, though this has proved to be worth less *intrinsically* than *historically;* and, in this latter respect, mainly according to the *constructions* of its history, relating as these do to the position of opinions with reference to each other, and to the circumstances bearing on their development respectively. The theologian has, in his moral acquaintance with the human heart, and in his intelligence of God's will and purposes, keys to the meaning of this intellectual life of the world. If it be not thus legible to him more or less, he cannot so well estimate the complex tendencies of religious error, however sensible he may be of its quality, or connect prevalent

phases of partial truth with consequences, whether actual or prospective.

It must be admitted that the most important department of Metaphysics proper, *psychology*, has made but little progress. In one point of view, this circumstance renders its history the more important; for it exhibits to man the modest bounds to which the aspiration of his reason should confine itself, when contemplating the Infinite Mind. In the knowledge of the Holy Trinity, man has gained but one step since the times of the old dispensation, and that was through the coming of Christ. From the epoch when the Comforter was sent, to the present time, there has been no further revelation respecting the nature of God; and certainly nothing of the kind has been attained by human study. There have been illustrations of the doctrine, drawn from truths in nature, and these have been philosophically and forcibly presented. But there has been no advancement in the explanation of it, beyond the attainments of the Schoolmen, if even the contemplation of the subject by divines of the present age approaches often to the stand-point of those eminent men. Intellectual Science has been unavailable to the doctrine, beyond that service which consists in exhibiting to ourselves, our greater ignorance of our own faculties, than of any other subject in nature. Yet, on a true or erroneous psychology depends not a little the consistent representation of some theological doctrines. This may be instanced in the case of the Holy Eucharist. Calvin's theory has been shewn by his American expositor, Dr. Nevin, to find its difficulties, as respects presentation to the mind, in "a false psychology, as applied either to the person of Christ, or to the persons of his people." We shall not here adduce the instances in point, but refer the reader to the work on *the Mystical Presence.*

As respects Logic, in its highest character, as applied to the Moral Sciences, it would be well for divines to consider whether, in this department, the adversaries of sacred truth are in advance of them or not. We would here remark that the consideration of all problems of society, so far as they have any bearing on the culture or moral well-being of society, has al-

ways been entitled to the utmost impulse that the friends of Christianity could in this very character give it. Failing to receive direction, or even encouragement enough, from such questions, these interests have fallen to a great extent into very prejudicial hands, either as aimless pursuits to fill a blank in the mind of the sceptic, or as designing pursuits associated with anarchical projects, whether with reference to the kingdom of Christ in the world, or to institutions involving moral guarantees for the existence of society.

Besides the scientific use of Metaphysical philosophy, it has a good moral effect on the mind, by rendering it less subject to impracticable prejudices and false ethics. It is no doubt owing in some degree to its influence, that Broad-Churchmen are less enslaved than most others to the fictions of party. It is not in all cases an exercise of reason alone, particularly in its originating contemplations, in which imagination is likewise needed, even as there is affinity between poetical and philosophical truth. Indeed without a proportionate exercise of imagination and of the heart, the greatest works that have ranged the field of intellectual and moral science never could have been produced. And here it may be permitted to us to suggest a partially analogous usefulness between the different types of philosophers and the different faculties,—all proportionately contributing to the solution, however gradual, of moral truths. Is it inquired what are the advantages of only a very gradual, and perhaps never more than a partial solution of such truths? One advantage is doubtless the exercise of the reflecting powers. Another is in the moral discipline it offers to human wisdom, whether aspiring after, or affecting to disdain, incomprehensible Divine truth.

Now, assuming that our professional culture hitherto, in the departments here in question, has been adequate to its purpose, we beg to inquire whether there is promise of its adaptation to new features in the spirit of our time? Reference is here made, not to anything in the line of *dialectics*, but to the *discriminating* powers challenged by the varied aspects of this unprecedented, insidious age. Culture should have some reference to the prospect of nearer contact with false systems

claiming a philosophical basis, and with the speculative and inquiring circles which impart more or less character to the spirit of the times. The writer may appear to make rather too much of these points; but a sense of his own deficiency, compared with his conviction of what is desiderated, would suffice to justify his endeavor to make enough of them. Besides, we have to look at things not merely as to their present position, but with reference to stages apparently not very distant, when forms of error scarcely yet matured, in philosophy and in morals, will have combined, and acquired the concentrated force of an antichristian unity.

We are far from forgetting that, against such odds, *spiritual* weapons are the most effective, and the least dispensable. But then the gifts of the understanding require spiritual enlightenment, for an adaptation to *all* times and circumstances in the conflict between truth and error, while yet it is everywhere held that the understanding should be cultivated, with a reference even to times the *least* trying. How much more then with reference to times, at which the wisdom of the world promises to be embodied as an angel of light, more imposingly than ever!

In closing these remarks on the marked importance now, of philosophic theology, and its collateral studies, we cannot refrain from meeting the puritanical objection to them, that they tend to exalt reason prejudicially to inspiration, with this observation: that the prevalent evangelical religion too commonly enthrones experiences, to the prejudice of Christ, and has too much of the Sensational Philosophy for the truly Christian life in the soul; and further, that Puritanism still worse, rarely hesitates, when it has an end to be answered by so doing, to substitute man's notions of propriety for those of Christ. But although this remark is fairly retaliatory, this effect is far from being the chief aim of it, which is to render the more apparent the need of those liberal studies, which, subordinately to spiritual culture, are of a nature to enlarge the mind and heart. The divine should not be a mere cleric, bound to the traditional or party form of dogmas, any more than a jurist

should be a mere lawyer, whose wisdom is contracted to an apprehension and appreciation of the law as it is.

We proceed to remark on the importance of a higher present estimate of the Prophetical Scriptures than they commonly receive. At first sight, this branch of study might seem to have too slight an interest in common with that of Philosophic Theology, to be associated with it in a manner so marked as on the present occasion. Yet we are bold enough to assert, that the supposition of an absence of relations between them, as to their drift and use in this extraordinary age, is evidence enough of the need of greater attention to both. Besides the proper attractions of the study of the Prophecies for the divine as such, they are of important political use, in assisting the Christian observer of things temporal in judging of the character of present and coming times and they afford considerable illustration of the reference which the Divine counsels have to the policy of man.

Almost every one in this country is a politician: but, though one may be both that and a good Christian, still he may not be a Christian politician. He may be inconsiderate that international deportment, though not susceptible of as easy regulation as social deportment, is subject to the same moral principles, so far as these principles admit of so extended an application. Also, however impressed he may be with the truth of the doctrine that God takes ever a part in the affairs of men, he may still be indifferent to any revelations of Divine purpose or foresight, which have not had their fulfilment. Still, if he can think at all, he observes what passes in the political world, and that not only in his own land.

That there is wisdom in noting "the signs of the times" is intimated by our Saviour. Tendencies of the time are sometimes discriminated by those who would have none the greater estimate of them, if informed of their relation to signs of the Son of Man. If a person, who has anticipated the actual issue of those tendencies, is a statesman by profession, but not otherwise, he is readily credited with foresight. This arises from the public impression, natural enough, that

his conjectures were not without grounds in a degree scientific: and it is a partial recognition of the *principle* of a positive science in *politics* (comprehensively of all social interests.) That this principle is true in nature, seems indubitable, considering the interdependence of the operations of natural laws. But the science as such can be brought but very slightly within human grasp: for even if we were to leave out of the case the continual intervention of a particular Providence in the mode ordinarily depended on by pious Christians, still the explanation of even the most extraordinary manifestations of Divine Providence, as special operations of primeval law, in the order of Nature, would be quite insufficient to exhibit the impracticability of the science in question beyond the department of moral influences. Indeed, if the political course of sublunary things was not in the main a process obscure to worldly wisdom, there would be little need of God's declaration of events in prospect, to which he desires the attention of his people, through the medium of Prophecy, as "a light shining in a dark place." There are always natural signs, greater or less, of the character of the Future: and the words of inspired prophecy are a counterpart to them. To both we "do well to take heed," according to the proportion of confidence due to each,—the former being somewhat versatile in their significance, by reason of their relative character, while the latter are of immutable import. It is claimed that, as far back as the year 1842, when the power of the Orleans dynasty was at its height, the Positive Philosophy, as it is called, predicted the anarchical character of the present times; the originator of this philosophical system characterizing even that period as *l'anarchie actuelle.** But this degree of foresight is not striking in comparison with the expectations of many Christians, previously to that date, in relation to this epoch,—expectations suggested by a comparison between the apparent tendency of passing events and the spirit of inspired Prophecy. And such anticipations are not always of a nature that could occur to the Christian's faithful observation if *superficial*, any

* See LITTRE—*Des Progres du Socialisme*, c. 8.

more than they could occur to political or philosophical wisdom independently of Scriptural light. As an instance of this kind,—in the very year above-mentioned (1842), when such a character as Pio Nono was not yet, and his predecessor was repulsing the suggestions to reform, coming even from absolutists, one of our Bishops, in a conversation on the state of the Continent, remarked to the present writer: "The Pope is *already* the greatest democrat in Europe; what he wants now is popular support against the princes; he will, therefore, go with the democratic current, to make the most of it that he can, and then be carried away by it. But under any circumstances, his game will be ever the same as that of the Popes heretofore." Anticipatory views of an epoch in prospect, while they are the pride of the statesman and the philosopher (however worldly and even infidel,) comparing *history* with present *signs*, are at least as properly within the sphere of the Christian observer and the divine, who have, in *addition* to those lights, that of inspired prophecy. The prospects thus brought before the latter—which, however well grounded, should rarely assume the character of positive conclusions—may not admit of being logically analysed, and yet may be consequent on the enlargement of their views by habitual converse with the very Logos —the spirit of the Word: analogously as the statesman's premonitions may be well founded, and yet may not admit of being presented satisfactorily to the critical judgment of contemporaries, however readily they may be accepted for guidance.

To entertain the question of *dates* at all presumingly, in connection with unfulfilled prophecy, is no part of the wisdom which should accompany such a study. Still, the "germinant accomplishment" (as Bacon calls it) of prophecy, while it should be a check on the assignment of dates beforehand, should encourage an observant interest in the correspondence between eventful times and predictions. But the popular mind in the Church would do well to distrust the forward and over-confident interpretations announced by persons not untinctured with demagogism.

Enough perhaps has been here advanced, in suggestion of

the claim of that too much neglected portion of holy writ, unfulfilled Prophecy, to attention both from the divine and from the Christian politician, particularly in our times.*

We must maintain further, that there can be no sound philosophy of history, or of politics, having little or no reference to Prophecy; and that the highest application of the *philosophy of history* is, to illustrate the wisdom of the *spirit of prophecy*, by exhibiting the correspondence of moral law with it. The former is as "day unto day uttering speech," the latter as "night unto night shewing knowledge." When the obscurity from which the light of prophecy shines, is turned into day, when the prophetical becomes historical, then subjects formerly of faith and hope become subjects of philosophical investigation, to "justify the ways of God to men."

Discouragement to *prophetical* studies, arising from the difficulties thrown in the way either by incidental details, impracticable to reconciliation with the apparent scope of the predictions with which they are connected, or, on the other hand, by the absence of details—such discouragement may be greatly lessened by the consideration that even *historical* studies are not without similar difficulties. Hear Frederic Schlegel: "The first fundamental rule of historical science and research, when by these is sought a knowledge of the general destinies of mankind, is to keep these and every object connected with them steadily in view, without losing ourselves in the details of special inquiries and particular facts, for the

* The greatest nations introduced into the drama of fulfilled prophecy derive their importance *there* from their having to do with the affairs of the ancient people of God. But their policy was purely selfish; and when brought into contact with the honor and interests of that people, their regard to which was the culmination of their trial, they were found wanting. Here is a lesson for the arbiters of Eastern interests. It would be interesting to know whether any of the present belligerents have condescended to bestow a thought on the opportunity of serving the heirs of Palestine, presented by a war which actually originated in the Holy Places,—or if so, whether the contemplation of their own respective ends has allowed them time to cherish such an object? Would anything be so likely to reconcile the contending parties, and to reduce the Eastern question to its proper state of germinant solution, as this object in common? Would not the project be favored by the present tendency of the policy of Turkey towards religious equality, added to her long familiarity with the idea of principalities and states, comparatively independent, within her empire? The light which prophecy contributes to philosophical history, suggests that policy by which the great powers in question may avoid being "found wanting," like their ancient prototypes.

multitude and variety of these subjects is absolutely boundless; and on the ocean of historical science, the main subject easily vanishes from the eye." Again: "Extremely hazardous is the desire to explain everything, and to supply whatever appears to be a gap in history; for, in this propensity, lies the first cause and germ of all those violent and arbitrary hypotheses which perplex and pervert the science of history, far more than the open avowal of our ignorance, or the uncertainty of our knowledge; hypotheses, which give an oblique direction, or an exaggerated and false extension, to a view of the subject originally not incorrect. And even if there are points which appear not very clear to us, or which we leave unexplained—this will not prevent us from comprehending, so far at least as the limited conception of man is able, the great outline of human history, though here and there a gap should remain."*—How applicable are these remarks to *prophecy* as well as to *history*—the two being merely different chapters in the development of the ways of God to men, as intermingled.

Conversely, the remarks of Bishop Horsley on the study of prophecy are in a great degree applicable to the science of history, if we only substitute *events* for *predictions*: "—Of any single text of Prophecy, it is true that it cannot be its own interpreter; for this reason, because the Scripture Prophecies are not detached predictions of separate independent events; but are united in a regular and entire system, all terminating in one great object—the promulgation of the gospel, and the complete establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. Of this system, every particular prophecy makes a part, and bears a more immediate or a more remote relation to that which is the object of the whole. It is, therefore, very unlikely that the true signification of any particular text of prophecy should be discovered from the bare attention to the terms of the single prediction, taken by itself, without considering it as a part of that system to which it unquestionably belongs, and without observing how it may stand connected with earlier and later

* Philos. Hist. Lect. 1.

prophecies, especially with those which might more immediately precede, or more immediately follow it."*

In conclusion, we submit that the harmony between the several departments of truth included in, or connected with, theology,—as moral science, history, prophecy,—and the consistency between their respective developments, suffice to institute the functions, and to indicate the true spirit, of Philosophic Theology.

Esopus, N. Y. P. B.

Art. VIII.—DR. ZACHARIAS URSINUS.†

1534—1583.

"Wollte ich doch nicht hunderttausend Welten (dafür) nehmen, dasz ich so weit von meinem Christo sein sollte, und nicht besser wissen, (als Ihr vorgebet,) ob ich sein wäre oder nicht."

Ursinus, 1573.

The two friends and co-workers, Olevianus and Ursinus, sustain to one another a relation similar to that of Luther to Melancthon, or of Calvin to Melancthon. While the fiery and impetuous youthful Olevianus, in the true spirit of Calvin, insisted, with all possible decision, upon entire purity of worship, and the independence of the Church, counting neither danger nor sacrifices in the prosecution of his convictions, Ursinus, on the other hand, with the same decision, but with deeper insight and a calmer spirit, labored to build and arrange the Church, reformed by God's word, upon the clearly conceived and fundamental apprehensions of divine truth, and he has, in firmly establishing her doctrine, shown the Church a service so much greater than Olevianus, as divine *doctrine* is permanent-

* Sermon 15.

† Translated from the German of Max Göbel.

ly more important than human *constitutions*, how indispensable soever to the true inward prosperity of the Church, a good form of government, founded on true doctrine, may be. While Olevianus was a strict and unflinching Calvinist, and hence necessarily awakened opposition in Germany even while he wrought the more powerfully, Ursinus, fully in the spirit of his beloved teacher, Melancthon, was the man for mediating and allaying the existing disharmony; and especially did he, through that mild and conciliatory tone, which—with several exceptions not to be attributed to him—reigns prominently in the Heidelberg Catechism, contribute much towards that feeling which *later* enabled the two evangelical sister Churches to feel and acknowledge themselves inwardly one, and to draw more nearly towards each other. Ursinus, however, could not have so well accomplished the beautiful work assigned him if he had not himself inwardly and successively passed through the different stand-points of Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin, being indebted something to each one of these, so that he was not able afterwards to break entirely loose from any one of them.

Zacharias Ursinus, Doctor of Theology, was born in Breslau, where his father was Deacon (assistant Preacher) at the Magdalen church. From his youth up he was blest with a strong and healthy constitution, superior talents, and a pious disposition. With the most encouraging results he devoted himself to those humanistic studies which were at that time in a very flourishing state in Breslau, namely, Philosophy and Mathematics, to which also he was especially indebted for that clearness and keenness of insight which characterized him. Provided with the means of support from home, he came, 1550, sixteen years of age, to Wittenberg, where, with all the reverence which prevailed for the so lately departed Luther, the conciliatory scientific theology of Melancthon was nevertheless reigning. Here Ursinus joined himself with very special and decided love to Melancthon, and became during his whole life, his scholar. In two years already Melancthon gave the best testimony to the powers, industry, disposition, and productions of the youth only eighteen years of age. After a short ab-

sence, Ursinus, in 1553, returned to Wittenberg, where he could farther indulge and cultivate his decided preference for purely scientific labors, in distinction from the practical office of preaching; for in this respect also he was like his teacher, an exemplar, Melancthon, that during his whole life he valued his pious scientific studies above all else, and from love to these he neglected preaching, and immediate intercourse with others.

In order to complete his course of scientific development, he, in 1557, provided with a flattering letter of recommendation from Melancthon, started from Worms upon an extensive journey to the most renowned Universities of Switzerland and France. In Geneva he became acquainted with Calvin and Beza, and in Zurich with Bullinger and Martyr, and, in reference to Christian doctrine, he became their decided follower, without however on this account forsaking the Melancthonian stand-point on which he had stood all along.* Having returned to Wittenberg, he, in 1558, received a call from the council of Breslau, as theological teacher in the Elizabethian school, where he instructed his pupils from the Ordination book, prepared by Melancthon, for the examination of candidates in 1554, which was at this time used as a text book in many Universities. By this course, however, he already in the following year fell under suspicion of entertaining Calvinistic views in relation to the Lord's Supper; and in justification of himself, he published his treatise—"Theses on the Doctrine of the Sacraments, especially of Baptism and the Lord's Supper"—which Melancthon very much praised on account of its arrangement and scientific discussion. He said on this occasion: "With his learning he was previously acquainted, but as to knowledge in such matters, he had hitherto seen nothing so brilliant as that which he had found in the writings of Ursinus." Very plainly had Ursinus already gone beyond those who had hitherto been his masters, having advanced to deeper knowledge. As his enemies still farther troubled him, notwithstanding his

* In order to come to a certain determination in his own mind in regard to the strictly Reformed Church doctrine of predestination, he read the holy Scriptures through, from end to end, and then, after he had found this doctrine established in God's Word, he held unwaveringly fast to it during the rest of his life.

explanation and a writing from Melancthon exhorting to peace, Ursinus sought leave of absence, which he also received in an honorable way, under the condition that he should return again whenever desired. Upon being asked by Roth, his uncle, whether he would go, in the spirit of resignation, he returned the cheerful answer: "Not unwillingly do I leave my fatherland, when it does not suffer the confession of the truth which I cannot surrender with a good conscience. If my best teacher, Philippus, still lived"—he had just died—"I would go no where else but to him. Now that he is dead, I will turn to the Zurichers, who, it is true, are not here in great repute, but who have with other Churches so honorable a name that it cannot be darkened by our preachers. They are pious, learned, great men, with whom I have nearly resolved to spend my life. God will provide for the rest."* Still farther sustained, in an outward way, by his earlier friend and patron, John Crato, he, in his journey through Wittenberg, declined the invitation of his friends there to become their colleague, and in the autumn of 1560, he came to Zurich, where he associated himself anew particularly with Peter Martyr, one of the most distinguished, mild, and decided Reformed Theologians, upon whose recommendation, and in whose place, he was called, in 1562, by Frederick III, as Professor of Philosophy in Heidelberg, whereupon he was also, yet in the same year, made Doctor and Professor of Theology. At first he also preached in Heidelberg; but this he soon gave up, for want of talent and time, in order also that he might devote himself the more entirely to the profession of teaching, to which he, after 1568, attended exclusively.

Although only twenty eight years of age, Ursinus was in every respect ripe, as a man and a Christian, as a learned man and a theologian, and hence was able to compose the Heidelberg Catechism, a work which is a complete master-piece of its kind. His inner life, which was originally penetrated by his teacher, Melancthon, with the spirit of scientific and pious

* These words show very plainly and decidedly the relation of Ursinus to Melancthon and the Zurichers. Manifestly among the living none stood nearer to him than they, and among the dead none nearer than Melancthon.

modesty and caution, had only through the adoption of the peculiar, strong, and joyful Reformed doctrines come to that proper confidence and fulness which pervades all his writings, and especially his Catechism, in so eminent a degree. With full and joyous confidence he submitted himself, in his judgment and his knowledge, unconditionally to the word of God in the Old and New Testament, as the sure revelation of the design and will of God, and built his salvation alone and only on Christ, on his person and doctrine. He himself has most beautifully and clearly expressed this, the inner state and position of his heart, at the close of a Latin letter written in 1573, on Predestination, where his full and deeply moved heart—just as Luther has often done—in the midst of his subject, breaks the restraints of the Latin language, and goes on to express his German piety in the German language, as in the words which I quote: (Page 45 f. of Misc. Cat.) "If you mean that we cannot say of any one definitely, that he will be saved, you are right, when you are speaking of *others;* but in reference to ourselves, or in reference to one's own conscience and the assurance of each one of himself, the idea is terrible, wicked, devilish, blasphemous, overturning the whole foundation of salvation. *Whoever has taught you this, has taught you as a devil, even if he were from heaven.* Yea, I will tell you more yet: if you are not certain before the end of your life, whether you are an heir of eternal salvation, you will not be one after this life. *May God preserve you from this.* For faith itself is this certainty, which is the beginning of eternal life, which all must already have in this life who would possess it hereafter. If you would consider the meaning of the word hope, that it is a sure expectation of eternal life, *you would not write such things to me at which my hairs stand on end. I would not take a hundred thousand worlds, and be so far from my Saviour, as not to know this whether I am his or not.* This is most truly heathenish, and the very door-sill of hell. *

* * I do not believe that Luther and Philip have taught any one so. *These are all devilish conceptions, against which may God preserve us.* But the one who is to copy this epistle,

is already waiting, and I have now, amid much weariness, spent the whole night on this letter. The Lord be with you. I beg you hereafter not to trouble me with such questions of controversy. I wish you may live very happy."*

With this decided piety and cheerful confidence of spirit, Ursinus gave himself, with all his learning and with his whole life and being without any reserve, to the service of his Lord and Saviour; for he acknowledged positively "that he was no more his own master, but had become the property of another; but he that gives himself over to God as his possession will receive salvation from him; but he who seeks to withdraw from him will also miss of salvation." The ground tone of his Christian life was this cheerful consciousness of his unconditional dependence upon God, and that inward gratitude toward Him, which springs from the experience of grace. His whole life was a constant walking before the Lord in prayer, and in the strict and unwearied fulfilment of every duty. Never did any one hear from him an unnecessary word. All his time and his labors were dedicated to the service of his God; and the extraordinary love and attachment of his hearers was the pleasantest reward which he could have attained. Altogether Ursinus was a very conscientious and true teacher; he required of his pupils after every hour of instruction, to hand over to him their doubts and difficulties in writing, that he might consider them at home, and then at the next lecture, answer them to their satisfaction. In order that he might not be too much disturbed in his labors, by lengthy visits, he wrote above the door of his study:

> Friend, whoever you may be, when you come to me,
> Make your matter short, or leave me soon,
> Or assist me in my work.

On this account, however, Ursinus was also hard to be approached; and he was soon displeased when unnecessarily disturbed. He was only married in 1572.

In order to accomplish the work laid upon them by the prince

* With this beautiful testimony of Ursinus, let the still more beautiful *first* question in his Catechism be compared, and indeed in general the whole Catechism in the original German.

Palatine, Olevianus as well as Ursinus composed a special treatise—Olevianus his "Divine Covenant of Grace;" Ursinus—after Luther's example—a smaller and larger Catechism, and in this he made essential use of the Emder Catechism of Lasky, and the Genevan Catechism of Calvin, which last one was, by direction of Frederick the Prince, at the same time with the Heidelberg Catechism translated into German, in order by these means to prove the agreement between the Palatinate and Genevan doctrine. Then Ursinus, whose plan properly received the preference, had the duty of drawing up the Catechism laid upon him, in which, however, the Prince Palatine himself in person took substantial part—for it was to be *his* Catechism—and provided, namely, that the points of antagonism to the Catholics, and even also against the Lutherans, might be sufficiently sharp. In this way, beyond all doubt, did the Catechism obtain those polemic features which are seen in several parts, not exactly to its advantage. After the Catechism had been considered at a Synod of the whole theological faculty, of the superintendents, and the principal ministers, the Prince directed that it alone should be used in his dominions; "earnestly admonishing and directing, that you may thankfully receive this Catechism or instruction for the honor of God, for the good of our subjects, as also for the benefit of your souls, that you may industriously teach it, in its proper sense, to the young in schools and churches, and also elsewhere, on the pulpit, to the common people, that you may teach, do and live, with an unwavering hope and confidence that if the youth shall be from the beginning instructed and brought up with diligence in the word of God, the Almighty will also grant improvement of life, temporal and eternal well-being."*

This Heidelberg Catechism can now, in the special sense of the word, be regarded as the flower and the fruit of the entire German and French reformation; it has Lutheran inwardness, Melancthonian clearness, Zwinglian simplicity, and Calvinistic fire, all melted into one; and hence it did also, regardless of

* Only at a later period was the Catechism divided into Lord's days and into Questions and Answers, while originally it was only in the form of a short connected system of faith.

many defects and corners (by the side of the altered Augsburg confession) become and remain the only general confession and book of instruction for the whole *German* Reformed Church of the Palatinate and the Netherlands, and on to Brandenburg and Prussia. Already in 1564, the preacher, Nicolaus Rollins, introduced it in Wesel, and in 1568 the Reformed Synod in Wesel received and introduced it alone, by the side of the Genevan Catechism, until then exclusively used, for the Netherland churches that used the German language; since then it has been the only, and most satisfactory and spirited confession of the Reformed Churches in the Rhine provinces. They that do not know it, do not know the German Reformed Church, as it was and as it yet is; he who knows it in its particulars, in its advantages, and in its defects, also understands the Christian spirit and the Christian life of our Reformed Church in its good and bad aspects. For this reason I also thought it necessary to say this much of its originator and its authors.

As Frederick III politically defended his Catechism before the Emperor and the Kingdom, Ursinus became, in the name of his Prince, and the faculty of Heidelberg, its theological expositor and defender against the many and severe attacks made upon it from the side of the Catholics and Lutherans.* On the question of Church discipline and Church government, he stood in perfect agreement with Olevianus, without, however, making himself its decided and prominent champion. After the death of Frederick he also became a martyr to his convictions, for declining to receive Luther's Catechism, and with it the Lutheran doctrine and Reformation, as it then stood. On this account he was already, in 1576, deposed, declined a call to his native city as Professor, and was then, in 1578, by the second son of Frederick, Prince Palatine John Casimir, called to the newly established Reformed Theological School in Newstadt on the Hardt, which speedily flourished under his care, and that of his earlier colleagues, who had also

* The high estimation in which Frederick held Ursinus, may be seen from his words to the Silesian Joachim of Bergen; after this man had praised Ursinus, the Prince replied: "And yet your fatherland was not worthy of such a man; tell your countrymen that they shall banish many such men into my dominions.

been called to that institution, because nearly all the Heidelberg theologians flocked to that place. Only five years more did Ursinus labor in Newstadt, and already amid declining health, but still with unwearied zeal and industry, which, as in the case of his teacher, Melancthon, stimulated him even upon his tedious sick bed still to labor and exercise care in his office of teaching, until, resigned to the will of God, but only 48 years of age, he ended his active and useful life.

The monument erected to his honor in the church of Newstadt, very properly pronounces him: "a great theologian, a vanquisher of the erroneous doctrines prevalent, concerning the person of Christ and His Supper, gifted with powerful language and pen, a keensighted philosopher, a wise man, and a strict teacher of the young."

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. IX.—SHORT NOTICES.

THE PRIMACY OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE VINDICATED: *By Francis Patric Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore. Fourth revised and enlarged edition. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co.* 1855.

ARCHBISHOP Kenrick is no doubt the most learned of the Roman Catholic prelates in this country, and a gentleman of mild and amiable spirit. His writings are free from those low and unfounded attacks upon the motives and moral character of the Reformers, which disgrace so many polemical works of the Roman Church, and which have generally the very opposite effect from the one intended. Slander and abuse may nourish prejudices, hatred and uncharitableness, but they will never promote truth and righteousness. The metropolitan of Baltimore approaches his opponents like a gentleman and a Christian, in the spirit of courtesy and kindness. He knows how to appreciate the admirable maxim of St. Augustin: Nihil vincit nisi veritas; victoria veritatis est caritas. He evidently tries to come up to the other sentence of the same father, which he somewhere quotes himself: "Love the men, destroy the errors; be bold without pride in the maintenance of truth; strive for the truth without harshness; pray for those whom you rebuke and confound."

From such enemies a serious Protestant will always be willing to learn, whenever he is able to convince him. For true Protestantism is love for the truth as it is in Jesus, and hatred of error under every form. It wishes to know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but

the truth. It is not bound to a system of preconceived opinions and prejudices; it is not made incurable by the principle of infallibility; it is Christianity in motion, in progress from one degree of knowledge and freedom to another. It is willing and ready even to give up itself as a temporary outward organization, to make room for a far more perfect form of the kingdom of God on earth, whenever this shall appear. In this respect it partakes somewhat of the Old Testament religion, which was the revelation in motion, the religion of the future, pointing, in laws and types and prophetic words, beyond itself and crying as a voice in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord. It is true, Christ has come, and we wait for no other. At the same time, he is coming continually, and we look for his last coming in glory, and then only we can expect to see his bride in her full perfection and celestial beauty. All history before that grand consummation, the ἐπιφανεια του Κυριου, to which the Apostles continually pointed, is simply preparation, a second journey through the wilderness under the guidance of the pillar of fire, the "sure word of prophecy."

We know, this sounds strange to Roman Catholic ears. But not more so than many of their doctrines do to Protestant ears, amongst which, is the one treated in the above book, with a considerable degree of learning and ability. It is not exactly the deepest and most philosophical, but perhaps the most complete and popular work on the Primacy of the Apostolic See. It has more the character of a skilful compilation, than original investigation. But it brings together in a very convenient form and pleasing style a mass of valuable historical information concerning the Roman See, and dispels successfully many foolish charges and fables which are still believed and circulated by fanatical ultra protestants. It has been before the public since 1837 and is, therefore, well known to divines, as to its general contents. The fourth edition is gotten up in elegant style, which does credit to the taste and enterprise of the publishers. It has undergone various corrections, although it is not free from error yet. On page 274, e.g. Hurter is called a Lutheran before his transition, while he was German Reformed Superintendent of Schaffhausen in Switzerland, where there is not a single Lutheran church. But this is a small matter. The new edition struck our attention by the frequent approving references to the historical and controversial articles of Dr. Nevin in the Mercersburg Review. The author directs the attention of his readers to them in the Preface: "The many striking avowals made by Dr. J. W. Nevin, late President of Marshall College, Mercersburg, Pa., are freely quoted in support of the authority of the Catholic Church and of the Holy See, although it may perplex the reader to understand how he should still remain out of our communion."

But we must respectfully object to such a one-sided use of the Mercersburg Review, as is made on so many pages of this book. It is true, that Dr. Nevin makes many important concessions to the Roman Catholic Church, as far as the testimony of antiquity is concerned. But so does Isaac Taylor in his Anti-Puseyite work on Primitive Christianity; so do Neander, Rothe, Thiersch, and a number of German

Protestant historians in the interest simply of historical truth and justice. This is exactly what we should expect from a truth loving Protestant, especially if we adopt the definition given above. But it follows by no law of logic, that they should on that account embrace Roman Catholic conclusions. There is a great difference between a historical investigation and a dogmatic essay, and the same history which records the early rise of Popery, informs us also of its terrible abuses and corruptions. Only think of the period of the pornocracy in the tenth and eleventh century, and of such monsters of humanity, as Alexander the VIth. Moreover, there is an important difference between historical or relative right and divine or absolute right. The Mosaic ritual was the only true worship before the coming of the Messiah, and the Jewish high priest had supreme authority in the temple before the new dispensation. But when Christ came, old things passed away and all things became new. The authority of parents is absolutely binding upon the children, before they are of age, but it looks towards freedom and independence. Man is not born to be a slave either politically or ecclesiastically, but he is born for freedom through the discipline of authority and obedience. We admit that the papal hierarchy traces its origin from the earliest ages, was indispensable for the time before the Reformation and subserved a high and necessary end in training the mediœval nations from heathenism and barbarianism to Christianity and civilization. But it does not follow from this, that the mediœval state was intended to last forever. On the contrary, the very name implies that it is a transitory middle state, the connecting link simply between antiquity and the modern times.

We have, of course, no room here to enter upon a regular controversy on this important subject. The colossal system of Popery strikes its roots deeper in the past, than any dynasty in the world, and is surrounded by an imposing fortress of historical testimonies. But after all it is no more what it was, and will never regain its former power. Seventy or eighty millions of Protestants and about as many Greek Christians refuse to submit to its claims and will never acknowledge them. It is only by identifying Romanism with Catholicism, that the pope can speak of a supremacy of jurisdiction over the whole Church, as actually lodged in his person and exercised by him. But this is the fundamental error of the Roman system and its chief sin. The Greek Church stands now just where it stood in the sixth century, and as to the testimony of antiquity and immovability, it has the advantage over the Roman. And as to the Protestants they have as little ceased to be Christians by withdrawing from the tyranny of Rome, as the Israelites ceased to be Israelites by their exodus from the land of bondage, or as the Americans ceased to be Anglo-Saxons by their emancipation from the control of the British government. As long as we have Christ, the great Head of the Church, we can get along without a vicar, and he has pledged his real presence to his people always, even where two or three are gathered together in his name, without saying one word of a Pope at Jerusalem, or Antioch, or Rome, or any where else.

BISHOP BUTLER'S ETHICAL DISCOURSES; *To which are added Some Remains, hitherto unpublished. Prepared as a Text Book in Moral Philosophy; with a Syllabus, by Dr. Whewell. Edited, with an Introductory Essay on the Author's Life and Writings, by the Rev. Joseph C. Passmore, A. M., Professor of Mental Philosophy in the College of St. James, Maryland.* Philadelphia: Charles Desilver, 253 Market Street. Hagerstown, Md: T. G. Robertson. 1855. pp. 375.

THE name of Bishop Butler has become immortalized in the circle of science and literature. His work on the Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, has long been regarded as a master piece in its sphere. He has, however, been equally prominent in the department of Ethics. No one has exerted a greater influence on Moral Science than he. The discourses, which are given to the public in the volume before us, have served as the basis of the productions of others, who have since his day, become eminent in the same sphere. The work is still used as a text book in several prominent institutions in this country, as well as in a number of the Universities on the continent of Europe. The edition before us is gotten up in a very handsome and durable style. The introductory essay, giving an account of the Author's Life and Writings, adds much to the interest and value of the work.

F.

THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH, ON THE COMING AND KINGDOM OF THE REDEEMER; *Or a History of the Doctrine of the Reign of Christ on Earth. By D. T. Taylor, Revised and Edited with a Preface, by H. L. Hastings. Second Edition.* Peace Dale, R. I.: Published by H. L. Hastings. New York: J. M. Fairchild & Co, 109 Nassau Street. Boston: W. Veazie, 62 and 64 Cornhill. 1855. pp. 406. Smith & English, Philadelphia.

THE subject of the Millennium has engaged the serious attention of Christians from the earliest ages of Christianity to the present time. Of course different views have been entertained as to its precise nature, and the time when it is to take place. The present volume is intended to advocate what is called the pre-millennial theory, or the personal reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years. Its pages are filled out mainly with extracts from the productions of all eminent divines, who have written on the subject, from the earliest ages of Christianity down to the present time. It is a kind of *omnium-gatherum* in its particular sphere; and evidences a vast amount of reading and research on the part of the author. Those who have a taste for the study of the subject of which this volume treats, will find it a very convenient book for reference.

F.